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practice

This paper considers the potential of drift mapping to stimulate the reappraisal of place, through a live project for the London Legacy Development Corporation, *Lea Valley Drift*.

Lea Valley Drift: paths, objects and the creation of urban narratives

Oliver Froome-Lewis

This article considers the legacies of place revealed by critical walking journeys through the city and the potential for transforming their interpretation through the distribution of new forms of map. As Francesco Careri implies in *Walkscapes: Walking as an Aesthetic Practice*, walking pre-dates the city and nomadism is the original condition of civilised living.[1] Put simply, settlement is the process of civilisation becoming static.

Translocation through walking thus arouses our fundamental instincts and we appraise objects and conditions that we meet in our footpaths differently from encounters with place acquired on-screen, through literature or from the cocoons of powered transport. Such appraisals are charged with urgency and vitality. Our sense of identity with the places experienced is formed by combining encounters made through such primary research in the field, which is influenced by the choreographies of the routes taken and by the prior knowledge that we apply to our experiences subsequently to make interpretations and to locate them correctly in our personal depositories of mental maps. Such mental maps, which are clear and bright in the minds of those who form them, are not easily communicated to others. Transferring them to physical paper form creates opportunities to share and discuss a wide range of topics, details of which can be readily recalled in relation to physical geographies. Such maps can help us to organise and, importantly, to share our memories.

In 2006, I formed the collective 'Touching the City' with Alexandra Ginsberg, with a sequence of projects researching critical walking practices.[2] A series of collaborations between designers, architects, photographers, planners and historians has followed. The early explorations have been published in *Touching the City*.[3] *Lea Valley Drift* is the latest initiative to communicate knowledge about the city we find 'in place' through processes of occupation, appropriation, mapping and the public dissemination of maps. Each project has been structured around exploratory walks designed to reveal certain qualities of the city through the deployment of varied forms of transient intervention.

Lea Valley Drift was devised and co-designed with Chloe Street during 2012–13 and our augmented walking maps were published initially for the opening of the first phase of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park in East London in 2013.[4] Seven thousand *Lea Valley Drift* maps have been made available, many distributed with *The Wick* newspaper in the valley, at the Timber Lodge in the new park and at The White Building on its fringe through support from the 'Emerging East' project of the London Legacy Development Corporation (LLDC) with aims to widen participation, stimulate physical movement and evoke reflective connections between the disparate territories of the park, the surrounding neighbourhoods and the wider valley. The ongoing development of the valley to which the Olympic Park has been a significant, but not sole, contributor continues to arouse lively, sometimes fierce, debate about identity, ownership and belonging. The Focus E15 'young mums' campaign for universal housing has provided the latest rallying flag for those protesting against change. With the emergence of increasingly polarised opinions about the balance between loss and gain in the locality, there is an urgent need for new tools that reveal connections and potential connections between disparate interests.

City as memory theatre

In creating his *Theatre of Memory*, published in 1550, Giulio Camillo was continuing in the tradition of evolving the principles of the classical art of memory.[5] Committing complex data to memory had been aided by a sophisticated range of techniques including the distribution of material through imaginary architectural forms allowing it to be traversed in conventional and thus easily recalled sequences. The theatre developed this model and Camillo proposed a detailed system by which different categories of materials were deposited in different parts of an auditorium. For example, natural things were distributed on the first levels and the arts on the highest seventh

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level. With the creation of such tools and their mastery, Renaissance man came to believe that he had a magic memory through which the world could be grasped.

Perhaps the city presents a 'super memory theatre' created and curated by us all to varying degrees, an array of objects that can be seen as an alternative 'formalisation' of our existence to that of more abstract text-based analysis of histories and strategic plans for the future? In *Evocative Objects: Things We Think With*, Sherry Turkle locates such memory objects as centrepieces to our emotional lives and ways of thinking:

> *Behind the reticence to examine objects as centerpieces of emotional life was perhaps the sense that one was studying materialism, disparaged as excess, or collecting, disparaged as hobbyism, or fetishism, disparaged as perversion* [...] *Behind the reticence to examine objects as centrepieces of thought was the value placed, at least within Western tradition, on formal, propositional ways of knowing.*[6]

When Turkle comments on a series of evocative objects she throws light on our problems in accepting change, on transfers in affection between people and objects, and between objects and people and the need to think through these relationships carefully:

> *Indeed, in the psychoanalytic tradition, both persons and things are tellingly called 'objects' and suggest that we deal with their loss in a similar way. For Freud, when we lose a beloved person or object, we begin a process that, if successful, ends in our finding them again, within us. It is, in fact, how we grow and develop as people. When objects are lost, subjects are found.*[7]

The drift map has the potential to empower the walker to derive pleasures from teasing apart and reforming established certainties around peculiar new influences, unrecognised old ones and transient happenings, allowing the establishment of a new equilibrium or, at least, a more focused disquiet.

