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A collaborative group of architects, urbanists and artists helps citizens to initiate projects that would be impossible within the development mechanisms that shape the public spaces of Belfast.

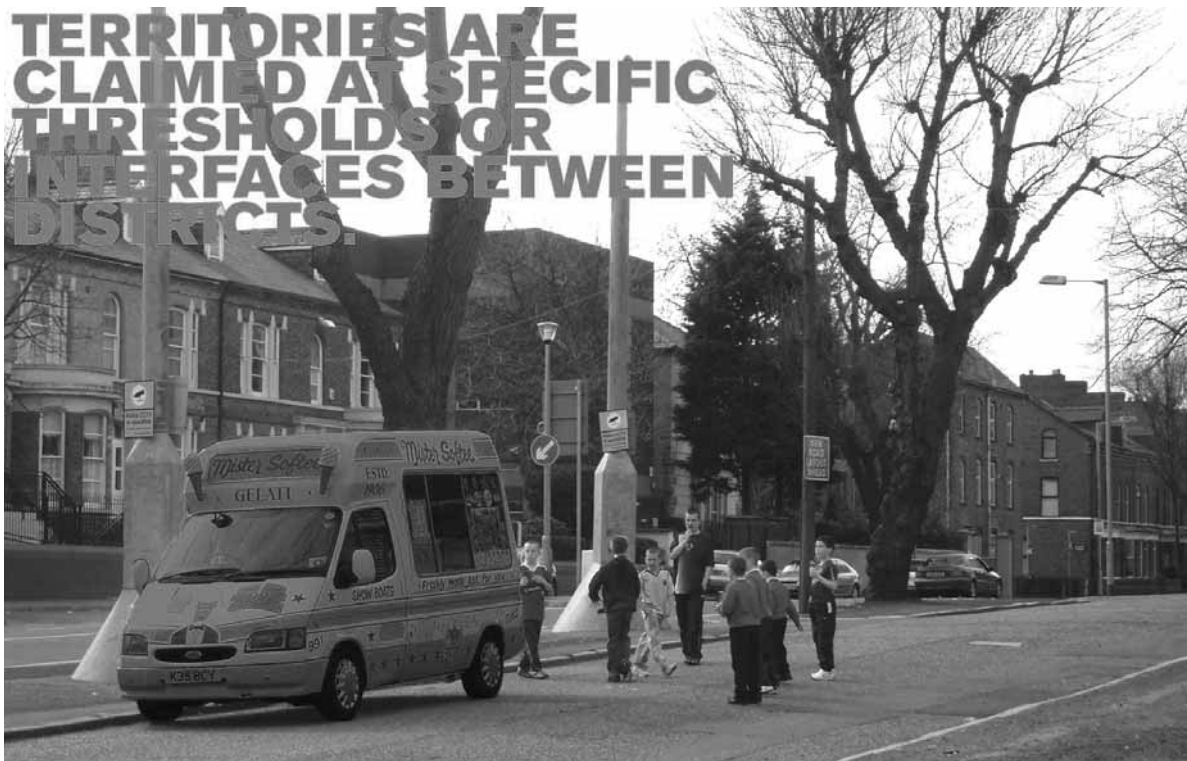
'Building Initiative' in Belfast

Dougal Sheridan

'Building Initiative' is both the name adopted by a collaborative group of architects, urbanists and artists, and also the term they use to describe the 'mode of agency' chosen to inform and realise citizen-led urban regeneration in Belfast [1]. The necessity and forms of this praxis evolved in response to the city's spatial, social and policy environment, and the inability of conventional mechanisms of architectural practice to engage adequately with this context. Building Initiative explored and pursued specific modes of agency, which it termed 'initiatives', within a variety of sectors including architectural, planning, educational, academic and media, and at a range of scales from local to international. This created the opportunity to work with a diversity of partner organisations and to develop a correspondingly wide range of strategies. We will look briefly at the context of Belfast and Building Initiative's response to it,

focusing specifically on the methods of working that were developed, before concentrating on one project to illustrate these methodologies and processes in application.

The impact and legacy of the civil conflict remains one of the most pervasive issues affecting the urban life and physical environment of Belfast. Belfast is still a city of polarised territories. This condition has manifested itself in both the built form of the city, with the segregation of the two communities being reinforced through the distributions of infrastructure and land use, and in the absence of public debate and negotiation in relation to the city's development. A whole range of environmental issues affecting both communities has remained neglected and civil conflict has left the province with a legacy of highly centralised and locally unaccountable structures of government. The construction industry has taken advantage of both conditions by leading the way with



1 Staged event on an interface or no-man's land or contested territory between two communities. The ice-cream truck was used to suggest a strategy of temporary non-threatening intervention into these spaces

generic commercial developments indifferent to local social, spatial and environmental contexts [2].

Cities can be understood as the sites where citizens benefit from the pooling and sharing of resources in the form of spaces, buildings and services. However, the erosion of these processes can be observed in Belfast. Examples include: the closure of cross-community facilities because they occupy valuable city centre land; techniques of separation including not only physical walls but also large-scale infrastructure like motorways; planning decisions to create cul-de-sacs and gated office parks. The impact of this is evident when the pre-conflict road network is compared with today's much less permeable one. Removing the 'peace wall' may happen with time, but it is not clear how these streets could ever be reconnected. These techniques

in effect use the built environment for what has been described as the 'construction of emptiness in the city'.

