Impact of the conflict on public space and architecture

A Troubles Archive Essay

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arts council of Northern Ireland

Cover Image: Janet Preston - Prayer Flags

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About the Author

Ciaran Mackel has recently founded a new design and research oriented practice – ARD (ciaran mackel) Architects – with offices in Belfast city centre and is currently collaborating with a number of visual arts practitioners on architectural projects. As Senior Lecturer in Architecture at the School of Architecture and Design at University of Ulster he also leads the 'Belfast Laboratory' – the year 2 programme in the Masters of Architecture course.

Ciaran was a founding partner of Mackel + Doherty Architects in 1994 and was president of the Royal Society of Ulster Architects (RSUA) from 2002 -2004. As an architect in private practice he has been involved with, and design architect for, a number of successful award-winning projects. Formerly a partner with McCusker, Power, and Leeson Architects Ciaran has over 25 years experience in the profession.

He is a regular contributor to architectural periodicals including, *Perspective* – the journal of the RSUA – writing reviews, editorials and essays and submitting photographic essays to generate discussion on architecture and urbanism. He has been architect – assessor on a number of architectural competitions in recent years following his role as Northern Ireland Arts Council Lottery panel member; Architectural Policy panel member, and as a Creative Advisor on Architecture and the Built Environment to Imagine Belfast. Ciaran is currently a board member of the RSUA's PLACE project, developed in co-operation with Belfast City Council to provide a city centre venue as an Architecture and Built Environment Centre. Ciaran also serves on the Boards of a number of community and arts organisations including Kabosh Theatre Company, Forbairt Feirste, the Antrim Road Regeneration Committee and FAB, the Forum for an Alternative Belfast.

Impact of the conflict on public space and architecture

Prelude

The conflict in the north of Ireland has undoubtedly had a huge impact on the morphology of towns and cities, and on the use and perception of public space, streets and squares. Road closures in rural cross-border areas have impacted on neighbourliness and on the economic viability of small holdings. The roots of the conflict impacted on the selection of the location of the University of Ulster at Coleraine rather than Derry and on the countryside terminus of the M1 motorway. The outworking of housing and planning policies in Derry are also all crucial areas of study, critique and analysis. This essay will, however, focus on Belfast, the largest urban area in Northern Ireland, as the principal ground of the conflict and as the historical arena for the expression of sectarian conflict even before partition of the island.

Clifton Street Westlink junction

During the period of the conflict the reserve energy needed for imaginative and inspired creative activity may well have been syphoned by the emigration of talented and skilled designers and architects who could not find work at home in the eighties and early nineties, or by the feelings of despondency engendered by the reluctance of investors to build in the city and by the apparent affliction, suffered by many, that we have to wait until something is tried and tested elsewhere, or that the axiom, "that will do us rightly" is a principle of urbanism. "That referral to a 'somewhere else' [...] is the enemy of autonomous quality."[1]

Belfast is a pocket city full of edges, inert voids, question marks, riddles and asterisks, nuts, bolts, and "old time thrupenny bits and stones." [2] (2) What of our place, this place? And, in the context of post-industrialisation which has intensified urban crises in many European cities and where political violence is located "as a surface expression of deeper socio-economic and / or ideological contexts"[3], what impact did thirty years of conflict have on the public space and new architecture of Belfast?

H&W cranes Samson and Goliath 2009

It is a fact that much of the building in the seventies and eighties was social housing. Little public building was evidenced with a few notable exceptions of Liam McCormick's churches and schools by Shanks & Leighton, latterly Shanks, Leighton, Kennedy & Fitzgerald. The Belfast City Council building programme of Leisure Centres did inject investment into several neighbourhood areas though was perceived by many as a Government-funded programme intended to persuade young men, in particular, to refrain from joining the ranks of the IRA or UDA or UVF.[4] The programme unfortunately equated leisure to sport and the buildings offered blank facades, thereby replicating the manifest physical presence of the interface walls on the urban space of the city streets. There were fewer still good quality private sector developments as Thatcher's government policies and limited support for investors established a stifling pattern of economics.

