

Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

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Belfast Interfaces

Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

Belfast Interface Project

First published January 2012

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ISBN: 0-9548819-2-3

Cover image: Jenny Young 2011

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Belfast Interfaces	Security B	Barriers and	Defensive	Use of	Space
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Acknowledgements

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We gratefully acknowledge the support of Belfast Community Safety Partnership, Belfast City Council Good Relations Unit, the Community Relations Council, and the Northern Ireland Housing Executive in funding the production of this publication. We also thank Neil Jarman at the Institute for Conflict Research for carrying out the research and writing a report on their key findings, and note our gratitude to Jenny Young for helping to draft and edit the final document.

Preface

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Belfast Interface Project (BIP) is a membership organisation committed to informing and supporting the development of effective regeneration strategies in Belfast's interface areas.

BIP's vision is of a future in which today's interface communities:

- Are free from tension, intimidation and violence both within and between communities
- Have come to terms with legacies of the past
- Are socially and economically vibrant, within an attractive physical environment
- Enjoy freedom of movement in accessing facilities and services
- Have respect for cultural difference and diversity

One of our aims is to enhance and develop the knowledge base regarding Belfast's interface areas. With this in mind, we recently commissioned the Institute for Conflict Research (ICR) to update current information regarding the distribution of security barriers and associated forms of defensive architecture in residential areas of Belfast, including blighted spaces situated close to interfaces.

The purpose of this piece of work is to create a common information set regarding the manifestation of defensive architecture across the city. This includes details of geographical distribution and current ownership of structures, together with a record of physical change over time, where this applies.

Our hope is that this information will prove useful to those considering potential for change and in measuring progress towards the regeneration of Belfast's interface areas.

Chris O'Halloran

Practice Coordinator

Belfast Interface Project

Abbreviations

BCC	Belfast City Council
BIP	Belfast Interface Project
BMC	Belfast Metropolitan College
BRO	Belfast Regeneration Office
CRC	Northern Ireland Community Relations Council
DoJ	Department of Justice
DRD	Department for Regional Development
DSD	Department for Social Development
HSC	Belfast Health and Social Care Trust
ICR	Institute for Conflict Research
NIHE	Northern Ireland Housing Executive
NIO	Northern Ireland Office

Introduction

In spring of 2011 Belfast Interface Project commissioned a piece of research carried out by the Institute for Conflict Research to identify and classify the known security barriers and associated forms of defensive architecture in residential areas of Belfast. This document draws heavily upon the final research report produced by ICR and brings together photos and information from past BIP research projects including those undertaken by Frankie Quinn in 2005 and ICR in 2008.

The document is organised into two sections: Section 1 provides an overview of defensive architecture and associated blighted space in Belfast, and Section 2 provides a comprehensive listing with photographs and descriptions of security barriers and defensive use of space throughout the city, organised geographically by cluster.



Section 1: Overview of Defensive Architecture

1. Categories and Locations of Barriers

The report identifies 99 different security barriers and forms of defensive architecture across the city associated with residential areas. These include:

- 35 barriers which are made of different styles of metal fencing
- 23 barriers which are comprised of a mixture of a solid wall with metal fencing above
- 14 examples of a mixture of fences with vegetation which act as a buffer
- 12 locations where roads have been closed to vehicles while allowing pedestrian access
- 8 locations where there is a wall alone, and
- 7 locations where roads have gates which are closed occasionally

Table 1 sets out the broad locations of these 99 barriers across the city:

- 44 barriers are situated in North Belfast defined as the area north of Crumlin Road and west of Belfast Lough
- 30 barriers are in West Belfast south of Crumlin Road and west of the Westlink and M1 motorway
- 14 are in the Central Area defined as immediately adjacent to the Westlink and Inner Ring roads
- 10 are in East Belfast east of the River Lagan and Belfast Lough
- There is 1 barrier in South Belfast east of the Dublin railway line, south of the city centre and west of the River Lagan

Type of barrier	Total	Central	East	North	South	West
Metal fence	35	5	1	18		11
Wall with metal fence above	23	3	4	8	1	7
Buffer with fence	14	4	3	3		4
Road closed with ped. access	12	1		10		1
Solid wall	8		2	5		1
Gate with vehicle access	7	1				6
Total	99	14	10	44	1	30

Table 1: Categories of Barriers

2. Clusters

The different structures and blighted spaces are contained within 13 different 'clusters' - groupings of distinct and separate but related instances of defensively used space within the city - similar to the main interface areas identified by the NIHE in their internal review of interface areas carried out in 2006.

3. Ownership

The research also identified 10 different owners of the various structures (Table 2). The largest number of barriers (58) are owned by the Department of Justice (who inherited them from the Northern Ireland Office following devolution of policing and justice powers in 2007), 19 are owned by the Northern Ireland Housing Executive, 7 appear to be in private ownership, and 3 belong to the Department for Regional Development. To date it has not been possible to identify the owners of 4 of the barriers.

Owner	Total	Central	East	North	South	West
DoJ	58	3	6	30		19
NIHE	19	5	3	6	1	4
Private	7	2		3		2
Unknown	4		1			3
DRD	3	3				
Housing Assoc	2	1				1
Invest NI	2			1		1
BCC	1			1		
BMC	1			1		
DSD	1			1		
HSC	1			1		
Total	99	14	10	44	1	30

Table 2: Builder / Owner of Barriers

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4. Date of Construction

It proved difficult to get detailed information on the dates when the barriers were constructed. Table 3 is based largely on data for those barriers constructed by the NIO, which are now the responsibility of the DoJ. The table shows that barriers have been constructed steadily since 1969, with most barriers constructed through the 1990s – 12 were constructed prior to the 1994 ceasefires and 14 in the second half of the decade.

The figures also indicate that one third of those barriers for which we have the construction date have been built since the ceasefires.

The figures in brackets refer to the number of barriers that have been subjected to rebuilding or extension during the relevant decade. The figures for which we have dates indicate the rebuilding of 21 barriers, mostly under reconstruction since 2000.