In response to this environment, Building Initiative members came together with the shared aim of opening up paths of initiative for civil enterprise to resume its formative role in the built environment in Northern Ireland. 'Civil enterprise' was interpreted as economic, social and political

- 2

The original permeable urban fabric of terraces (a) was substituted by impermeable cul-de-sac estate layouts (b). In this attempt to create 'defensible spaces', not only is
- the entrenchment of the two communities reinforced, but each community is fragmented within itself. The 'peace wall' is indicated here by the grey line
- 3

Yellow Space exhibition at Belfast Exposed, May/June 2006
- 4, 5

Yellow Objects being used to stage a communicative action and distribute the *Yellow Press*



2a



2b



3

development that creates diverse, accessible, integrated places. Exhibition, publication, web page, and a series of events were identified as the most effective modes of agency for pursuing this agenda and funding was secured from the Arts Council of Northern Ireland in partnership with the newly established Architecture Department at the University of Ulster where some members of Building Initiative are based.

Yellow space

The concept of 'yellow space' was developed as a metaphor for shared social space within the public domain, both as a response to the deficit of these spaces in Belfast and as a strategy to make these issues evident and communicable to a wide range of publics. Due to the diversity of sectors, scales and strategies of working, the colour yellow was a useful device to make outputs recognisable and consistent –



4



5



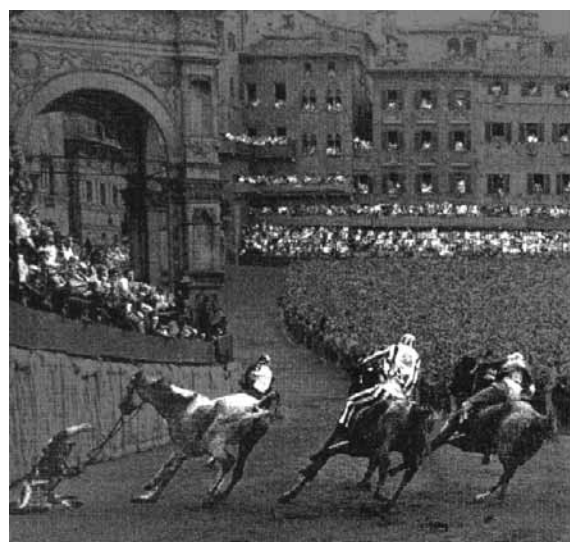
6a



6b



7



8

6 YellowPress: 12,000 free copies were distributed throughout Belfast, commenting on existing context and potential regeneration strategies within the city

7, 8 Case studies of the Sculpture Park and Palio in Siena in Budapest
9, 10 Bonfire structure displays attention to detail of construction and to the choreography of how it burns

11 Image constructed for the media of bonfire located in existing recycling centre

12 Model of bonfire recycling centre constructed from recycled materials

in particular when utilising the media, where the colour's graphic qualities reinforced a sometimes polemic tone:

All around the world the colour Yellow is used as a sign for things that are particularly useful and for things it has been agreed to share. Yellow is the colour of consensus, utility, and access. If the colour white can be thought to represent the 'passive' neutrality of surrender, the colour Yellow stands for what might be called 'active neutrality' – a common ground created through usefulness. In this city where colour is loaded with meaning – Red, Orange, Green, Blue – could the colour Yellow provide a new perspective.

This loading of meaning in relation to Red, Orange, Green and Blue refers to the use of these colours to mark sectarian territory – with flags, painted

kerbstones, murals etc. The intention of the Yellow Space project was to utilise and subvert this semiotic colour sensitivity by using yellow to highlight a third space, the shared social space of the city. Reference was also made to the common use of yellow to highlight shared objects and public goods and utilities:

... yellow taxi, yellow pages, yellow traffic sign, yellow phone box, yellow dumper truck, yellow post box, yellow traffic cone, yellow reflective work gear, double yellow lines, yellow subway train, yellow bus, yellow box road marking, yellow skip, yellow number plate, yellow reflector, yellow crane, yellow post-it ...³

The methodology of the project was to take precedents from other cities – policy exemplars, models of procurement and prototypes of

construction – and to examine their appropriateness and applicability for Belfast. These case studies from other contexts were in many cases examples of citizens themselves taking the initiative, through social, cultural and economic work across the boundaries of identity, income and ethnicity. These projects included processes of securing public spaces for universal use, opening up information technologies for wider access, providing different types of building responses to different needs, and decommissioning and recycling ideological symbols and spaces.⁴ These case studies were presented in the form of an exhibition and publication, and a series of workshops with specific groups [3].

These case studies and workshops stimulated two modes of action: instrumental action, through the 'yellow initiatives', and communicative action, through 'yellow objects'. The yellow objects were used to demonstrate in a practical and everyday way that citizens can take initiative in appropriating and determining their environment. They took the form of mobile multi-purpose news-stands which also unfold to form seating and tables, offering the possibility of temporarily claiming an urban space [4, 5]. These yellow objects were used for distributing the *Yellow Press*, a free newspaper, which Building Initiative published and edited and which offered a critical interpretation of Belfast and its current developments [6].