Reality offers an organic record of existence in public space, revealed through the prevalence and preservation of objects. Although the distribution of these objects is far from the ordered array of the memory theatre, they act upon the consciousness of entire local populations, each object a record and reminder of its case and the voices and writings related to it. Maps, then, taking their starting points as these physical presences, are well placed to act as intermediaries organising, and challenging, the reception and interpretation of location.

In *Me++ The Cyborg Self and the Networked City*, William J. Mitchell captures such oppositional qualities when writing about the ways that the everyday is a consequence of wider networks and acts back upon them. For him the 15spf sunblock on his recently shaved face is part of a continuum of materialised and dematerialised substances, objects and spaces that extends to defensive radar curtains and international missile shields.[8] Sunblock can then be regarded as part of a planetary network of skin products, sales points, distribution networks, factories, open cast mines and jungle plants making it quite as significant as an orbital motorway or public artwork. This is important in relation to our personal contributions to collections of objects and memories in public space. Recognising the wider effects of everyday items, their attendant rituals and geophysical roots helps us to realise our pivotal roles in the formation and day-to-day animation of the city.

What Mitchell expresses about interpreting places by recognising the wider networks that they are infused with, rings true in the Lea Valley where Olympic TV coverage with a pulsing baseline can be seen to have represented global enthusiasms for spectacle and exceptional performances, and angry narratives such as *Ghost Milk* by Iain Sinclair (dedicated 'In memory of the huts of the Manor Garden Allotments') represent local distress at the loss of a whole range of touchstones.[9] Sinclair covers lost items ranging from the gentle, socially inspired allotments to vast, unruly transport depots; familiar landmarks and workplaces that were created specifically for and by local people.

Sometimes these difficult-to-correlate extremes of satisfaction and dissatisfaction seem to combine to produce a mass amnesia, dulling our ability to measure the qualities of the Lea Valley objectively. Developments in other cities at a comparable scale to those in east London help to clarify this difficulty. In Hamburg, for example, masterplanners have initiated the Elbphilharmonie by Herzog and De Meuron to animate their extensive Hafencity development.[10] This concert hall is constantly under financial scrutiny by the public and the excessively pricey toilet brushes specified have prompted protest throughout the city. The iconography of the brushes has supplanted the iconography of the new project. In Warsaw, as David Crowley has described, the historic city centre was levelled by Nazi troops and rebuilt by Russian workers.[11] While the city centre has been inscribed a world heritage site, this double obliteration of Polish statehood has rendered the location terminally uncomfortable for the local population.

Such clear examples highlight in different ways how place is infused with legacies of history and the politics of development, and shed light on the task of developing an alternative map of the Lea Valley. We realised that for the map to capture our goals, it would need to reveal both historical objects in the landscape and narratives of change, transience and disappearance.

Mapping walking

The Parisian Dadaists, 'discovered a dream-like, surreal aspect to walking and defined this experience as "deambulation", a sort of automatic writing in real space, capable of revealing the unconscious zones of space, the repressed memories of the city,' as Careri puts it.[12] However, this search was regarded as an excursion into the 'banal' parts of the city, a release from the gallery. It was picked up by Stalker some seventy years later

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in the early 1990s, as losing oneself amid 'urban amnesias'.[13] Regarding the less prominent places of the city as departures from civilisation has provided a valuable tool for measuring fine art practices but perhaps devalues the locations in other respects. Asger Jorn and Guy Debord's seductive maps from 1957, 'Fin de Copenhague' and 'The Naked City', hinted at the potential of maps to stimulate new ways of seeing and using the city but they were also firmly focused on disorientation, fragmentation and absences.[14]

In contrast, inclusivity and positivity in public space has been nurtured by participatory practitioners Lottie Child and Anna Best, who operate at the experimental extreme of psychogeography. Child promoted 'Street Training', publishing an online manual and leading many walks with the aim of creating more self-confidence in our behaviours in public space.[15] Leapfrogging bollards and eating bananas amid the jungle-like fronds of a City of London roundabout with new friends is curiously empowering. Best is perhaps best-known for her guidebook *Occasional Sights: A London Guidebook of Missed Opportunities and Things That Aren't Always There* in which the public were invited to submit photographs and accounts of transient moments in the city – tracks through dry grass, a loaf of bread costing £19.35, the Centre Point tower with one light out creating 'Centre P int'.[16]