Owner	Total	Central	East	North	South	West
Unknown	34	11	4	9	1	9
1969	2					2
1970-1979	18		4	9		5
1980-1989	12	2	1	4		5
1990-1994	12 (3)			5		7 (3)
1995-1999	14 (2)	1	1	12 (1)		(1)
2000-	7 (16)	(1)	(6)	5 (7)		2 (2)
Total	99	14	10	44	1	30

Table 3: Date of Construction

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The figures also illustrate different patterns of construction in different parts of the city. The vast majority of the barriers in central, East and West Belfast were constructed prior to the ceasefires while in contrast half of the barriers in North Belfast have been constructed since the ceasefires were declared in 1994.

5. Blighted Land

The report also includes a number of examples of blighted land which are immediately adjacent to an interface barrier. The 58 examples include 20 areas where there are 1 or more derelict properties (in some cases there are numerous such properties plus empty plots of land), 32 locations where land remains unused and 6 sites which are currently used as car parks. At best this is a conservative list of unused or underused land in the immediate vicinity of an interface.

Total Central East North South West Derelict Building(s) 20 1 2 14 3 Unused land 3 32 4 14 3 8 Car park 5 1 6 Total 10 12 58 5 28 3

Table 4: Blighted Land

6. Changes since last classification (2008)

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Although the total number of barriers has increased by 11 from the 88 identified in 2008, a large part of the increase can be accounted for in the reclassification of preexisting barriers, some unidentified in the previous report and others reclassified as 'blighted land'. There does appear to have been a small number of barriers that have either been built or subject to substantial change since 2008. These are:

- 1. **Barrier 19:** A steel mesh fence on the boundary of the former Mackie's Site on Springfield Road
- 2. **Barrier 34:** A steel mesh fence erected adjacent to the Westlink
- 3. **Barrier 68:** A brick wall built along the boundary of a new housing development off Hillview Road
- 4. **Barrier 75:** A wall and fence built to replace an older structure at the rear of Mountainview Parade
- 5. **Barrier 91:** A solid wall which has been built to replace the earlier gates across Madrid Street.

Over the same period 6 barriers have been removed or subject to change:

- 1. **44.1 Henry Street:** A pair of low-level, double swing arm, steel security gates have been removed from the junction of Henry Street and York Street. The junction has been re-landscaped to facilitate a permanent closure of the road.
- 62 Alexandra Park: A newly installed gate on the fence was opened in September 2011 as part of a pilot project during which the gate would be open 9.00am – 3.00pm on weekdays for a three month period, after which the opening times would be reviewed with full consultation.
- 3. **68.1 Antigua Street:** Green sheet steel fencing at rear of houses facing wasteland behind Dunnes Stores site / Hillview Road. Replaced as part of a new housing development at Rosehead Drive off Ardilea Street and bounding the northern edge of the car park of the former Dunnes Stores site on Crumlin Road.
- 4. **73.3 Woodvale Holy Cross:** A short section of metal fence, covered by advertising hoardings, was removed in November 2011.
- 5. **79.1 Torrens Oldpark Road:** A section of wall from the junction of Torrens Avenue and Oldpark Road to a terrace near junction with Oldpark Avenue was removed in 2010 as part of the regeneration of the area.
- 6. **79.2 Oldpark Avenue:** A brick wall along the rear of properties on Oldpark Avenue was replaced with a wooden fence in 2010 as part of the regeneration of the area.

Section 2: Listing of Identified Structures and Spaces

Listing and Image Guidelines:

Each security barrier and other form of defensive architecture is indicated with a reference number between 1 and 99, a brief title indicating location, together with owner and date(s) built where these are known, and a short description,

e.g.

30. Townsend Street (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1992): Metal gates, 2.5 metres high and 12 metres wide, near to the junction with Cargill Street are used to close the road at certain times.

Each blighted space is listed directly after the security barrier to which it is closest, e.g.

30.1 Townsend Street (Owner: Privately Owned): A commercial car park occupies the area bounded by the barrier adjacent to the Townsend Street gate, Townsend Street, the West Link and the Shankill Road.

Each image is captioned with the year the photo was taken.

On each cluster map, barriers are marked in red and blighted spaces are marked in dark blue.

Lenadoon Clus ffolk



2011

1. Suffolk Park Playing Fields - Colin Valley Golf Course (Owner: Colin Valley Golf Course): A 2 metre high mesh fence runs along the boundary of Colin Valley Golf Course, adjacent to the Arlington housing development.

Cluster 1: Suffolk - Lenadoon

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2. Carnanmore Park (Owner: NIHE. Built: 1980s): A 2 metre high fence runs for 600 metres from close to the junction of Stewartstown Road between rear of houses in Carnanmore Park and the Glen River.





Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

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Cluster 1: Suffolk - Lenadoor



3. Stewartstown Road, Suffolk (Owner: Unknown): A metal fence with barbs on top begins next to barrier No. 2. It runs up a bank to Stewartstown Road and along the edge of the road before turning right beside a footpath which leads to houses in Carnanmore Park.



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4. Stewartstown Road - Carnanmore Park (Owner: Unknown): An access gate to a pedestrian footway between Carnanmore Park and Stewartstown Road has been closed off. The gate appears to be permanently locked. This barrier is a continuation of barrier No. 3.



4.1. Carnanmore Park (Owner: Privately Owned): Two houses, No. 2 & 4 Carnanmore Park, adjacent to barriers No. 3 & 4, are empty and derelict.

Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Spac

Cluster 1: Suffolk - Lenadoon

5. Malinmore Park - Oranmore Drive (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1970s & 1996): A 3.8 metre high double palisade fence runs for 200 metres from near the junction with Blacks Road parallel to Oranmore Drive and at the rear of properties in Brook Drive and Brook Close. It turns 90 degrees at the rear of River Close and cuts across Oranmore Avenue and runs at the rear of properties in Suffolk Drive to join a fence surrounding the Lidl supermarket on Stewartstown Road. The fence across Oranmore Drive has been covered over with sheeting to limit visual contact.