The yellow initiatives were usually developed in collaboration or discussion with local partner groups or organisations, and ranged in scope from educational and advocacy projects to environmental

improvement strategies, and from specific building projects to campaigns challenging city planning policies. Examples include responding to Department of Social Development masterplans by the preparation and publication of alternative plans, submissions to the Northern Ireland Policy on Architecture and the Built Environment consultation process, architecture student projects to support and document existing shared but undervalued public spaces, workshops for young people in sheltered accommodation to improve their shared environment, and studies to create alternative economic development models for mixed-use incremental building on 'infill sites' in Belfast's city centre.

'Re-imagining' rituals

One of these initiatives, which I will briefly describe to illustrate the working methodology, dealt with the phenomenon of Belfast's bonfires. These enormous and controversial urban fires, which for the Unionist community are principally used to celebrate the victory of the Protestant forces of William of Orange at the Battle of the Boyne on 12 July, display an element of community as a social/cultural event, but also contain the element of danger, and sectarian and environmental threat.⁵ This initiative dealt with the dominance of public space by sectarian representations within the context of the poor quality of public space outside central Belfast, and efforts by the city council to address the environmental issues associated with bonfires. The initiative aimed to reassess the social



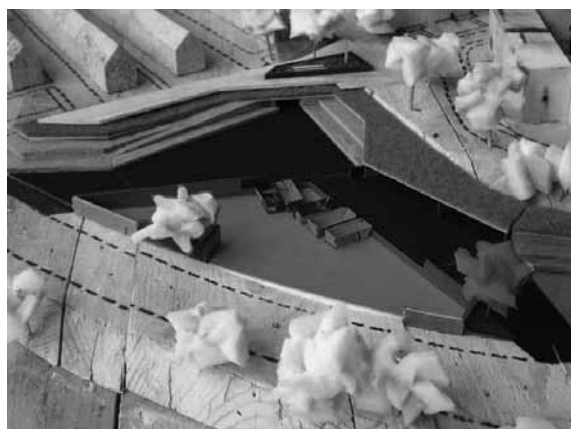
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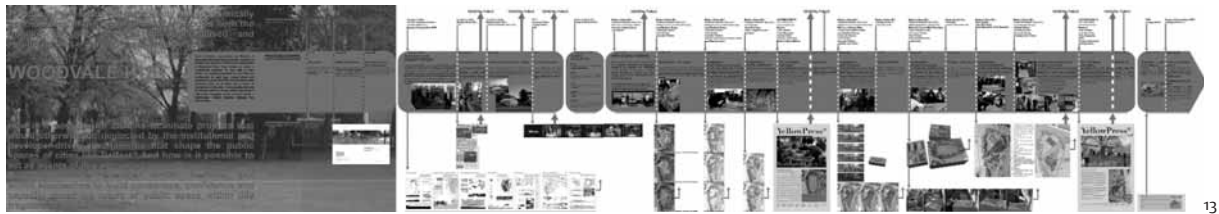
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12



13



value of the bonfire and reinterpret and re-imagine the bonfire in a new progressive form.

As with most of the initiatives, case studies of alternative social, environmental and architectural projects from other cities were examined. In this case, examples were sought of how other cities have transformed and incorporated unusual events, or challenged historical baggage, into their physical and cultural landscape. One such example is the Sculpture Park in Budapest, where the negatively perceived iconography of the Cold War regime was decommissioned and a public sculpture park created, allowing an alternative, more personal interpretation of these cultural fragments [7].⁶ A second case study examined the Palio, the horse race around the urban square in Siena, which plays out the tensions of the city's competing and highly territorial communities.⁷ In this dangerous event the participants' safety and issues of animal rights have been negotiated and balanced against the cultural spectacle and tradition [8].