How best to effect such public reactions and affect behaviour through nuanced exploration of the ordinary and the accessible, is vigorously explored by artist Stephen Willats in *Artwork as Social Model*.[17] Willats works between the collaborative and the propositional with local communities and seeks a meaningful, participatory, relationship between the artist and contemporary society:

> *The closer the artist can bring the perception of reality encoded and forwarded through the artwork, to the reality experienced by the audience, the more powerful are the inferred meanings for that audience.*[18]

When an artist, designer, writer or architect works with communities there is generally a propositional quality to their involvement. How insistent should we be about the consequences of collaborations with the community and at what point does the balance tip too far, repositioning the community as a funding stream for the validation of personal preferences rather than releasing the creative potential of the community?

Willats has described perception as falling into two categories:

> *(1) an external source, Intermediary Body, transmits information to 'receivers' which subsequently affects their perception, A tells B about X (Distance Model), or (2) 'receivers' experience the event or phenomenon directly, Direct Experience, A sees X (Intimate Model).*[19]

The map could be considered a third type: an Intermediary Body that prompts Direct Experience. A tells B how they might experience X directly.

We started to imagine designing the map as a stimulus to individual creative thought that could be engaged with by many social groups – an accessible 'kitchen-table' document, a drift map that could be enjoyed by the armchair traveller and by a smaller group that might become enthused to spend several hours exploring a new area with the potential of getting lost. We imagined the maps should test the point at which a walker becomes an explorer of the territory and of their thinking. 'Drift' implied for us a gentle, non-dangerous form of exploration grounded as much in getting lost in one's thoughts as lost in space. Drifters might take the maps as straightforward aids to navigation *and* become immersed in the poetic and oppositional qualities of the locations. Experiencing these qualities collectively reveals and validates their significance and enables conception and definition of the consequences of their loss.

Mapping the Lea Valley

> *Bromley Gas Works, Bromley-by-Bow, the one-time Bromley Marsh. An eternal flame recalls losses in both world wars. Multiple gas mantles burning brightly atop a column. 'A stately column' according to English Heritage. Close-by the gasholders await a new urban park. Production ceased in the 1960s. Explosives made here were used in British Navy rockets directed against Fort McHenry in 1814. The valiant defence of the fort against the missiles inspired Francis Scott Key to write 'The Star-Spangled Banner'.*[20]
>
> *Trinity Buoy Wharf.*[21] *Several experiments in shipping container conversion to office and residential space. It is well known that the Port of London declined as a result of containerisation but assimilating containers into the former docks and attacking them with grinders and other abrasive tools seems to address a basic need. Downstream at Purfleet containers have been 'sandblasted back to a weathering steel finish' for classroom space at The Marshland Discovery Zone by LANDROOM.* [22]
>
> *Throughout the valley heavy, railway sleeper format, timber sections are prevalent in the creation of benches and planters indicating a wish to both evoke and embody the spirit of docks marshalling yards past, and to hint at ecological rectitude, while actually drawing heavily on the modern forest. Creosote used to lengthen the life of authentic sleepers has rendered them too contaminated for skin contact, sitting for example, according to laws established by the EC in 2001.*[23]

In the autumn of 2011, the LLDC announced the 'Emerging East' project. Proposals were invited for small-scale, low-budget projects to consolidate and stimulate relationships between disparate small groups around the Olympic Park and to reconnect them with the territories within the park, signalling an end to the reign of 'The Olympic Fence'. Another initiative, 'Dents in the Fence', considered the identities of the gateways marking the points of entry to the park. These projects suggested re-tasking the major structures created for the Games in the public consciousness as catalysts for future local developments. London's eight million residents recall the 2012 Olympics clearly. They know the Emirates Air Line, recognise the ArcelorMittal Orbit, may well have stopped for

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a coffee and *pastéis de nata* at the View Tube and are contemplating a swim at the Aquatics Centre.

The title of the project, 'Emerging East', acknowledged that the east had not yet 'emerged' and hinted that it was emerging from something that it would be good to leave behind. While the general necessity and benefits of this emergence are widely supported, the desirability of the effects in detail are contested. Successive phases in the area's long history are difficult to pinpoint. 'Marshland', 'innovative industrial', 'social housing', 'Olympic' and 'state/PFI regeneration' have progressed one-to-the-next with substantial residual aspects of prior phases living on, whether complementing, contradicting or appearing to critique their successors. The survival of marshes and the regeneration of the river as a natural resource are examples of positive long-term presences. Tensions between post-war social and developer housing values and the escalating cost of being resident in the area are more problematic. A primary purpose

1 Eternal flame at Bromley-by-Bow gasworks memorial site

2 Neat lemon quarter, A13 underpass

3 Heart-form security cameras, adjacent to The White Building, Fish Island

4 Car wash with sideline in carpets, close to Pudding Mill Lane

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of our map would be to reveal pleasures that can be derived from the current condition. It is the cohabitation of dissimilar uses that establishes a special form of vibrancy and accessibility that is both intriguing, thought provoking and life affirming. In the face of specialist agendas prioritising nature, heritage, investment opportunities or sports as most significant, we speculated that the drift map might afford value to all the current uses in play – becoming a construction of the common.