Peace line between Falls and Shankill Areas

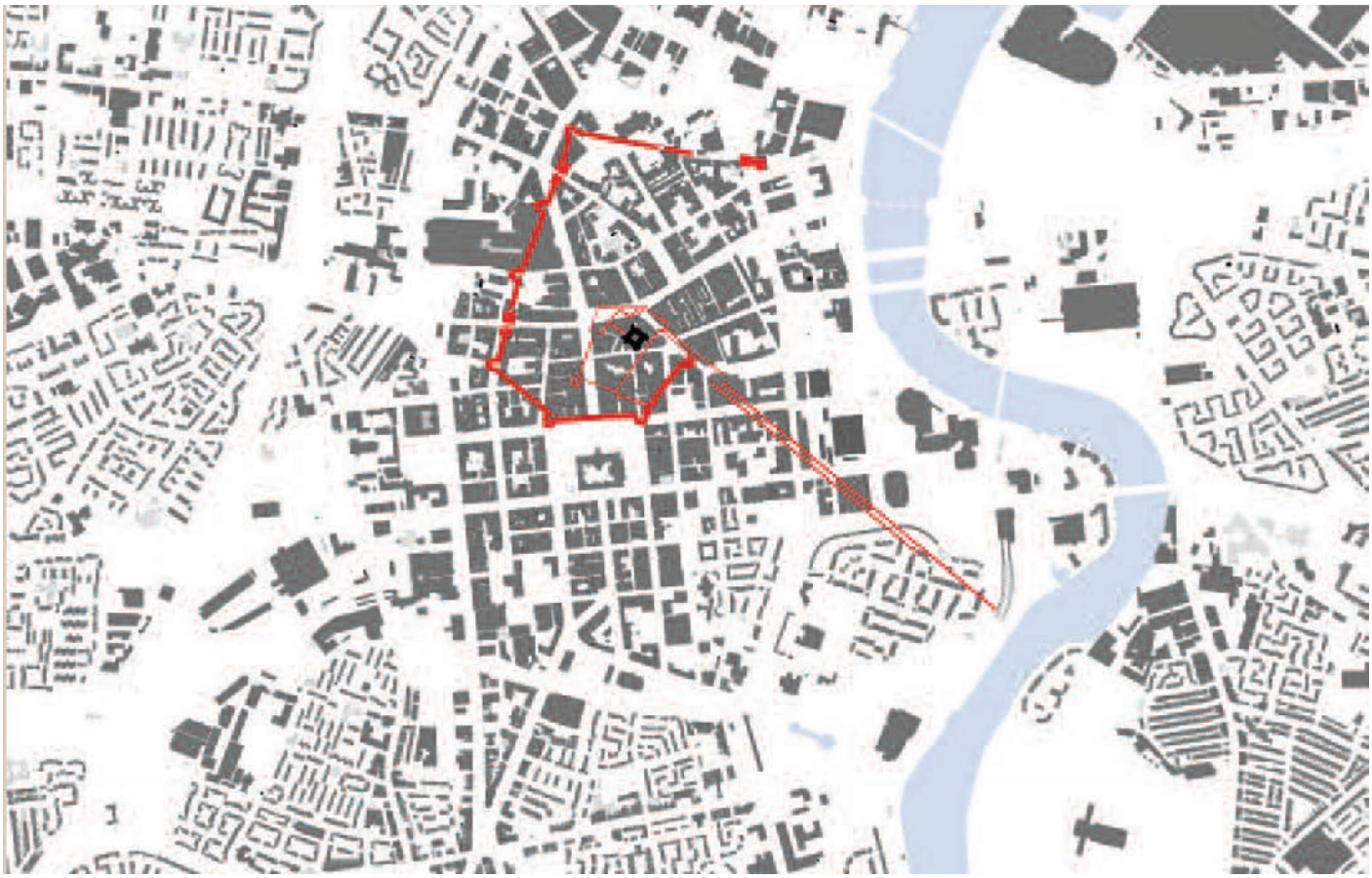
The new social housing provision was a low-rise solution to the problems of both large areas of poor quality housing (generally in inner city areas) and was a built response to our impoverished understanding of limited models of housing typologies of either two-up two-down terraced houses, semi-detached houses or slab and tower block constructions. "There is no good reason why Belfast [...] should imitate or parody accommodation models provided by the south east of England; but it does."[5] Many of the houses built in that new build housing stock replacement programme provide pleasant homes and were built to high technical standards in the brick built aesthetic of the city but many are surrounded by walls and built as defensible spaces which provide little permeability or connection with neighbouring clusters of housing.[6] And large areas of urban clearance still remain as blight in the inner city landscape. The palette of standard house types designed by architects both within and outwith the Northern Ireland Housing Executive have established a suburban solution in areas where a more imaginative, bolder typology and programme might have intensified the social and residential richness of many inner city areas.[7]

David Evans in his essay 'Modern Movement Architecture from 1950 -2005', in the beautiful large format 2006 publication, *Modern Ulster Architecture* celebrates the generation of Robinson McIlwaine, Ferguson & McIlveen, BDP, and Ian Campbell and Partners who were among the leading Belfast-based architects from the late sixties to the early eighties, who are each rewarded in the book by photographs and plans of their key buildings, respectively; the Waterfront Hall, 1992 – 1996; the Folk Life Gallery, Cultra, 1983 and the Government Training centre, Dundonald, 1975; the Northern Bank, Donegall Square, 1970, and the Tollymore Tea House,