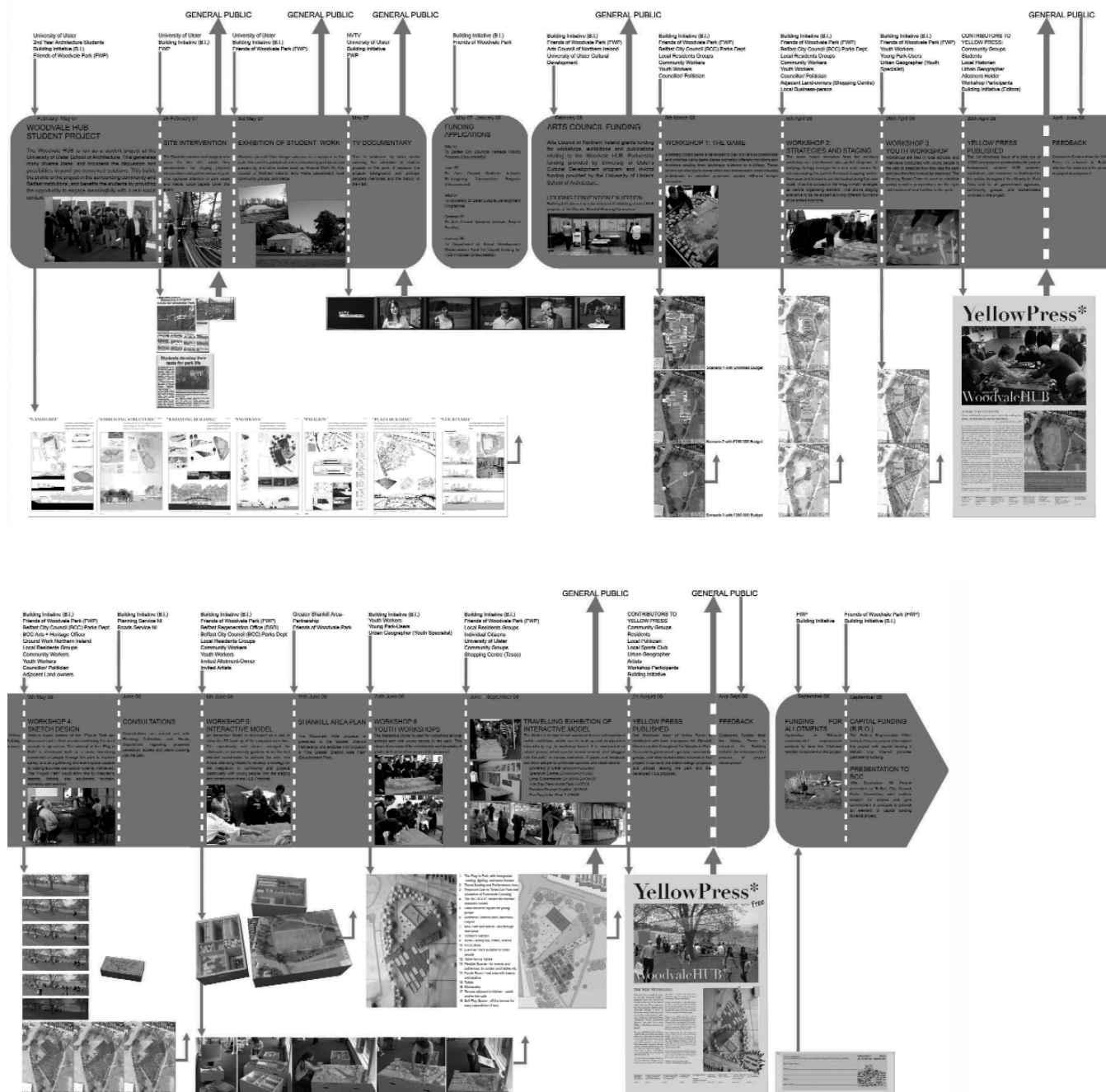
In the case of Belfast's Bonfire Night the primary issues and activities involved in the preparation of these bonfires are environmental, i.e. the perceived dumping of waste and burning of toxic materials. However, this gathering, storing and organising of materials can be a quite involved and coordinated process. Similarities were observed to the process of gathering and sorting materials that occurs in Belfast's newly built recycling centres. In fact both the bonfire site and recycling centres can be active social spaces, although bonfires tended to be located

in temporarily appropriated waste ground [9, 10].⁸

Therefore the question was posed: could these programmes be combined to create a 'utility-event' space unique to Belfast? A proposal was developed for combining the programme of recycling centre with the creation of a space that could host a variety of outdoor activities – including car boot sales, workshops, outdoor performance – and, of course, could also be used for a bonfire [11]. Not only would this alleviate the environmental issue but it would dilute the sectarian element of the event by hosting it in a managed public space, trading sectarian symbolism for cultural recognition. This proposal became the basis of workshops held with environmental agencies, city authorities, artists and community representatives. Looking at one particular site, a large model was made of the proposed 'Bonfire Recycling Centre' as a way of making the idea more accessible. The model was constructed using scrap materials and timber pallets associated with bonfires to emphasise the recycling idea [12].

Although this initiative was polemic in nature, it has paralleled and influenced change within the city authorities' approach to the bonfire phenomenon. For example, Belfast Council now runs a 'Best Kept Bonfire' competition, and recently launched a pilot project to address accessibility and safety issues around bonfires. More controlled bonfires in the form of beacons are now officially supported in public parks on condition of the removal of any sectarian imagery.

13 Graphic representation of the interrelationships, sequence and processes involved in the initiation and development of the Woodvale HUB proposal