2005







2011





6. Kells Avenue (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1970s & 2000): A brick wall and metal gates close off the junction of Kells Avenue with Stewartstown Road. The barrier has two pedestrian gates (only one of which appears to be used) and one vehicle gate. This is effectively a continuation of the Oranmore Drive barrier.



7. Stewartstown Road, Lenadoon (Owner: NIHE): A low metal fence runs from the junction with Lenadoon Avenue to the junction with Woodburn PSNI station. The houses in the Lenadoon estate have two metre high walls facing the road area.

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Cluster 2: Upper Springfield Road



8. Moyard Parade (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1991): A palisade fence, approximately 3.6 metre high, runs for 300 metres from the rear of Moyard Parade across the rear of Moyard Crescent. It runs across the head of Springfield Park and the rear of houses at Springfield Heights. The fence separates the various properties from rough hillside and grazing land.





Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

Cluster 2: Upper Springfield Road









Cluster 2: Upper Springfield Road





9. Springhill Avenue (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1989): A 3.5 metre high wall with a fence in front closes off Springhill Avenue at the junction with Springfield Road, facing New Barnsley PSNI station.





9.1 Springfield Road (Owner: Privately Owned): Two derelict houses (no numbers visible) lie adjacent to barrier No. 9.



9.2 Springfield Road - Springfield Park (Owner: Unknown): A small area of unused land adjacent to New Barnsley Police Station and opposite barrier No. 9.

Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

Cluster 2: Upper Springfield Road

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10. Upper Ballygomartin Road (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1990s): A sheet metal fence runs intermittently along the south side of Ballygomartin Road from near the junction with Springmartin Road for approximately one kilometre.



2005





Belfast Interfaces Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

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Cluster 2: Upper Springfield Road

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11. Springfield Park - Springmartin Road (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1990 & 1994): A 3 metre high wall with a 2.4 metre high sheet metal fence above runs for 90 metres from the junction of Springfield Road and Springmartin Road, parallel with Springmartin Road until approximately 50 metres from the junction with Ballygomartin Road. There is a buffer zone on either side of the wall.



12. Springfield Park - Springmartin Road (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1990 & 1994): A brick wall with a sheet metal fence above runs at right angles to the end of barrier No. 11 and continues at the rear of houses at Springfield Park.





Cluster 2: Upper Springfield Road



2011

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13. Springmartin Road (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1990 & 1994): Two pairs of 3.5 metres high security gates approximately 50 metres apart, and with palisade fencing on either side, can be used to close access between Springmartin Road and Springfield Road.







Belfast Interfaces Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

Cluster 2: Upper Springfield Road

14. Springfield Road (Owner: NIHE): A buffer of empty land edged by metal palisade fencing and mature vegetation runs between Springmartin Road and the West Circular Road.



15. Springfield Parade - West Circular Road (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1980s): A 2 metre high brick wall with 4 metre high fencing above runs at the rear of properties on the West Circular Road; the barrier then turns 90 degrees and continues as a 2.1 metre high solid metal fence along the face of Springfield Parade.



Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

Cluster 2: Upper Springfield Road

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15.1. Springfield Parade (Owner: Unknown): An area of unused land lies behind barrier No.15.

Cluster 3: Falls - Shankill



16. Springfield Road – opposite Violet Street (Owner: Unknown): A small section of sheet metal fencing sits atop a brick wall, approximately 4 metres long in a closed-off entry, opposite the site of the former Violet Street army / police base.



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17. Elswick Street - Pollard Street (Built by NIO, handed to BMC as part of a redevelopment

programme.): A palisade fence runs approximately 150 metres along on the boundary of former wasteland; it terminates at the junction with Forfar Street. The land on the other side of the fence is being redeveloped as a Belfast Metropolitan College campus.





Belfast Interfaces Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

Cluster 3: Falls - Shankill

18. Springfield Road (Owner: NIHE and housing associations): There is a variety of forms of defensive architecture on the south side of Springfield Road facing the Workman Avenue area. These include (a) a buffer of fences and vegetation in front of a terrace of houses east of the junction with Pollard Street, (b) two houses with fewer windows than neighbouring properties facing Workman Avenue, and (c) a house with extra security fencing in Valleyside Close.



2011

18.1 Springfield Road - Valleyside Close (Owner: Unknown): An area of unused land lies to the side and rear of properties in Valleyside Close.

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2011



19. Springfield Road - Former Mackie's Site (Owner: Invest NI. Built: 2009/10): A mesh fence, approximately 6 metres high, runs to the side and rear of a sheltered housing complex.



19.1 Former Mackie's Site (Owner: Invest NI): A large area of unused land lies between Workman Avenue and Springfield Road Primary School.

Belfast Interfaces Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

Cluster 3: Falls - Shankill

20. Springfield Road (Owner: Privately Owned): A small section of sheet fencing closes off the side entrance and back yard to an empty property at No. 371 Springfield Road.







20.1 Springfield Road (Owner: Privately

Owned): Two empty houses at No. 369 & 371 Springfield Road sit adjacent to the gate at Workman Avenue.



Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

Cluster 3: Falls - Shankill

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21. Workman Avenue (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1990): A metal gate, 3.6 metres high, with a pedestrian entrance closes off access to Workman Avenue from Springfield Road. The barrier has a layer of open mesh fencing above.







Belfast Interfaces Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

Cluster 3: Falls - Shankill

22. Kirk Street - Springfield Road (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1988 & 2003): A 3 metre high brick wall, with 6 metres of open mesh fencing above, runs 310 metres from Workman Avenue to Lanark Way. It cuts off Woodvale Avenue, Bainesmore Drive, Mountcashel Street and Ainsworth Avenue from Springfield Road.





2005








23. Lanark Way (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1988): Electronically controlled metal gates, 4 metres high and 10 metres wide, across Lanark Way, between Springfield Road and Merkland Place, can be closed to prevent access.





23.1 Lanark Way (Owner: DSD/BRO): There is a large area of unused land on the west side of Lanark Way to the junction with Mayo Link.