Bringing a wider area into conversation with the primary Olympic legacies necessitates situating and amplifying quieter voices. We might only use the primary legacies once and quieter voices generally inhabit rather everyday places. For example only four Oyster Card holders in London currently qualify for a 'frequent flyer' discount on the Emirates Air Line. We needed to be lucky to gain access to the Olympic Park facilities in person during the games. If memories of the primary legacies, as opposed to regular usage, is their primary value, how might that inform what we recognise as significant in the quieter entities?

A sequence of exploratory walks from 2011 sought out these quieter voices. As Chloe and I walked we made notes on early versions of the maps, took hundreds of photographs and discussed our motives for finding significance in different objects. After the walks we recorded our observations in short passages of text and researched the origins, histories and current news stories surrounding the finds that felt most significant. Ralph Ward,[24] later Dr Jim Clifford, [25] members of the heritage community and many guest walkers revealed extraordinary details about the history of the area that were important for them. The territory proved complex to navigate and desire to share the quieter voices that were gradually revealed confirmed the map as the best means. A series of graphic experiments followed and the support for the emerging map from the Emerging East project brought a range of other voices, with other stories, into our data bank [1, 2, 3, 4].

We compiled our written observations and imaginings to give an impression of the experiences that the maps could provide. The following section contains a small sample of excerpts from a book, *Beyond the Olympic Park*, that we created in draft at that stage.[26] The accounts covered a route from Leamouth, up the valley for sixteen kilometres, to Lea Bridge Road:

9.04am. There is rain at the Emirates Cable Car Station on the north bank of the Thames when we meet to test ourselves endurance walking the Lea Valley. It rains quite frequently in this part of London. Earlier we had seen the whole of the city laid out from the gently oscillating cabin of the cable car. Sunlight and trivial clouds except for the valley ahead where a dark smudge all but obscured the view to the Olympic Park far to the north. Rain, rain, rain, more rain.

Across the river the deserted Skywalk of the Millennium Dome is silhouetted against the sky. A skinny cobalt caterpillar scaling a bleached leaf.

10.26am. We shadow the Lea briefly. A broad path, brick paved, surely worth following, begs for friendly arm linking, ruby slippers and a jaunty step, but is actually populated by scorched, perforated steel, benches. Perhaps they have been sites for improvised midnight barbecues? Sausages and charcoal are helpfully and appropriately available from Esso's 'On the Run' convenience store close by. The inflated pay

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booth is clad in plastic brickwork, 'On the Cheap'. Advertisements proliferate as we approach; unwrap gold (Cadbury); open your world (Heineken).

11.17am. The A13 makes a substantial blockage to further progress north. Today, in the dark passage beneath the road, we find half a lemon among the neatly ranged super-strength cans and butts. And, just beyond, we are surprised by the Olympic Park, not the geographical park, but the physical content, the park soil, washed, packaged and stacked high in white bags.

11.55am. Pudding Mill Lane station. A nexus of phased improvements. Dig, re-dig, build, re-build. The surface of the earth scoured away. 'Access maintained'. (OK! Come through …). Order emerging. Push your way through to the View Tube. Busy in its own way.

12.39pm. We descend to Fish Island (many streets named after freshwater fish). Passing the enticing London Centre for Book Arts and finding a subdued version of the gallery quarter around the High Line in New York or the waning Mitte area in Berlin. It is unclear who is winning ownership of this alternative identity opportunity. The Hackney Pearl café and See Studio gallery fit the New York model. The Yard, Frontside and the German deli, pvc strip curtain and a chandelier, are closer to Berlin.

15.17pm. North of Hackney Marshes we rejoin the river. It has transformed. Muddy banks, enigmatic meanders, overhanging trees. We come upon a bench with a slightly longer view. The polished earth studded with crown caps that have been stamped cheerfully in, the viperous undergrowth laden with bottles and cans dating from 1976. A taxonomy of sorrow drowning. It is not idyllic, but it is the least unidyllic location. Everyone agrees.