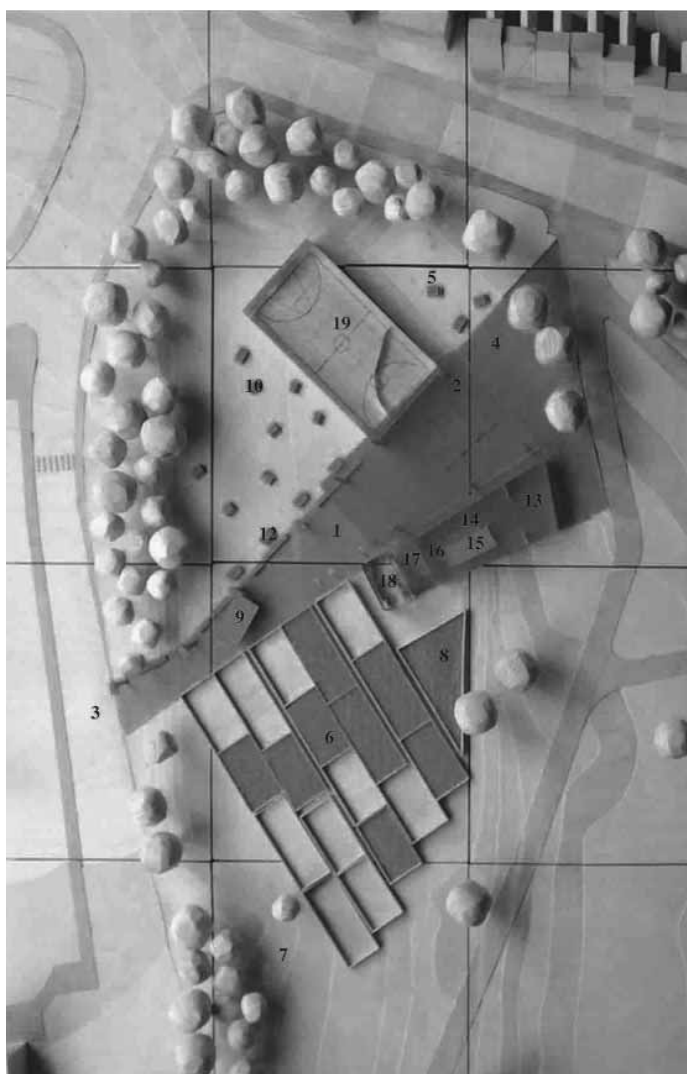
Woodvale HUB

Initiatives like this, and their dissemination through exhibition and communicative actions, resulted in Building Initiative being approached directly by citizens' groups wishing to initiate projects to create and improve their own local, underutilised and negatively perceived public spaces. One such example was Woodvale Park, which is located in the socially and economically deprived area of the Upper Shankill in west Belfast.

Local residents had developed the idea of a multi-use building in the park that would, in their own words, 'make the park equally welcoming to users including those traditionally at odds (e.g. young adults and pensioners, racial minorities and long-term white residents, etc., all of whom feel a sense of "ownership" of the place)'. The proposed site was a disused cinder pitch in a corner of the park beside a high-traffic shopping centre and adjacent to a traditionally volatile interface

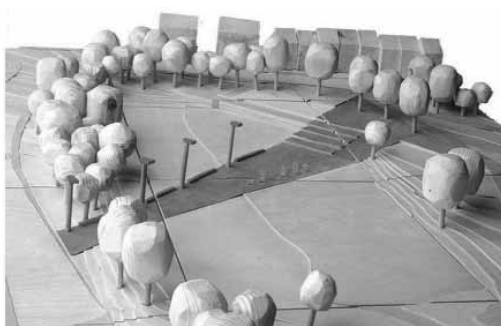


	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
7	Total Area Allobays	8000	Capital Value / Tls	Mgmt/year Value / Tls	A	£ 1,154,000	£ 28,800					
8	All types tile		1,690,000	230								
9						Tiles	Tech	Spec	Capital Cost	Mgmt Cost		
10	HUB only TILE											
11	Wagon Building - Core	£ 75,000	- £ 13,000						£ 75,000	- £ 13,000		
12	Wagon Building - Outdoor = MUGA	£ 25,000	£ 1,500						£ 200,000	£ 13,000		
13	Wagon Building - Gymnastic Space	£ 35,000	£ 5,000						£ 35,000	£ 5,000		
14	Wagon Building - Bowler's Seating	£ 25,000	£ 5,000						£ 110,000	£ 10,000		
15	Wagon Building - Soft-play Area	£ 25,000	£ 5,000						£ 250,000	£ 5,000		
16	Wagon Building - Late-After School	£ 25,000	- £ 12,000						£ 240,000	- £ 48,000		
17	Wagon Building - Last-After School	£ 60,000	- £ 12,000						£ 0	£ 0		
18	Wagon Building - Workshop	£ 35,000	£ 5,000			3			£ 105,000	£ 5,000		
19												
20	HUB and/or PARK TILES											
21	PAINT LAMINATE GRASS											
22	Uppergate Grass	£ 1,000	£ 100			20			£ 20,000	£ 2,000		
23	Uppergate Learning Garden	£ 5,000	£ 1,000			30			£ 150,000	£ 30,000		
24	Uppergate Eastwood	£ 1,000	£ 100			20			£ 20,000	£ 400		
25	Uppergate Trees	£ 10,000	£ 100			8			£ 50,000	£ 5,000		
26	Uppergate Learning Garden, Allotment	£ 5,000	£ 200			20			£ 25,000	£ 1,000		
27	Uppergate Wild Area	£ 1,000	£ 2,000			10			£ 6,000	£ 0		
28	Uppergate Main Road Link	£ 5,000	£ 1,000			10			£ 0	£ 0		
29	HAED LAMINATE GRASS											
30	Uppergate Grass + Path	£ 10,000	£ 100			10			£ 20,000	£ 1,000		
31	Uppergate Paving	£ 5,000	£ 100			10			£ 50,000	£ 1,000		
32	Uppergate Deck	£ 5,000	£ 100			10			£ 15,000	£ 500		
33	Uppergate Skittaboard Park	£ 10,000	£ 100			10			£ 10,000	£ 1,000		
34	Uppergate Market	£ 5,000	£ 100			2			£ 10,000	£ 1,000		
35	Uppergate Water Feature	£ 20,000	£ 1,000						£ 0	£ 0		
36												
37	SECURITY											
38	Uppergate Grass with Fence	£ 2,000	£ 100						£ 0	£ 0		
39	Uppergate Grass with Fence + Gate	£ 3,000	£ 100			1			£ 3,000	£ 100		