Cluster 3: Falls - Shankill

24. Cupar Street Upper (Owner: DoJ. Built:

1969): A brick wall with sheet metal fence above runs from Lanark Way to the rear of properties at Cupar Street Upper, it turns right to run across the end of Merkland Place and ends at Cupar Way.



2012

24.1 Cupar Way (Owner: Privately Owned): A fenced off area of unused land sits immediately

A fenced off area of unused land sits immediately adjacent to the western end of interface barrier No. 24 at the end of Merkland Place.





2012







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Cluster 3: Falls - Shankill

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25. Cupar Way - Clonard (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1969): A multi-level barrier 800 metres long includes a 4.5 metre high concrete wall, topped with 3 metre high metal sheeting and 6 metres of open mesh fence. It begins at the edge of the Cupar Street Upper barrier (No. 24) and runs along the side of Cupar Way to the junction with North Howard Street. The barrier cuts off access with Conway Street.





2005





Falls - Shankill Cluster 3:

26. Cupar Way (Owner: NIHE. Built 2000s): Houses display a variety of forms of defensive architecture on the north (Shankill) side of Cupar Way. These include steel fencing, a buffer zone with mature vegetation and a 3 metre high wall to the street.



26.1 Cupar Way - North Howard Street (Owner: Privately Owned): A large area of fenced off unused land lies between Cupar Way, North Howard Street, Third Street and Conway Street.















Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

Cluster 3: Falls - Shankill

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27. North Howard Street (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1970s): Metal gates, 3.5 metres high and 7 metres wide, at North Howard Street are used to close the road at certain times.











Belfast Interfaces Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

Cluster 3: Falls - Shankill

28. Northumberland Street (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1970s): Two pairs of 3.5 metres high metal gates, approximately 30 metres apart, are used to close the road at certain times. The area between North Howard Street and Northumberland Street is bounded by the walls of the Twin Spires Industrial Estate. The area between Northumberland Street and Percy Street is bounded by industrial buildings.





2005









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Cluster Falls Shankill 3:

29. Ardmoulin Avenue - Beverley Street (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1970s): An 8 metre high barrier comprised of a concrete wall with sheet metal fencing above and open mesh fencing on top, closes off Percy Street. The barrier continues at the rear of Ardmoulin Avenue, cuts off the end of Beverley Street, Dover Street and Boundary Street and continues to the junction with Townsend Enterprise Park on the Shankill Road side. It runs at the rear of properties in Finn Square and Finn Court off the Falls Road.



2005







Cluster 3: Falls - Shankill





30. Townsend Street (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1992): Metal gates, 2.5 metres high and 12 metres wide, near to the junction with Cargill Street are used to close the road at certain times.





30.1 Townsend Street (Owner: Privately Owned): A commercial car park occupies the area bounded by the barrier adjacent to the Townsend Street gate, Townsend Street, the West Link and the Shankill Road.



30.2 Townsend Street (Owner: Unknown): A number of brownfield sites occupy the area bounded by Cargill Street, Greenland Street, Shankill Road and Townsend Street.

Cluster 4: The Village - Westlink



31. Broadway (Owner: NIHE): A brick and metal fencing structure closes off access to Glenmachan Street to vehicles.





Cluster 4: The Village - Westlink





31.1.Broadway houses (Owner: Unknown): Properties No. 86, 88, 94, 103 and 105 lie empty and boarded up adjacent to barrier No. 31.

32. Glenmachan Street (Owner: NIHE): A buffer of a brick wall, metal fencing and vegetation runs from the junction with Broadway to Frenchpark Street. Vehicle access between Frenchpark Street and Glenmachan Street is closed off.





Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

Cluster 4: The Village - Westlink

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32.1 Glenmachan Street (Owner: Private): A brownfield site is advertised for sale at the junction of Glenmachan Street and the Broadway Roundabout.



33. Glenmachan Street (Owner: NIHE): A buffer of a brick wall, metal fencing and vegetation runs at the rear of houses in Lecale Street from Frenchpark Street along Glenmachan Street around corner into Tates Avenue as far as the junction with Lecale Street.





Belfast Interfaces Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

Cluster 4: The Village - Westlink

34. Blackwater Way - Westlink (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1985 & 2008): A brick wall, 400 metres long and 3.2 metres high, runs along the Westlink from Distillery Street to Roden Street near the junction with Mulhouse Road. The wall was partially upgraded as part of the Westlink renewal in 2008, while an additional section of open mesh fencing, 6.1 metres high, was added above a section of the wall at Blackwater Way adjacent to the new footbridge over the Westlink.





2005









Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

Cluster 4: The Village - Westlink

35. Roden Street - Mulhouse Drive (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1985): The junction between Roden Street and Mulhouse Drive is closed off by a pair of metal gates, a section of brick wall, and corrugated steel sheeting.





2005







Cluster 5: Inner Ring



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36. Wilson Street - Sackville Court (Owner: Privately Owned): The boundary between Wilson Street and houses in Sackville Court is marked by a mix of corrugated iron and open mesh fencing.





36.1 Millfield - Wilson Street (Owner: Privately Owned): A commercial car park occupies either corner of the junction of Millfield and Wilson Street.



36.2 Millfield (Owner: Privately Owned): A commercial car park occupies an empty site between Wilson Street and St Stephen and St Luke Church of Ireland.

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Cluster 5: Inner Ring

37. Millfield (Owner: DRD): A buffer of a brick wall, mesh fencing and vegetation runs from Brown Street to near Peter's Hill.













Cluster 5: Inner Ring

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37.1 Millfield - Smithfield Square North -Samuel Street (Owner: Privately Owned): A

commercial car park occupies the site between Gresham Street and Samuel Street.



37.2 Millfield - Samuel Street - North Street (Owner: DRD Roads Service): An area of unused land lies between Samuel Street and the south side of North Street.





37.3 Millfield - North Street - Upper Kent Street (Owner: DRD Roads Service): The land between the north side of North Street and Upper Kent Street is used as a car park.