These reflections and conversations were tabulated in a fieldwork matrix. Rather than seeking to enable the collection of a complete set, we next selected items of historical significance, olfactory hazards, natural and unnatural habitats, graffiti, best muffins, anti-finds and other incongruous juxtapositions and sifted these to offer the walker a range of alternative, recurring and transforming lenses on the locality.

A pattern of stimulants and points for reflection was carefully curated along three routes. The first route, travelling from south to north, follows the valley from the Thames to beyond the Olympic Park and the second and third semi-circular routes travelling from the west to the north of the Olympic Park finishing at Stratford and from the east to the south of the Olympic Park finishing at Fish Island. We contrasted, for example, the golden necklace of lights on the runway of the City Airport with a pair of mooring bollards on the Royal Victoria Dock, colloquially known as 'Dolly Partons', inviting comparison between sailors returning to the austere dockside of '50s London and businesswomen returning from investment banking symposia in Zurich texting ahead to Tower 42 for glazed lobster thermidor risotto. A starving fox, unwitting victim of the introduction of wheelie bins in Newham, was contrasted with the burgeoning frog population at the Bow Creek Ecology Park, a tranquil cul-de-sac thanks to the interrupted footpath to Canning Town station.

These objects are indicated on our general valley map with numerals keyed to icons, and on the larger scale orbital walks with icons placed directly onto the map. On the general map a reflective text references each location and a link, via QR code, to web-based material amplifies the location with factual data and off-site influences. Hidden within a fold of the map a series of imagined dialogues illuminates each valley activity more systematically, revealing the logic behind the other provocations: Art Trail, Athletics, Canoeing, Cycling, Dating, Dog Walking, Fishing, Galleries, Gardening, Heritage, Incomplete Projects, Infrastructure, Landscape, Nature, Planes Landing, Plane Spotting, Recycling, Riding, Rowing, Running, Sculpture, Table Tennis, Tagging and Walking. Including sufficient detail to enable successful wayfinding: directional notes, a key showing likely hourly progress against different modes of walking, starting and finishing locations, and details of key railway, DLR and tube stations completed the maps [5, 6].

Walking with the map

A walk similar to a long day's excursion in the countryside is typically unheard of in the city. Some of the effects are the same: exhilaration at completion and a sense of achievement, of gaining ownership of a territory. This is particularly empowering in London, which we tend to experience in fragments. It is time invested working through peculiar, unintended, adjacencies which become more numerous as a greater distance is covered, an intense immersion in city realities. Although 'Tower Hamlets' seems a quaint and inappropriate name for an inner-city borough, it takes this from the historical association between the Tower of London and the hamlets that surrounded it. It is also a helpful way of imagining the human toeholds on the area that are revealed during a detailed exploration. There are pockets of initiative, pockets of enduring history, pockets of beauty, pockets of enterprise, pockets of high value and pockets that are almost impossible to occupy. Noisy, raw, tight places: windswept expanses of river and marshland; islands of nature left between the infrastructures of the city. And between these lie great tracts of the indeterminate and their human, animal, insect, bird and vegetative populations all waiting to discover the world that they will eventually belong to. Cast adrift amid these incongruous and intriguing happenings, made manifest by the maps, walkers are tempted to create their own connections and narratives.

The walker becomes owner and curator of the readings offered by the maps, adopts a methodology of interpretation and forms priorities. A similar process is suggested by Italo Calvino in his