1978. Shanks & Leighton, subsequently Shanks, Leighton, Kennedy & Fitzgerald designed emphatic statements of structure as they adopted Louis Sullivan's maxim of "Form following Function" particularly at Victoria College, Belfast, 1972, Portadown New Technical College, 1976 and Model School, Enniskillen, 1976. Their work "shows extraordinary vigour and enthusiasm."[8] Their schools at Fleming Fulton, 1985 and Glenveagh, 1992, and their competition-winning church of Saint Brigid's 1996 - all three projects in Belfast - skilfully matched building and terrain and revealed an interest in a less structuralist place-making agenda in their later work.

The Waterfront Hall, completed in 1996, though designed much earlier in the eighties, has been perceived as a symbol of a confident Belfast. The public realm in which it sits has, though, been the subject of public criticism as the space is compressed by the footprints of more recent buildings with the effect that the public space seeps rather than sweeps across from the commercial core to the river's edge. "Buildings are not only faces but also landscapes. Not only do they consist of facades but also routes ..."[9], the large tall, curved glazed wall of the Hall has the effect of redoubling the space reflecting the image of an event space in the city though now less generous because of recent building.

Liam McCormick's remarkable churches, Saint Michael's, Creeslough, 1971; Saint Conal's, Glenties, 1976 (both in County Donegal) and Our Lady of Lourdes, Steelstown, 1976 celebrated the local context and the indigenous tradition in building. McCormick's work was best in the rural environment and has been an inspiration for generations of architects and architectural students and was the subject of an exquisite publication, *North by Northwest*, in 2008 by Gandon Editions.



Belfast City Centre figure ground map 2009 with superimposed historic ramparts

There was an undoubted feeling of despondency in the building sector throughout the 1970s and '80s. Fear from the commercial bombing campaign and from planning blight and the general lack of spending power resulted in little economic investment by the private sector and those who did invest and build were cautious in their tolerance of architectural licence. Architects responded by a reserved approach and a limited palette in the expression of material quality and developed an expertise in detailing seemingly shaped by a security conscious agenda. Many architects simply ignored the conflict and "got on with the job" as many of those did in the business and professional sectors. Many buildings though reflected the solid expression of the interface walls and security barriers. Public houses were built with no windows affording an external view and twin walls and fences surrounded edge and isolated buildings. Police stations, court houses and security installations were wrapped by

high walls and fences and imaged institutions under siege. Forms followed security necessity rather than the more general following of function which was almost *de rigueur* in the local architectural language and indeed within the teaching of the university's Department of Architecture critique of student project designs. If architectural language or style is an appropriate consideration for the times we certainly copied ours from elsewhere.

Clifton Street looking North towards Carlisle Circus 2009

Did the repeated re-building of many hotels, including the Europa and the Wellington Park Hotel afford us an attitude of a disposable architecture or at least lead us to a diminished belief in the building of permanence? Did the clip-on facadism of post-modernism provide ready and welcome relief to such an unarchitectural position?

Should we have expected a more rigorous approach to the detailing of material junctions and to the proportions of buildings and components? Should the lack of a major public works building programme have provided a fertile ground for entrepreneurial and creative architects wishing to respond to the particularities of place and culture in their regional city?

Pedestrian Bridge from Clonnfaden Street across Westlink to City Centre

The ceasefires of 1994 did, however, provide an impetus for a renewed interest in the built fabric of our cities and towns and the new atmosphere encouraged many who had left these shores to return and to offer their new skills and enthusiasm to prospective investors. Architects returning from London, Dublin, Berlin and Hamburg quickly established their design credentials and also engaged creatively with many of those who remained ploughing what, at times, felt a lonely furrow. "Ulster is a small and somewhat isolated architectural community: self contained and introverted perhaps, but, like a rock pool, it is continually refreshed by incoming tides and new arrivals".[10]

Jones and Brett in their book, *toward an architecture: ulster*, remind us of Adolf Loos' instruction to "pay attention to the forms in which the locals build. For they are the fruits of wisdom." (From *Rules for those Building in the Mountains*)[11] And indeed some respected architects and designers who remained here seeking to learn from our

own place and wishing to hone their craft have now, from tentative beginnings, developed a matured sensitivity to place-making and to appropriate form-making in both the rural place and in the tight weave of the urban grain of Belfast.