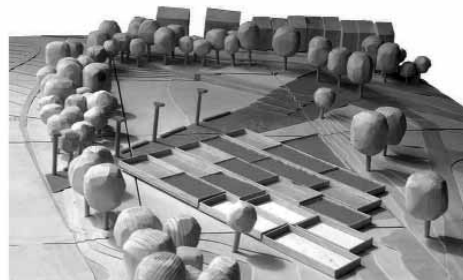
- 1 The plug-in path, with integrated seating, lighting and water feature
- 2 Tiered seating and performance area
- 3 Proposed gate to Tesco car park and relocation of pedestrian crossing
- 4 The BIG ROOF – shelter for cinema/concerts/events
- 5 Small shelters/squats for young people
- 6 Allotment gardens and scarecrow project
- 7 New path and nature trail through wild area
- 8 Toddler's garden
- 9 Kiosk – selling tea, coffee and snacks
- 10 Picnic area
- 11 Exercise track suitable for older people
- 12 Table-tennis tables
- 13 Flexible spaces – for events and gatherings, to contain pool tables etc
- 14 Family room – wet area with basins and seating
- 15 Toilets
- 16 Kitchenette
- 17 Terrace adjacent to kitchen – could evolve into cafe
- 18 Soft play space – off the terrace for easy supervision of very young children

1



HUB Build-Up: The Plug-In Path

2



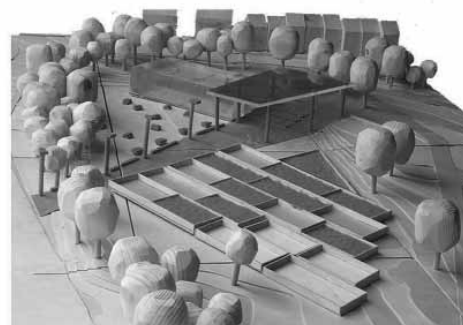
+ Allotments and Toddlers Garden

3



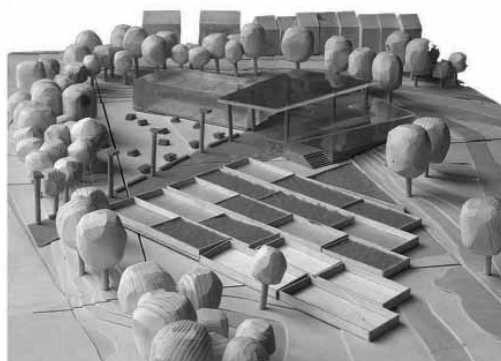
+ The Big Roof

4



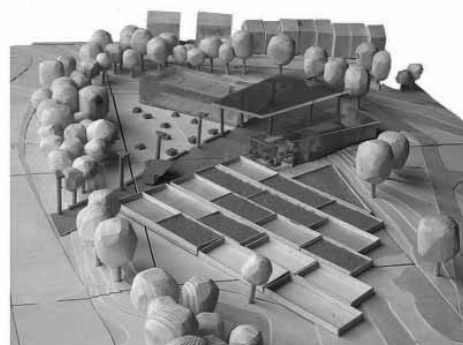
+ Picnic, Table Tennis, Sports Pitch

5



+ Flexible Building, WCs, Kitchen, etc

6



+ Kiosk, Soft-Play Space

16

¹⁴ A board game was used to test the location and types of programmatic intervention into the park. Players took turns placing pieces representing different conditions

and functions ranging from landscape surfaces to building types on different locations in the site and each piece was given a construction and maintenance cost

¹⁵ Plan view, Woodvale HUB model

¹⁶ Excerpt from *Yellow Press* depicting incremental build-up of programmes around the 'Plug-in Path'

between Catholic and Protestant communities. The location of this area within the park was strategic due to the fact that both communities were already sharing the generic commercial space of the adjacent shopping centre and its car park. This suggested the possibility that any intervention could draw people from these spaces into the park, particularly through a programmatic intervention like a café, which was not provided in the shopping centre.

The lack of action from the City Council's Parks Department, despite ongoing campaigning and lobbying by local residents, raised the questions, 'How is it possible for citizens to initiate projects that would otherwise not be realised within the

institutional and developer-driven mechanisms that shape the public spaces of cities like Belfast? And how can professionals and academics in the fields related to the built environment act as agents of this alternative action?'