37.4 Millfield - Upper Kent Street - Library Street (Owner: Unknown): The land between Upper Kent Street and Library Street has been cleared and fenced.

Cluster 5: Inner Ring





38. Peter's Hill (Owner: Lime Court Housing Association): A brick wall with mesh fencing above sits at the junction between Peter's Hill / Lime Court and Carrick Hill estate.



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39. Carrick Hill (Owner: NIHE): A buffer of fencing and vegetation runs in front of properties from the junction with Peter's Hill to Lower Regent Street.







39.1 Millfield - Little Donegall Street -Donegall Street (Owner: Privately Owned): The land between the north side of Little Donegall Street and Donegall Street is used as a car park.

Cluster 5: Inner Ring





40. Stanhope Street - Westlink (Owner: DRD): A length of open mesh fencing, approximately 6 metres in height, runs for some 200 metres above a wall bounding the Westlink slip road from near to the junction with Clifton Street.



40.1 Clifton Street - Regent Street (Owner: Oaklee Housing Association): An area of cleared and unused open land lies between Regent Street, Clifton Street and the Westlink.

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Cluster 5: Inner Ring

41. Denmark Street - Westlink (Owner: DRD): An open mesh fence, 6 metres in height, runs behind properties in Denmark Street parallel to the Westlink.



42. Frederick Street (Owner: Privately Owned): A section of open mesh fencing runs across the open yard at the rear of St Kevin's Hall.

Cluster 5: Inner Ring



43. York Street (Owner: NIHE): A brick wall with palisade fencing above runs along the perimeter of houses on Lancaster Street.





44. Henry Street - Westlink (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1970s): A palisade fence, 20 metres long and 2.6 metres high, separates Henry Street from the Westlink and the junction with York Street.

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Barrier Removed



44.1 Henry Street - York Street (Owner: DRD Roads Service): A pair of low-level, double swing arm, steel security gates between Henry Street and York Street have been removed. In their place a decorative brick and metal structure has been built which permanently closes off the junction between Henry Street and York Street to vehicle traffic..





Cluster 6: Duncairn Gardens



45. North Queen Street (New Lodge) (Owner: DoJ. Built: 2001): A brick wall with three levels of mesh fencing above runs in front of houses on North Queen Street between Spamount Street and Duncairn Gardens.









46. Duncairn Gardens - North City Business Centre (New Lodge) (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1970s): A section of sheet metal fencing sits atop the wall at the rear of the car park of the North City Business Centre.





Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

Cluster 6: Duncairn Gardens



46.1 Duncairn Gardens (Owner: BRO): A derelict house, with sign stating acquired by BRO, at number 28 Duncairn Gardens, with adjacent empty plot at site of No. 30.





47. Duncairn Gardens - Hillman Street (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1970s): A metal gate is used to allow pedestrian access between Hillman Street and Duncairn Gardens at certain times.





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47.1 Duncairn Gardens (Owner: Privately Owned): An area of unused land in front of barrier No. 48. Foundations have been laid for new housing.



48. Duncairn Gardens (New Lodge) (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1970s): A sheet metal fence sits at the rear of an area of waste land between No. 52 & 86 Duncairn Gardens.





Cluster 6: Duncairn Gardens



49. Duncairn Gardens - Lepper Street (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1970s): A brick wall with metal fencing closes off access between Lepper Street and Duncairn Gardens. Gates allow pedestrian access at certain times.







50. Duncairn Gardens - Edlingham Street (New Lodge) (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1970s): The entrance to Edlingham Street has been partially built over on the New Lodge side while the remainder of the entrance, adjacent to the Macrory Memorial Presbyterian Church is blocked by a palisade gated fence, 5 metres long and 3 metres high, which is permanently closed.





2011

50.1 Duncairn Gardens (Owner: the Macrory Memorial Presbyterian Church): The Macrory Memorial Presbyterian Church, adjacent to the Edlingham Street gate, is empty, boarded up and for sale.



50.2 Duncairn Gardens (Owner: Unknown): An empty plot of land between numbers 124 and 128, adjacent to Macrory Memorial Presbyterian Church.

Cluster 6: Duncairn Gardens





51. Duncairn Gardens - Hallidays Road (New Lodge) (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1970s): The New Lodge junction with Hallidays Road is closed by a wall and fence structure. Gates allow pedestrian access at certain times.





51.1 Duncairn Gardens (Owner: Unknown): An empty burnt out shop at number 202 Duncairn Gardens. .



51.2 Duncairn Gardens (Owner: Unknown): An empty and derelict shop at number 210 Duncairn Gardens.

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52. Duncairn Gardens - Hallidays Road (Tigers Bay) (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1990s): Vehicle access between Hallidays Road and Duncairn Gardens is prevented by a brick wall 16 metres long and 3.6 metres high. A metal gate allows pedestrian access at certain times.



52.1 Duncairn Gardens - Hallidays Road (Owner: Unknown): A derelict house (No. 181 Duncairn Gardens) sits at this junction adjacent to the closed off road.

Cluster 6: Duncairn Gardens



53. Duncairn Gardens - Syringa Street (Tigers Bay) (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1970s): A section of sheet metal fencing runs across the gap between numbers 161-163 and 171-179 Duncairn Gardens and the rear of houses in Syringa Street.



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54. Adam Street (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1990s): Vehicle access between Adam Street and Duncairn Gardens is closed by a metal gate. A separate gate allows pedestrian access at certain times.





54.1 Adam Street - Upper Canning Street (Owner: Unknown): An area of unused land between barriers No. 54 & No. 55.

Cluster 6: Duncairn Gardens





55. Upper Canning Street (Owner: Invest NI): A 3 metre high gated barrier closes access to Adam Street. A separate gate allows pedestrian access at certain times.



56. Brougham Street - North Queen Street (Tigers Bay) (Owner: NIHE): A brick wall and metal fencing, with mature trees and vegetation behind, act as a buffer to houses in Orchard Street & Bentinck Street.