The Blackwood Golf Centre, 1994, by leading Dublin architects O'Donnell + Tuomey and the Ormeau Baths Gallery, 1996, by Belfast-based 'twenty two over seven' responded to the uniqueness and specifics of place and embraced the opportunity of more settled times and declared an ambition for quality and architectural rigour.

The excesses of the late 1990s developments of private apartment blocks (at times financially assisted by public investment), some of which were thought would build shared space, seem vacant, vacuous follies for an affluent class that might no longer exist. A culture of public space, in these locations, has suffered at the expense of an engineered belief in privacy and security. Might such developments now be acquired for social and affordable housing and places of public recreation?

Ambiente

In many ways, the conflict and the perceived threat, or fear, of violence, established a language of architecture and a reserved expression of materiality in architecture and building. "The urban violence in transforming the public sphere of urban social life accelerated the post industrial wasteland."[12] Urban violence, lands blighted by planning or roads policy and the deteriorating industrial and manufacturing infrastructure accelerated the deterioration of Belfast's public spaces. We are now beginning to conceive and express a new urbanity in Belfast as we learn to respond in terms of use and occupation of public spaces and streets to the transformation left by the end of the conflict. Our new architecture strives for an expression of material quality and form that has evolved away from the use of glass, for example, as the symbolic representation of openness, transparency and confidence.

The issue of permanence in building or a belief in a more secure environment in which to build also framed a shift in the language of our buildings and architecture. But, as the public face of our cities and towns express a new socio-politico paradigm in which to build, our principal cities and, in particular, Belfast, has a legacy of walls and representations of immutable barriers that evoke our irrevocable past. Re-born Belfast - a regional city and a city for its own sake must address symbolic form and a material narrative in order to transform the public sphere of urban social life: it must take risks to build with material permanence; it must challenge the spatial construct of the interface.[13]

Cavehill 2009

There is a prevailing view that urban design, good city governance and what is now called "new community relations", all depend on a mutual interdependence of city and citizen, each supported by the orthodoxy that "normal civil society implies a foundation of common identity fostered around shared memory and meaning",[14] a legacy of Enlightenment belief perhaps, that "place" could promote happiness. If a good place can promote happiness and improve the quality of the lives of its inhabitants and users and create the space for participative citizenship then is non-place, or the antithesis of place, almost anywhere on the edge of, or removed from, social activity? Are the interface areas - such non-places - requiring of more urgent attention in our regeneration agenda? I believe they are. They are neglected urban areas central to the experience of neighbourhood and community and in many locations are at the very edge of the commercial city core.

Current urban design discussions, in the wake of the Troubles, largely focus on the suburban extent of Belfast, the vitality of the commercial core, and other "signature" districts. The debates ignore equally important issues of a

spatial legacy of the conflict: the historical and manipulated deep-rooted a *priori* relationship between territory, neighbourhood and land. The "inner city" areas were always the "difficult" areas – dimmed places where people died, streets were darkened at nightfall: as those described and explored in fictional narratives of the city. The areas were never considered during the period of the conflict and still fail to appear at the core of the contemporary urban debate. That challenge, I believe, is of crucial importance to how we address the blight and current desolate urban environment in our interface areas which are a huge swathe of potential public realm which have yet to be discussed in the context of city regeneration.

Elevation Study of Upper and Lower Clifton Street

As an expression of a position on "good places" The Academy of Urbanism in England recently published *Learning from Place 1* - a celebration of good cities, good towns, good neighbourhoods, good streets, and good places – an illustrated exemplar of built places which includes essays from a range of voices all exploring place-making.[15] John Thompson, an architect who has undertaken some residential work in Belfast, wrote the foreword, and affirmed that the appropriate and legible ordering of space must enhance the life of both the individual and the community. He throws down a challenging gauntlet to remind us all that "Great places have the power to fire the imagination of their citizens."[16]

Place-making, though, is not only about literally making places but also about "making and growing lives and livelihoods,"[17] about affording people the space to make liveable, pleasurable community. We are only now beginning to understand what such an agenda for intimate and public space might mean in Belfast as an informal public life is explored by cafe culture and by the appropriation of the urban place for formal and informal events. Such a civic life was not experienced through all the years of the conflict and unfortunately remains so for many citizens.