The post-conflict social context of areas like Woodvale Park displays the increasing desire of people to get out of their domestic confines and into the public realm – as evidenced by increasing numbers of park users. But this is coupled with a legacy of fragmented social spheres and a pervading lack of confidence in authorities. Furthermore the polarised thinking that grew out of the civil conflict is reflected in equally polarised perceptions of acceptable and unacceptable behaviour in the public realm. For example, 'anti-social behaviour' was perceived as the major problem in the park for which young people were held largely responsible. It was apparent that although young children were catered for with play equipment, and adults with bowling greens and walkways, there was no real provision for the twelve to twenty-five year-old age group. When they did appropriate their own spaces,

for example gathering under the bandstand or simply being in the park outside its limited opening hours, this was viewed as 'anti-social behaviour' even when alcohol or drugs were not involved. It was hoped that questioning and discussing these perceptions with all parties and age groups could lead to a less defined idea of public space which, like this forum of discussion, was a place of negotiation and dialogue where acceptable behaviour was relative to the context of each situation.

It was therefore necessary to develop active approaches and methods to build consensus, confidence and capacity within this fragmented social context. This involved establishing and facilitating a forum of discussion and negotiation with local residents including young people, city authorities, local business and other stakeholders. The micro-politics of this process were reflected in the eventual proposal, which likewise resulted in a design strategy where social, cultural and economic spheres overlap. This journey is described in the graphic representation [13] showing the sequence and interrelationships of participants, processes and events, the tools used and the outcomes.

From initial discussions with these groups a brief was developed for a 'Hybrid-Use Building', or HUB, containing flexible indoor and semi-outdoor spaces for sporting, recreational and cultural activities relating to both the park and surrounding area. While remaining quite open and aspirational, the brief was sufficient for the project to be run as a student design project at the University of Ulster School of Architecture. This exercise generated many diverse ideas, and broadened the discussion and possibilities beyond the preconceived solutions of residents and stakeholders. It also built the profile of the project in the surrounding community and Belfast institutions, as well as providing the students with the beneficial opportunity to engage meaningfully with a real social context.

During the course of this project, students created temporary site interventions and performances in the park, to investigate and communicate programmatic and siting strategies. They also presented their final projects as an exhibition in a marquee erected by local residents. These events captured the attention of park users, and were advertised too, allowing local authorities and other interested parties to attend and participate in the critique of the student work. It was also possible to use these events to focus media attention on the project, with local newspapers covering the events, and a television documentary combining interviews with local people, historians and students to portray people's memories and the history of the Park, and to communicate proposals and ideas for its improvement.

This public interest provided a foundation to successfully secure funding from the Arts Council of Northern Ireland to 'use the Art form of Architecture through the participatory practices of workshop, publication, and exhibition to raise public awareness of the benefits of good design of the built environment and to stimulate public interest, debate

and involvement in the design process.' A key aim of the Arts Council is to further the public's understanding of architecture and the Woodvale HUB was seen as a 'live project', whereby the public would learn about architecture by participating directly in the brief making, design and communication processes. As a starting point to the design process, Building Initiative developed the 'Woodvale HUB Board Game' as a tool to allow stakeholders to participate in the structural stages of planning, creative thinking and representation. Game pieces were produced to represent different conditions and functions ranging from landscape surfaces to buildings, each with corresponding construction and maintenance costs, thus allowing participants to prioritise proposals against different budget scenarios [14].

Members of the public not directly involved in the workshops and events had the opportunity to follow the design process and outcomes through the use of accessible exhibition and publication material, which incorporated feedback mechanisms. Key to this was selecting media appropriate to the social context. The strategy was to tap into the tradition of small local newspapers that exists in Belfast, specifically in more deprived areas where access to and fluency with digital media is limited, particularly among the older generation. This accessible and inexpensive medium also had extensive distribution networks that could be utilised, and the unprecious, unpretentious format of these papers was well suited to presenting architectural proposals in a manner that readily invited comment or opinion. Reading these papers is often quite a public activity that accompanies and sustains discussion in the eateries, shops and bars of the area. Two issues of the *Yellow Press*, each with a print run of 10,000, not only summarised the project background, workshops and outcomes, but also included articles from local residents and interest groups.⁹ In addition to its public distribution throughout the Woodvale Park area, the *Yellow Press* was also sent to government agencies and other specific stakeholders.

Another tool developed both to enable participation and to act as a communication device was an interactive mobile model. This travelled to the park and various venues including local schools and community centres where it was the focus of workshops. These workshops involved the participants unpacking and assembling the model of the park, which was constructed of robust timber pieces that could be moved around and 'plugged in' to create various scenarios. The model's design and construction also allowed it to function as a self-contained mobile exhibition that was shown in various locations including shopfront windows, foyers of public buildings and most successfully in the entrance to the shopping centre adjacent to the park. In this location it was exposed to an enormous volume and cross section of the public, who readily engaged with the model, perhaps partly as a result of their stimulated visual condition when engaged in the activity of shopping! With a comments-slot and

writing materials integrated into it, the model became a receptacle and archive of people's thoughts and comments.

The micro-politics of this participatory process, of engaging the social, cultural and economic spheres that form public space, was reflected in the eventual outcome. The proposal that emerged was called the 'Plug-in Path', a strategy which allows these spheres to overlap and reconfigure themselves according to changing needs. The Plug-in Path would provide a new route connecting the park with the adjacent shopping centre, increasing the movement of people through this cut off corner of the park and thereby improving the feeling of safety. The path would be a programmed surface containing lighting, tiered seating, electricity and water supplies. Events organisers and participants could plug in to these services to support activities like outdoor cinema, concerts, markets, and the already existing series of 'fun days' and festivals.