5 Happenings real and imagined, extract *Lea Valley Drift* Map

6 *Lea Valley Drift* Map

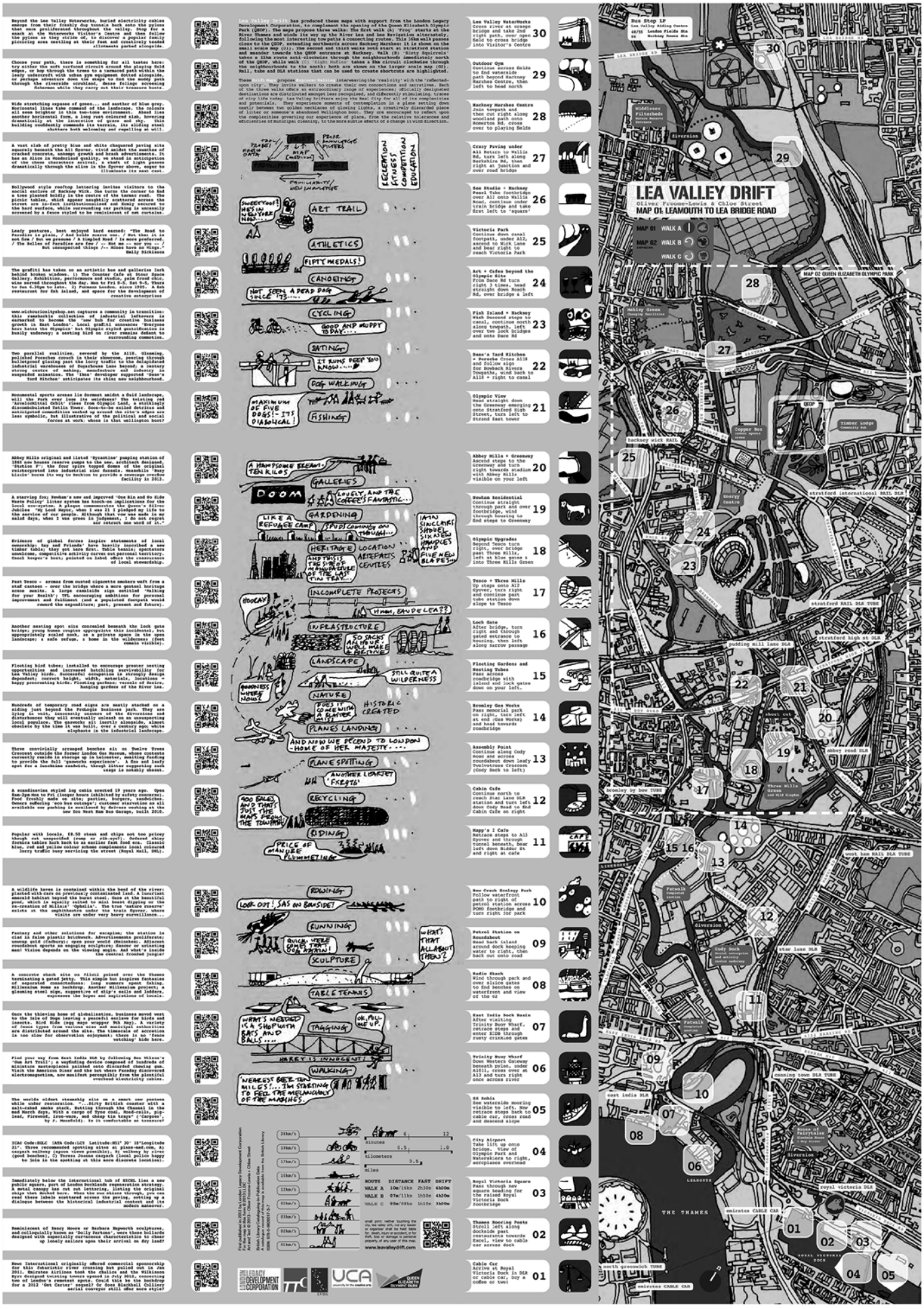
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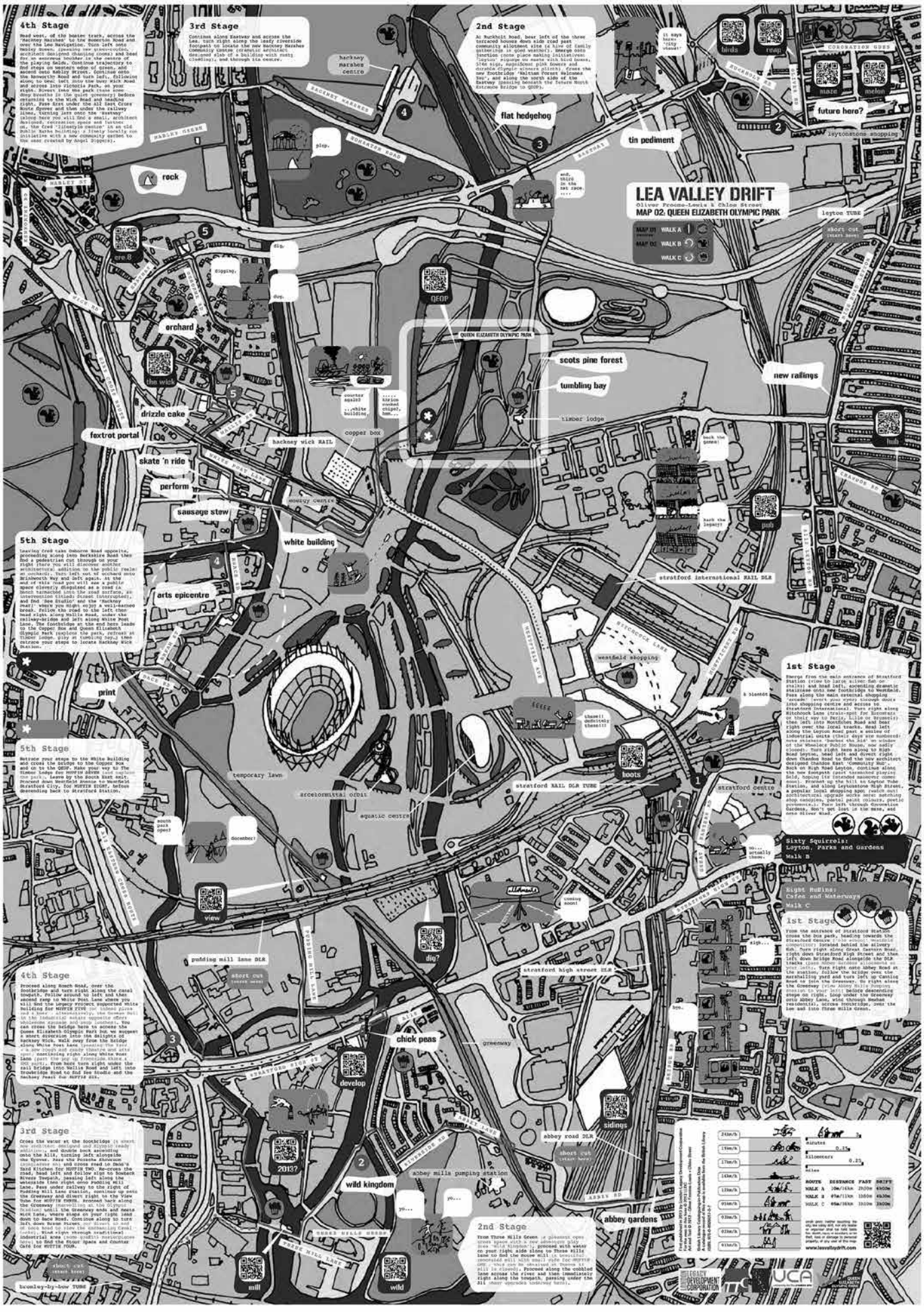
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7 *Lea Valley Drift* walking group looking dubiously at the sewage outfall, Abbey Creek