Cultural Context

As "Belfast-people", we proclaim a belief in big ideas: we are accustomed, perhaps even addicted to a big sense of our place in the world. Whatever about the merits of the Titanic "brand" and the siren call for a signature tourism project as an "iconic" building in the city, we fondly nod to the Cavehill that inspired Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* ignoring, in the mainstream discourse, the gathering place of Tone's United Irishmen and in doing so tending to overlook and forget the inspired patronage and philanthropy of our Presbyterian ancestors.[18] We have a Giant's ring; a Giant's foot; a hatchet field; and Samson & Goliath. We once had the biggest rope works and the largest linen production in the world. We now have over 30 ten-metre high interface walls ("peace-walls"), one of which is 1690 metres long. These walls are a potent symbol of identity on which the city relies and yet many of us have never ventured into the shadow space of their sheer physical presence.

A study of Belfast will not help an understanding of all the cities of the world but studying and working at the issues Belfast brings to the fore - severance and connectivity – these are universals to understanding city design. Belfast is in more urgent need than most cities to require critique and perhaps more radical policy and action.[19]

And we are currently in danger of reifying our regional city as a retail-focussed abstraction of place at the expense of the communities and the people.

"For generations Belfast has been viewed in various intellectual and artistic circles as anathema to the creative spirit."[20] Celebrated poet Gerald Dawe, writing for the book *The Cities of Belfast*, here bemoans the fact that what was once a "common civic culture" which underpinned much of the essence of Belfast, has been eroded by the political failure inscribed in the actual physical fabric of the place. "Names map the past like ruins that haunt our present."[21] Certain street names are indeed evocative and emblematic of the map of the city: names that register the image of the city for many people. For visitors to Belfast, and for many of us who live and work in the city, the names of the Shankill and the Falls Roads and their social, historical and political associations and memories feed the imagination of what it means to experience Belfast. The identity of Belfast is that of a city of contrasting ideologies and experiences of quality of life. "The centre-less city [...] has become totally sectionalised; hollowed out into political spheres of influence and control, with some contested and ragged remaining interfaces; literally, twilight zones."[22] The notion of community within an expression of a common civic culture is, at times, squeezed ever more tightly to represent sectoral interests in particular neighbourhood locales as the concept of the local is compressed into intimate territorial frames of view.

Peace line Clifton Park Aveue dwarfing adjacent houses Belfast 2009

Critical theory, however, sharpens a political economy critique that affirms that urban areas and planning cannot be treated as objects of study separated from society and warns us that "... urban form in most towns and cities reflects the dynamic of capitalism and its legacy can be seen in an urban form typified by the declining high-street and the mushrooming of retail sheds on bypasses and ring roads."[23] Such a meta-narrative presents an understanding of, and a mechanism to challenge the exclusivist ethnoscapes of the interface areas and inert voids of the city and potentially act as an effective contribution to building "civic literacy and capacity".[24]

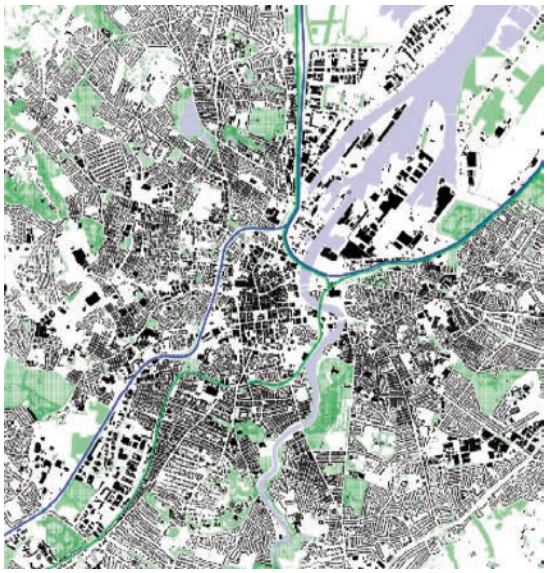


Figure ground map illustrating city parks and green spaces 2009

Pre-1969 Belfast allowed a weft and warp of connectedness. It was possible to travel across the city: it was possible to know the whole city as a place of the kind that Gerald Dawe describes though, for many, not necessarily enjoy the opportunity of employment that the industrial city afforded. The city was unwelcoming to many of its citizens as some neighbourhoods were then as unchartered, insular and exclusivist as those mapped and studied following the violence of 1969 and since the aftermath of interface walls and established "no-go" areas changed the map of the city. The city once had an open grain and easy weave of streets that straddled the neighbourhood divides. During the years of the Troubles, the 1966-1996 conflict, there were people who never left their own neighbourhood to venture the few miles to the city centre. Their needs were met within their own community and the entrance into the city core was fraught with the tension of entering through a security 'ring of steel' with the various body searches and checks that entailed. Paths of connectedness and separation were and still are very clear.