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57. North Queen Street (Owner: Privately Owned): A five metre high palisade fence with a layer of steel mesh fencing above extends around two sides of a doctor's surgery.





Cluster 7: Limestone Road / Alexandra Park





2005

58. Hallidays Road - Newington Avenue (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1999 & 2003): A 258 metre long and 5.5 metre high metal fence with a layer of mesh fencing above runs from Limestone Road to Duncairn Gardens. The fence separates properties on Newington Street and Newington Avenue from properties on Hallidays Road in Tigers Bay. There is a further short section of mesh fence, 3 metres wide and 5.5 metres high between the first two properties on the corner of Limestone Road, erected in 2003.


Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

Cluster 7: Limestone Road / Alexandra Park

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58.1 Hallidays Road (Owner: NIHE): There are numerous boarded up houses on Hallidays Road, between Duncairn Gardens and Limestone Road, adjacent to barrier No. 58.



2005



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Cluster 7: Limestone Road / Alexandra Park



58.2 Limestone Road (Owner: NIHE): A row of boarded up houses (No. 172-180) lies below the junction with Hallidays Road (Tigers Bay).





59. Newington Street (Owner: DoJ.): A pair of low-level, double swing arm, steel security gates limits vehicle access onto Limestone Road.

Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

Cluster 7: Limestone Road / Alexandra Park

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59.1 Limestone Road (Owner: Unknown): Three three-storey properties (No. 208-212) lie derelict between Hallidays Road and Newington Street.



59.2 Limestone Road - Parkside (Owner: Unknown): A number of properties lie derelict in the Parkside area. The area is beginning to be subjected to extensive regeneration work.

Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

Cluster 7: Limestone Road / Alexandra Park





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60. Mountcollyer - Parkend Street (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1994 & 2001): A mixture of brick wall and fencing, 150 metres long and 2.5 metres high, closes off access between Mountcollyer Street and Parkend Street.



60.1 Parkside Gardens (Owner: NIHE): A pair of derelict houses sit adjacent to the gates of Alexandra Park.

Security Barriers and Defensive Use pace o f S

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..... Cluster 7: Limestone Road Alexandra Park 1





61. Parkside Gardens (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1995) A 3.2 metre high mesh fence with 1.2 metre cantilever section atop runs for 70 metres above backyard wall to the terrace of houses on Parkside Gardens. The houses on Mountcollyer Street, on the other side of the fence, have recently been demolished.





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Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

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Cluster 7: Limestone Road / Alexandra Park

62. Alexandra Park (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1994 & 1990s): A sheet metal fence, 120 metres long and 3.5 metres high, runs across Alexandra Park from Parkside Gardens to the rear of the recycling depot on Alexandra Park Avenue. This is effectively a continuation of the barrier between Mountcollyer and Parkend Street.



A newly installed gate on the fence was opened in September 2011 as part of a pilot project during which the gate would be open 9.00am – 3.00pm on weekdays for a three month period after, which the opening times would be reviewed with full consultation.



Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

Cluster 7: Limestone Road / Alexandra Park





63. Dunmore Court - Skegoneill Drive - Ashfield Gardens (Owner: Privately Owned): A 2 metre high concrete wall divides the Dunmore development from mid-Skegoneill.



63.1 Skegoneill Avenue - Glandore Avenue junction (Owner: Privately Owned): An area of unused land extends across the junctions of Queen Victoria Gardens and Ashfield Drive and acts as a buffer zone between Mid-Skegoneill and Glandore.

Cluster 8: Lower Oldpark - Manor Street



64. Oldpark Road - Rosapenna Street (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1980s): A 4 metre high brick wall with 4 metre high sheet metal fencing above runs for 100 metres at the rear of houses in Rosapenna Street and Mountview Court. A further section of the barrier includes a mix of palisade fencing and brick wall running along the boundary of Oldpark Road and Mountview Court.



Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

Cluster 8: Lower Oldpark - Manor Street









64.1. Lower Oldpark - Mountview Court (Owner: NIHE): An area of derelict property and cleared land in Lower Oldpark adjacent to the Oldpark Road barrier.

Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

2005



65. Rosevale Street - Roe Street (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1980s): A metal barrier 200 metres long and 4 metres high runs at right angles to barrier 64, behind properties in Rosevale Street. It divides Manor Street and continues along the line of Roe Street to Clifton Park Avenue.



65.1 Lower Oldpark - Groomsport Street (Owner: NIHE): An area of undeveloped and grassed space adjacent to the barrier at Rosevale Street and Roe Street.

Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space



66. Brucevale Park - Duncairn Avenue (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1978): A pair of low-level, double swing arm, steel security gates closes off access between these two streets, which run along the boundary of the former Girdwood barracks.



Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

Cluster 8: Lower Oldpark - Manor Street





67. Girdwood Barracks (Owner: DSD): A 5 metre high sheet metal fence encompasses the former Girdwood Barracks site. The barrier runs at the rear of properties in Vicinage Park, St James Park, and along the line of Kinnaird Terrace, Kinnaird Close, Brucevale Park and Clifton Park Avenue.





67.1 Clifton Park Avenue / Lower Oldpark (1) (Owner: Unknown): An area of unused land adjacent to the Rosevale Street/Roe Street barrier.



67.2 Clifton Park Avenue / Lower Oldpark (2) (Owner: Unknown): An area of unused land opposite the Girdwood Barracks site.



67.3 Clifton Park Avenue (Owner: NIHE): A strip of unused land between the Girdwood Barracks site and the roadway.



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67.4 Girdwood Barracks (Owner: DSD): All the land enclosed by barrier No. 67.



67.5 Kinnaird Terrace (Owner: DSD/BRO/NIHE/Privately Owned): A terrace of largely derelict houses faces the former Girdwood barracks site at the end of Kinnaird Place.



67.6 Thorndale Avenue (Owner: Unknown): A patch of unused land adjacent to the Girdwood Barracks fence at the junction with Kinnaird Street.