8 Map viewed over a bowl of cereal, Guardian Print Works

9 Women enjoying our map on the Jubilee Line

1969 novel *The Castle of Crossed Destinies* in which the narrative is established through characters around a dining table who, having lost the power of speech, indicate their stories by setting out tarot cards. The pack of cards does not determine the story but it provides a creative structure for telling any story. As the cards are laid out other cross-interpretations become possible:

> *The tale's thread is tangled not only because it is difficult to fit one card to another, but also because, for every new card the young man tries to align with the others, ten hands are outstretched to take it from him and insert it in another story each one is constructing, and at a certain point his cards are escaping him in all directions and he has to hold them in place with his hands, his forearms, his elbows, and so he hides them from anyone trying to understand the story he is telling.*[27]

Walkers from Canterbury School of Architecture and from the LLDC tested the walk and map as it was finalised in the summer of 2013. We took a group of thirty walkers from Stratford to Fish Island for 'Open House'on 21 September 2013. Fifteen walkers from the University of Innsbruck School of Architecture joined us on the walk from Leamouth to Fish Island on 31 May 2014.

Walkers most frequently voiced their disbelief that such a huge area close to the centre of London could have escaped their knowledge and could feel so remote, unexplored and disorientating, quickly reimagining the area back to smaller size and then being caught out by how far was being travelled. The curious stories revealed by the maps further informed their sense of gaining and not wishing to lose a new place, and their mixture of relief and disappointment at reaching the conclusion of their walks and being returned to the familiar:

> *Many thanks to you and Chloe for a very enjoyable walk last Saturday. The map you had put together was really useful, and I'll keep it for future reference. I am certainly encouraged to come back to the area next year when more parts of the Olympic Park will be open, and maybe join another of your walks! (Walker, 23.09.13)*

Other walkers tried the map unguided. Jane Porter created a posting for her day out with a friend:

> [...] *Under the DLR track there's a beautiful mural of reeds and rushes. A stretch of industrial park follows, conveyor belts of recycling and stacked yellow skips – and a rather macabre offering on the pavement, a box containing cows' ankles complete with cloven hooves* [...] *(Jane Porter, 17.09.13)*[28]

The maps have continued to be distributed at the Timber Lodge at the heart of the Olympic Park and groups of local and overseas visitors are to be seen outside the lodge, fully equipped with coffees, Kagools and hiking boots, studying the finer details of local navigation.