> Few things map out the human drama, distinctiveness and brutality of the Northern Ireland conflict more clearly than territoriality. The failure to agree the use of contested space finds expression in the language of identity, the physical environment and in routine activity patterns of daily life.[25]

Palm House Botanic Gardens

The coloured maps of the city charting the perceived and actual green and orange neighbourhoods, initially identified by security personnel, have been replicated to demonstrate the divisions in Belfast. Such a narrow, generalised and sectarian reading of the place afforded the same security-personnel free access to scrutinise planning applications, thwarting, in at least one instance, residential development along one of the major arterial roads. In Northern Ireland, the state apparatus "... from policing, incarceration, social welfare, and urban planning to public housing, *conceived of* governance in terms of counterinsurgency."[26] Brendan Murtagh in the *Politics of Territory: Policy and Segregation in Northern Ireland* notes how The Belfast Development Office was established to implement urban policy and over time dominated strategic policy-making, key decision-taking and the delivery of major development programmes negotiated with selected interests and highly attractive financial incentives.

The Westlink Motorway looking north from Broadway underpass

The interface walls, the motorways, the provision of "enterprise" zones and urban infill planning strategies have all had drastic and negative impacts on connectivity in Belfast. The Shankill/Falls Wall is the longest standing "peace-wall" in Europe, it is in places 10 metres high. In part it follows the line of the Farset River, from which Belfast gets its name and which supplied the mills for the Linen Industry in the area. The wall is now longer in existence than the Berlin Wall was when it came down in 1989. The void space around the wall is one-fourteenth the size of the commercial city core and the Shankill / Falls Wall is one of more than thirty such interface walls in the city. The interface walls are taller than most of the road frontages on most of the streets of the city including those active retail streets and they create unbearable enclosure ratios and a dismal urban experience. They are the crudest urban signatures, and the identity they portray engenders alienation and reinforces division.

The gaping hole in the city made by the Westlink Motorway has reinforced the linear experience of the city map and severed and further separated whole neighbourhoods and communities of people from each other and from the commercial city core.[27] In the way that the impermeability and solidity of the interface walls have been replicated by high walls and fences as boundaries to many buildings and by solid steel shutters on shop fronts the motorway has carved a deep chasm through huge swathes of the north and west inner city and it is very evident from the figure ground map that such a pattern and character of non-connectedness and the lives of the spaces of the interface and of those who live there have not, to date, been robustly challenged or addressed by policy makers.[28]

The neighbourhood areas blighted by the grotesque "peace walls" may offer the only common areas for social integration (other than the commercial core) where communities with differing religious and cultural backgrounds but with shared social values and circumstances may add to and celebrate the tapestry of a re-born city.

The cease-fires of 1994 were, undoubtedly, a catalyst for change and have afforded a new freedom of access in the city as they were followed by the removal of the ring of steel around the city centre which ironically almost exactly replicated the lines of the seventeenth century earthen ramparts around the then town of Belfast.

The remaining physical barriers of the interface walls and motorway continue to concretize the divisions between communities and between the "working-class" and the commercial city. Many "working class" communities are sited at the city-end of the radial pattern of nine, or so, arterial routes (as they are now commonly called). The Shankill; Falls; Albertbridge; Lisburn, and the Antrim Road along which once lay compact neighbourhoods, or villages now stretch into the city centre in a spiritless mix of, mostly, anti-urban and anti-pedestrian motorways. Along each of these roads and in the labyrinthine spaces between them lie much of Belfast's "Brownfield Sites" – the opportunity sites - and along them lie many of the city's parks and green spaces. All of us residents, business men and women and sectoral interest groups have not yet begun to debate what, fundamentally, the spatial urban design requirements of a community, or of a liveable city, might be. The debate is now required as to how we might determine the future of such opportunity sites in the city and how we might collectively formalise the

mechanisms to broaden the urban engagement. A discussion given added impetus as Belfast endeavours to position itself in a world of competing cities and city regions and a discussion that has only now begun as the issue was of little importance during the period of the conflict.

Bombay Street 2009. Terrace Housing backed up directly to Peace line with secondly protective cage around rear yard of property

Coda

All architecture is inextricably linked to our urban condition. Architect and theorist Bernard Tschumi in *Event Cities*, his seminal 1996 book, declared that "there is no architecture without action or without programme."[29] Dutch architect Aldo van Eyck conjured the beautiful image of the house as a small city and of the city as a large house. Aldo Rossi's description of the city as a construction over time, as a continuum, confirms, for this author, an interdependence of city and citizen and the weaving of buildings, landscape, people and traffic; and Peter Markli's confident claim that nothing in art is comparable to the city, inspires a view of the world and my own personal vision for Belfast enriched by influences of people and place.