Cluster 9: Crumlin Road - Ardoyne - Glenbryn





68. Hillview Road: (Owner: NIHE. Built: 2010): A brick wall, approximately 6 metres high, runs at the rear of a new housing development at Rosehead Drive off Ardilea Street and bounding the northern edge of the car park of the former Dunnes Stores site on Crumlin Road.

Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

Cluster 9: Crumlin Road - Ardoyne - Glenbryn





Barrier Removed

68.1 Antigua Street (Owner: Unknown): Green sheet steel fencing at rear of houses facing wasteland behind Dunnes Stores site / Hillview Road. Replaced as part of a new housing development at Rosehead Drive off Ardilea Street and bounding the northern edge of the car park of the former Dunnes Stores site on Crumlin Road. See barrier 68.



Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

Cluster 9: Crumlin Road - Ardoyne - Glenbryn



69. Flax Street (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1994): A palisade fence, 14 metres long and 2.5 metres high, closes off Flax Street near to the junction with Crumlin Road.



Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

Cluster 9: Crumlin Road - Ardovne - Glenbrvn



70. Crumlin Road - Ardoyne (Owner: NIHE): A brick wall extending from Flax Complex to Butler Walk, cuts off access to Herbert Street.



70.1 Crumlin Road - Ardoyne (Owner: Privately Owned): An area of unused land lies between barrier No. 70 and Crumlin Road adjacent to Brookfield Court.

Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

Cluster 9: Crumlin Road - Ardoyne - Glenbryn



71. Crumlin Road - Ardoyne (Owner: NIHE): A buffer of fencing and vegetation sits in front of houses from Butler Walk to Kerrera Street.



Cluster 9: Crumlin Road - Ardoyne - Glenbryn



72. Crumlin Road - Woodvale (Owner: NIHE): A brick wall with fencing above runs at the rear of houses from Cambrai Street to Bray Street and Holy Cross Church. It cuts off access to Crumlin Road for all streets between Leopold Street and Bray Court.









Cluster 9: Crumlin Road - Ardoyne - Glenbryn

73. Woodvale - Holy Cross (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1980s): The stone wall of the Holy Cross Church on Woodvale Road has been heightened by a 3 metre high mesh fence.







2005



73.1 Woodvale Road (Owner: Roman Catholic

Church) The former Holy Cross Boys Primary School (vacant) lies unused adjacent to Holy Cross Church.



2008

2012



73.2 Woodvale Road (Owner: NIHE & BRO): A row of houses, No. 166-194 Woodvale Road, has been demolished. The land is currently for sale.

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Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

Cluster 9: Crumlin Road - Ardoyne - Glenbryn

Barrier Removed

73.3 Woodvale - Holy Cross (Owner: Unknown): A short section of metal fence, covered by advertising hoardings, was removed in November 2011.





74. Mountainview Park (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1997 & 2002): A mesh fence, 160 metres long and 5 metres high, runs at the rear of numbers 2-40 Mountainview Park and Donaldson Crescent.



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Security Barriers and Defensive Use o f Space

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75.1 Mountainview Parade (Owner: NIHE owned): A large area of unused land lies at the rear of properties in Mountainview Parade.

Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

Cluster 9: Crumlin Road - Ardovne - Glenbrvn



76. Alliance Avenue - Glenbryn (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1991 & 2003): A sheet metal fence, up to 9 metres high, runs along the rear of properties on Alliance Avenue from Ardoyne Road to Deerpark Road, dividing Alliance Avenue from the Glenbryn estate.



76.1 Alliance Avenue (Owner: NIHE): An area of unused land lies adjacent to barrier No. 76 facing Etna Drive.

2011

Cluster 9: Crumlin Road - Ardoyne - Glenbryn



77. Ardoyne Road (Owner: NIHE): A 2 metre high brick wall sits on the boundary of the corner property on the Ardoyne side of Alliance Avenue and Ardoyne Road.





Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

Cluster 9: Crumlin Road - Ardoyne - Glenbryn



78. Hesketh Road (Owner: Belfast Health and Social Care Trust): A 5 metre high open mesh fence sits at the boundary of houses in Hesketh Road and the car park to the Everton Complex.



Cluster 9: Crumlin Road - Ardovne - Glenbrvn



79. Torrens Crescent - Wyndham Street (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1980s): A 2.1 metre length of brick wall with 5 metres of mesh fencing above runs to the rear of a children's nursery in Wyndham Street. A section of the fencing between Wyndham Street and Elimgrove Street was removed in 2010 as part of the regeneration of the area.



2011



Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

79.2 Oldpark Avenue (Owner: NIO. Built:

1990s): A brick wall along the rear of properties on

Oldpark Avenue was replaced with a wooden fence

in 2010 as part of the regeneration of the area.

Barrier Removed

Cluster 9: Crumlin Road - Ardoyne - Glenbryn

Barrier Removed

79.1 Torrens - Oldpark Road (Owner: NIO. Built:

1990s): A section of brick wall from the junction of Torrens Avenue and Oldpark Road to a terrace near the junction with Oldpark Avenue was removed in 2010 as part of the regeneration of the area.















Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

Cluster 9: Crumlin Road - Ardoyne - Glenbryn



80. Westland Gardens (Owner: BCC Parks Department. Built 2000s): A double section of open mesh fencing at the boundary of the Waterworks park runs from Westland Drive to the rear of houses in Knutsford Drive.



Cluster 10: Ligoniel



Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

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81. Wolfend Drive - Squires Hill (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1993 & 2003): A solid metal fence with mesh fencing above, 82 metres long and 4 metres high, runs across the end of Wolfend Drive and Greenhill Lane in Ligoniel. Below this a short length of fence cuts across the end of Squires Hill Crescent.





82. Squires Hill - Hazelbrook Drive (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1993 & 2003): A double fence runs along the edge of Brookmill Way and Hazelbrook Drive in Ligoniel restricting access to a new development at Squires View. A short length of sheet metal fence cuts across the end of Squires Hill Road below.