The outcome of the map's use for the walker also depends then on who they are with, on their readings of the suggestions contained within it, on the group's ability to communicate and on the dominance of different voices. There is no 'right response' to the scenarios presented. Are 'favourite finds' only able to be determined by the presence of 'least favourites'? How do modes of assessment shift as conditions change? The group establishes an informal network of beliefs that becomes a delicate counter culture. There is a sense at the end of a day's walking that participants have

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not only been helped to discover an alternative, possibly alien, physical reality but also to gain a subversive form of critical authority over the city, together penetrating the city's exquisite armour of complexity [7, 8, 9].

This form of map offers potential for the creation of understanding in places undergoing transition. While the meanings and purposes contained within masterplans for the area might not be highly prized by the local population this does not signify disinterest. Local people's networks of beliefs, based upon all that is present both individually and collectively, provide a significant sense of knowing and ownership. Perhaps it is quite easy to understand development objectives, but difficult to appreciate them, when you feel that the subtleties of your motives for remaining in stasis are not understood. Why should your value system be supplanted by another? For long-term residents the complex and contested conditions are perhaps as certain as reference points as the exhibits selected by Camillo for his memory theatre – exhibits which he was intent upon bringing to others, to all, as *the* reference points for public discourse?

For Willats, a work of art can itself constitute a societal state and a model of human relationships.[29] A work of art can be a process in time and a learning system through which the concepts of a social view contained within it can be accessed and internalised. A work of art can engage anyone if it is available to whoever wishes to enter its domain, providing it embodies a means for people to acquire the necessary language and procedures to receive and internalise its meaning. The drift maps distributed around the Olympic Park since 2012 propose a positive, reflective, societal state against which personal views can be tested and measured. They stimulate rethinking of reception and filtering preferences. They do not promote a specific response, but encourage the recipient to adopt a position. Attention is distributed between many different kinds of influence, responses to which may be combined to form a more complete knowledge of the city. Map sharing is encouraged by the map's generous size and legibility and wide availability has made the map a democratic resource.

The drift maps propose contemplation of the nature of change, of our internal prioritisations of ownership and their relationship to belonging. They promote a mindset of 'accommodation', one of enjoying dialogues between different worlds. Learning to accommodate change and difference is important in parts of the city undergoing major development. Particular skills are required to transfer cherished friends, neighbours, objects and places to memory. Such transfers are simple, even pleasurable, when the personal and collective benefits of 'the new' are clear, and complex and traumatic when the potential of the new to replace and improve on established orders – however compromised to the external eye – is clouded.

Lea Valley Drift is a reminder that making urban change in isolation is risky in a complex and contested field but that taking time to systematically assimilate, appreciate and record such a field can infuse new interventions with sensitivity, without cloying nostalgia, and wit and without cruelty. A robust, systematic, map, dense with information, engages receptive and interpretative skills that are infrequently used simultaneously, encouraging the viewer to acquire a first-hand account of the places described. Experiences on- and off-site create a shift in the perceived identity of the locality, a change in expectations and in the possibility of making sense of transitions. They produce new places.

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Notes

1. Francesco Careri, *Walkscapes: Walking as an Aesthetic Practice* (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 2002), p. 20.
2. Alexandra Ginsberg – designer, artist and writer, <http://www.daisyginsberg.com> [accessed on: 01/12/14].
3. Oliver Froome-Lewis, *Touching the City* (Canterbury: Circulating Objects and CSA, 2009).
4. Chloe Street is an architect and lecturer at Kent School of Architecture, UKC.
5. Giulio Camillo, *L'Idea del Theatro* (Florence: Lorenzo Torrentino, 1550). See: Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), p. 160.
6. Sherry Turkle, *Evocative Objects – Things We Think With* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007), p. 6.
7. Ibid., pp. 9–10.
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21. See: <http://www trinity buoywharf.com/work-space> [accessed on: 23/09/14].
22. Peter Beard_LANDROOM is a studio-based architectural practice. The work is characterised by an attention to material and detailed construction. See: <http://www.peterbeardlandroom.co.uk/rspb_class_1.html> [accessed on: 02/08/14].
23. 2002/59/EC: Commission Decision of 23 January 2002 concerning draft national provisions notified by the Kingdom of the Netherlands under Article 95(5) of the EC Treaty on limitations on the marketing and use of creosote-treated wood (text with EEA relevance) (notified under document number C(2002) 97).
24. Ralph Ward is a visiting Professor at the London East Research Institute. See: <http://www.londonurbanvisits.co.uk/luv-people/> [accessed on: 05/11/14].
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29. Stephen Willats refers to a summary of relevant ideas at the end of a day of discussions at the Centre For Behavioural Art, London in *Artwork as Social Model*, p. 13d.

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