Therefore rather than a formal architectural proposal the outcome was a strategy to allow the incremental development of a set of programmes which had been identified, negotiated, located and set in an order of priority. These elements included community gardens, a kiosk that could move between different locations on the path, and a large translucent roof over the tiered seating area that would create a space where young people could gather and where outdoor cinema and performance could occur. This area would also overlook a multi-purpose games area which could be added next, followed by a semi-enclosed toddlers' play space and finally a pavilion containing flexible gathering and meeting spaces [15].

This strategic programmatic staging plan could adapt and reconfigure itself around the organising principle of the Plug-in Path, which would be the unifying surface, shared by all age groups and park users. This incremental strategy was also a response to the likelihood that funding would need to be sought from different sources for the various programmatic elements and therefore become available at different times. In addition, such a

temporal strategy allows trust in the project to develop gradually and for it to adapt and respond to changing social dynamics [16]. For example the first step is likely to be the community garden with an integrated art project developed by an artist who participated in the workshop process.¹⁰ This will involve young local people constructing scarecrows, based on images of themselves, to protect the community garden. In this role reversal those perceived to be the source of vandalism would become the symbolic guardians of the gardens.

Although the participants had originally proposed a 'building' containing facilities that would aim to address the park's inadequacies and social problems, it clearly emerged through the process that a landscape strategy was more appropriate and could 'activate the space without the weighty apparatus of traditional space-making'.¹¹ The decision to work with the condition of uncertainty rather than resisting it resulted in a strategy of deliberate programmatic indeterminacy allowing the proposal to respond to temporal change, transformation and adaptation.

The momentum established by exhibition, *Yellow Press*, media coverage and presentations made to the City Council eventually was enough to prompt the Belfast Regeneration Office (who had been included in the workshops process) to offer part-funding for the project. The conditional nature of this offer in turn prompted the Parks Department to agree to provide the required partnership funding. As a result of the proposal being initiated and developed through a 'bottom-up' process, local residents and stakeholders are now well positioned and playing a central role as the State development apparatus and procurement process begin to take effect. The abilities and skills which artistic, architectural, urban and landscape design professionals normally exercise within the confines of their traditional roles can alternatively be redeployed to support and facilitate the initiative of citizens in the instrumental stages of the conception and inception of proposals for the public domain. Who else is better placed to take this role?

Notes

1. Jürgen Patzak-Poor, Mark Hackett and Orla McKeever (2004) 'The Construction of Emptiness', unpublished paper from conference *Ireland: Space, Text, Time* (University of Ulster), March 2004.
2. Conor Moloney, *Yellow Press*, no. 1, June 2006.
3. Conor Moloney, *Yellow Space: Civil Enterprise and the Built Environment*, project report 2005.
4. These case studies are summarised in *Yellow Space Belfast: Negotiations for an Open City Building Initiative*, Belfast and <<http://www.buildinginitiative.org>> [accessed 20 August 2009]
5. There are also less contentious fire-lighting traditions like Halloween which is claimed by both communities. Because of its presumed Celtic origins, having evolved from the festival of Samhain, Catholics adopt it as their cultural property. The Protestant community claim it as British by redefining it as Guy Fawkes Night. Although contested as to whose hegemony it falls within, Halloween allows a peaceful coexistence of these contrasting interpretations. J. Santino 'Light up the Sky: Halloween Bonfires and Cultural Hegemony in Northern Ireland', in *Symbols in Northern Ireland* ed. by A. D. Buckley (Antrim, 1967).
6. Statue Park Museum, <http://www.szoborpark.hu/en/en_index.php>.
7. Don Handelmann, *Models and Mirrors: Toward an Anthropology of Public Events* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 116.
8. Dougal Sheridan, and Jürgen Patzak-Poor, 'Bonfire of Urbanities', in *Belfast Ordinary* (Belfast: Factotum, 2007), *Vacuum* ed. by Richard West and Stephen Hackett

(Belfast, 2006) provides a more detailed study of the appropriation of urban space by these bonfire structures and an interpretation of these pyrotechnic events in relation to the history of fire in the cities, and as combinations of Architecture and Theatre.

9. *Yellow Press*, ed. by Deirdre McMenamin and Dougal Sheridan, no. 2, April 2008 and no. 3, August 2008.
10. Tom Hallifax, 'Scarecrow Sketches', in *Yellow Press*, no. 3, August 2008, p. 3.
11. Stan Allan, 'Mat urbanism: The Thick 2D', in *The Landscape Urbanism Reader* ed. by Charles Waldheim (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2006), p. 37.

Illustration credits

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Biography

Dougal Sheridan is Lecturer in Architecture at the University of Ulster, a member of the Building Initiative Research Group, and Principal of LiD Architecture. His research publications focus on critical theory in relation to the appropriation of urban space, and publications and awards in practice related to the use of landscape concepts and strategies in architecture and urbanism.

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