The voids in the city – the cavities in the built form – and the built architecture are crucial components of the emerging and changing urban experience of the city. Space as an ingredient of urban design is the creative construct that shapes our experience of architecture and permits participative communication and exchange.[30] Architects, seeking a built expression for a regional identity or simply wanting to build, strive to compete with indiscriminate visual noise in a built environment where large advertising billboards have, in many locations, replaced corner buildings or closed gap sites, particularly along many of the arterial roads.

View of New Lodge Tower Blocks from Cliftonstreet

Architects, and others, in an increasingly engaged discussion on the city are keen to develop praxis in planning and in architecture rather than respond to policies of planning that have, in some instances, been advanced to expand the influence of powerful interests of capital in the shaping of the city. It is increasingly clear that the traditional working class / inner city communities are not sharing the dividend of a rejuvenating city and the planned, built and now empty buffer zones on the edges of many interface areas are now ripe for redevelopment. The concept of the city as a living entity rather than an accepted historic pattern of ownership, association and use might free the agenda for debate and discussion.[31] In many instances the principal instigators of urban design, in the contemporary city, are shopping, entertainment and tourism and the control of key decisions on urban design has passed "to advertising agents, corporate marketing departments, consumer focus groups and demographic profilers."[32]

It is not at all clear that architects have reflected upon or revealed the unique environment of Northern Ireland "on the edge of the UK and on the edge of independent Ireland", or that key moments in our "recent history are evoked in the buildings and townscape".[33] Few have risen to Bernard Tschumi's challenge offered in the 1970s that architects should adopt a position on the development of the city. Patronage and fear of exclusion from consideration for large gain projects has, perhaps, acted as a powerful economic deterrent to architects and others in any campaign for city change or lobby for a particular policy direction.

Artists' collectives such as Factotum and architect / planner collectives such as the Forum for an Alternative Belfast offer a strategy for promoting challenging urban and environmental analyses and advancing critical issues in the city from the studies of other cities and city regions and by offering provocative propositions. Cities such as Bogotá in Colombia, once famous for traffic jams, privatised public spaces and a lack of citizen culture, have been transformed by improving public transport, constructing new public buildings in areas of social deprivation and rescuing public spaces, and such precedents merit analysis and debate.

Architects are well placed to understand the forces and mechanisms that shape the city and are equipped with the skills to articulate a vision for the future. Many are passionate about the city and its people: love its darkness and light; love the lip of hills that hold us cradled in the mouth of flowing waters, and love the direct speech of fellow citizens. They also desire a more socially inclusive policy agenda and seek the intellectual, emotional and physical space within which to make architecture.

Ciaran Mackel

End notes

1. Jones, A. Brett, D. toward an architecture: ulster, building our own authenticity, an enquiry, Black Square Books, Belfast, 2007, p 10

2. Fiacc, Padraic, Odour of Blood, 'The British Connection', the Goldsmith Press, 1973

3. Feldman, A. Formations of Violence: The narrative of the body and political terror in Northern Ireland, University of Chicago Press, Chicago & London, 1991 p19

4. IRA, Irish Republican Army; UDA, Ulster Defence Association; UVF, Ulster Volunteer Force

5. Op cit, Jones, A, p8

6. Much of the social housing conceived and built in the late 1970s and 1980s attempted to replicate the images of the 'Woonerf' housing in the Netherlands and the Essex Design Guide for Residential Areas, and others, which proffered visual criteria and checklists for the making of a new picturesque and pictorial urbanism. The published case studies and built examples of these layouts and building details and the local Roads Service policy on 'shared-streets' and housing courtyards led to what became an almost blanket adaption of cul-de-sac developments which seemed to, at the time, satisfy both the security led agenda for control and management of inner-city areas and the community agenda for the provision of safe (defensible) communities.

7. During the period of residential developments in the late seventies, eighties and the early nineties the Northern Ireland Housing Executive was only permitted to build dwellings. It has only been in recent years that a more flexible approach to other facilities and to joint developments has been considered in urban

redevelopment for social housing.

8. Modern Ulster Architecture: Ulster Modernism: an outside view, UAHS, Rattray, Charles, Belfast, 2006, p 22

9. Truby, Stephan, Exit-Architecture: Design betweenWar and peace, Springer-Verlag, Vienna, 2008, p 24

10. Modern Ulster Architecture: Modern Movement Architecture, Evans, David, UAHS, Belfast, 2006, p 22.

11. Op cit, Jones, A, p10

12. Feldman, A. Formations of Violence: The narrative of the body and political terror in Northern Ireland, University of Chicago Press, Chicago & London, 1991, p16

13. In the context of Belfast the 'interface' or interface areas are the territories in the shadows of the 'peace-walls': the tall security walls and barriers which divide sections of the community from each other and, in many instances, from services and facilities.

14. Gaffikin, F. Sterrett, K. McEldowney, M. Morrissey, M. Hardy, M. Planning Shared Space for a Shared Future: A Research Report for Community Relations Council, QUB, Belfast, 2008, p 66

15. *'Without it [place-making], the life of the individual is blighted, the life of the community is stillborn and the future of the planet is jeopardised. With it, people can find expression for their own creativity, communities can develop their own vision and leadership and the planet can be secured for the enjoyment of future generations.'* Learning from Place 1: Foreword, Thompson, John, RIBA Publishing, London, 2007, p5

16. ibid, p5

17. Learning from Place 1: Places, Chaplin, Sarah, RIBA Publishing, London, 2007, p109

18. Presbyterians such as the industrialist Robert MacAdam, and others, used their time and money to care for the preservation of the manuscripts of a rich heritage of music and verse and earnestly and diligently worked for the preservation and promotion of Ulster's Gaelic language – MacAdam's unpublished dictionary remains at Q.U.B. The legacy of such work belongs to all in the city of Belfast and throughout Ulster and is still represented in place names, street names, districts and townlands.

19. The commercial bombing campaign of the 1970s did result in the demolition of many buildings and led to the re-shaping of streets but the policy framework perhaps caused as much damage to the built fabric of the city and continues to determine the map of the city. Policy and political decision making planted the Castlecourt shopping complex in a once designated Conservation area; policy determined buffer zones of economic / entreprise zones preventing the discussion of housing expansion for one community and limiting the sense of fear in another and Comprehensive Development Areas defined by arbitrary boundaries for low-grade business units are already 10 years past their review timetable. Policy determined the detail of the urban motorways. Policy continues to determine retail-led regeneration in the city commercial core and policy determines where the money goes.

20. Allen, N. Kelly, A, The Cities of Belfast: The revenges of the heart: Belfast and the poetics of space, Dawe, Gerald, Four Courts Press, Dublin, Dublin, p 204

21. ibid, p210

22. ibid, p199

23. Allmendinger, P. Planning Theory, Palgrove, Hampshire, 2002, p76

24. Op cit, Gaffikin, F. p v

25. Murtagh, B. The Politics of Territory: Policy and Segregation in Northern Ireland, Palgrave, Hampshire, 2002, p3

26. Op cit, Feldman, A. P86

27. The Belfast Urban Motorway was the name given to an ambitious scheme to build a continuous free-flow motorway around the city centre. The motorway was planned in the 1960s as part of the then European wide policy of major inner city roads and motorways that cut swathes through cities from Glasgow to Barcelona. Announced in 1964 but never built, the scheme would have had free-flow links to four motorways (M1, M2, M3, and M4) which would themselves link to the rest of the planned motorway network. Eventually a much reduced version of the plan was built as the A12Westlink and opened 1981-83.

    The scheme did not begin as proposed in 1969 due to a high degree of public opposition and increasing worries about available finance. This all coincided with the most violent years of the conflict and due to intense 'disorder' in the west of the city repeated attempts to begin phase 1 of the motorway works had to be abandoned. 1973 –the year of the world Oil Crisis funding was re-appropriated to finance security and policing. This new climate led, in 1975, to a full scale review of the 1969 Transportation Strategy. It reported in 1976 and was itself the object of a public inquiry extending into 1978. Its recommendations were to abandon virtually the entire scheme except for phase 1, which was downgraded to a 2-lane dual-carriageway with two grade-separated junctions, two at-grade roundabouts and one at-grade traffic light controlled junction. This became the A12Westlink which opened in two stages in 1981 (M1 to Grosvenor Road) and 1983 (Grosvenor Road to M2). The M3, M4 and M7 plans were all abandoned in the mid 1970s.

28. Former members of the paramilitary Ulster Defence Association have recounted to the author how they regret that they and the Irish Republican Army did not co-operate to use physical force to prevent the destruction of inner city community residential areas and stop the building of the Westlink motorway.

29. Tschumi, B. Event Cities, MIT Press, Massachusetts, 1996, p 11

30. Community capacity building and participative consultation processes, if they are to have any real meaning, must find a language and facilitate a vision that expresses a collective sense of belonging and identity and which will allow people to be comfortable in making contributions or comments to possible spatial arrangements and innovative structures and building programmes.

31. Op cit, Gaffikin, F. p ix

32. AA Files 57 2008, The Extremes of Spatial Experience, Schwarzer, Mitchell, p72

33. Charles Rattray poses these questions in his essay in Modern Ulster Architecture, p41.

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