Cluster 11: Whitewell Road - Longlands





83. Graymount (Owner: DoJ. Built: 2008): Two metre high electronically controlled metal gate with 1 metre of palisade fencing above runs across the pedestrian entry between Whitewell Road and Graymount Crescent.







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84. Serpentine Gardens - Gunnell Hill (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1999): A 3 metre high cladding fence with 6 metre high mesh fencing above runs for 206 metres from Gunnell Hill to Serpentine Road at the rear of properties in Serpentine Gardens.





84.1 Whitewell Road (Owner: Privately Owned): A pair of empty and derelict houses, No. 178 & 180 Whitewell Road, lie adjacent to the junction with Gunnell Hill.

Cluster 11: Whitewell Road - Longlands





85. Serpentine Road - Navarra Place (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1999): A metal barrier with mesh fencing above closes off Navarra Place from Serpentine Road. A gate allows pedestrian access at certain times.




86. Hazelwood Integrated PS - Old Throne Park (Owner: DoJ. Built: 2007): A 5 metre high mesh fence above a 3 metre high perimeter fence runs at the rear of properties in Old Throne Park and the boundary of Hazelwood Integrated Primary School.





87. Longlands Road – Arthur's Bridge (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1998): A section of palisade fence closes off a pedestrian entry and adjacent land at Arthur's Bridge. Access to the footpath has been further restricted following the rebuilding of Arthur's Bridge.



2011

Cluster 11: Whitewell Road - Longlands

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88. Longlands Avenue (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1990s): A palisade fence with sheeting above, 30 metres long and 3 metres high, divides Longlands industrial estate from playing fields adjacent to Valley Leisure Centre.



Cluster 12: Short Strand - Inner East



89. Lower Newtownards Road - Strand Walk (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1980s & 2003): A brick wall, 3 metres high, with intermittent sections of fencing between runs for 200 metres between Strand Walk and Lower Newtownards Road. The wall runs from the chapel grounds and follows the line of the road into Short Strand. The barrier prevents vehicle access between Mountpottinger Road and Bridge End, but pedestrian access remains.





Cluster 12: Short Strand - Inner East













Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

Cluster 12: Short Strand - Inner East



89.1 Lower Newtownards Road (Owner: Unknown): A derelict shop and empty site near the corner with Bryson Street.



90. Bryson Street (Owner: DoJ, NIHE maintained. Built: 1970s & 2003): A brick wall with mesh fencing above, to a total height of 7.5 metres, runs 275 metres along the length of Bryson Street from the junction of Lower Newtownards Road to Madrid Street.

Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

Cluster 12: Short Strand - Inner East

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90.1 Bryson Street (Owner: Unknown): An empty site at the top of Bryson Street adjacent to the doctors' surgery.

Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

Cluster 12: Short Strand - Inner East



91. Madrid Street (Owner: NIHE. Built: 2002 & 2008): This road has been closed off at the junction with Bryson Street by two 2 metre high parallel brick walls, with a 6 metre high mesh fence between them. The wall has replaced gates that previously restricted access along Madrid Street at the junction with Bryson Street.





91.1 Madrid Street (Owner: Templemore Avenue School Trust): A large empty and boarded up building, Templemore Avenue School, occupies the block bounded by Templemore Avenue, Beechfield Street, Westbourne Street and Madrid Street.



92. Clandeboye Gardens and Langtry Court (Owner: DoJ, NIHE maintained. Built: 1970s & 2003): A wall with mesh fencing above runs from the rear of a property on Madrid Street between Clandeboye Gardens and Langtry Court. The barrier abuts the wall of a commercial property near Albertbridge Road.





Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space **Belfast Interfaces**

Cluster 12: Short Strand - Inner East

93. Clandeboye Gardens - Cluan Place (Owner: DoJ, NIHE maintained. Built: 1970s & 2003): A wall with sheet fencing above, 9 metres in height, above runs between Clandeboye Gardens/Clandeboye Drive and Cluan Place.













2011

2011

94. Cluan Place - Mountpottinger Road (Owner: DoJ. Built: 1970s & 2003): A wall with sheet fencing above, 9 metres in height, runs across the end of Cluan Place, cutting off Cluan Place from Mountpottinger Road. The wall ends at the junction of Mountpottinger Road and Albertbridge Road. The combined length of barriers 92, 93 and 94 is 335 metres.



94.1 Albertbridge Road – Castlereagh Street (Owner: BRO): A brownfield site has a sign stating that it has been acquired by BRO. A number of properties in the area are empty and available either for sale or to let.

Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

Cluster 12: Short Strand - Inner East



95. Mountpottinger Road - The Green (Owner: DoJ, NIHE maintained.): An open public space is bounded on the Albertbridge Road & Mountpottinger Road sides by a 5 metre high mesh steel fence.





96. Short Strand - Albertbridge Road (Owner: NIHE): A buffer comprising a footpath, vegetation and second footpath between houses and main road.



Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

Cluster 12: Short Strand - Inner East





97. Short Strand - Mountpottinger Link (Owner: NIHE): Houses on a section of Short Strand and Mountpottinger Link face inwards to Lough Lea, the area is also bounded by a buffer wall and vegetation.



97.1 Short Strand - Bridge End: A large area of unused land lies to the east of Short Strand, south of Bridge End and to the west of the River Lagan.

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98. Woodstock Place - Albertbridge Road (Owner: Unknown): A variety of properties are protected by a deep buffer of vegetation. Pedestrian access between Belfast Health and Social Care Trust's Woodstock Lodge and Albertbridge Road is restricted by a locked gate.



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Cluster 13: Ormeau Road and the Markets



99. Vernon Street (Owner: NIHE): A 4m high steel mesh fence above a brick wall beside number 71 Vernon Street.





Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

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99.1 McClure Street (Owner: Belfast City Council): An area of unused land running much of the length of McClure Street adjacent to the railway line and beyond this to the Donegall Pass area.



Belfast Interfaces Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

Cluster 13: Ormeau Road and the Markets

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99.2 Cooke Street (Owner: BRO): An area of fenced-off unused land at the junction with Ormeau Road. A sign states the land has been purchased by BRO.







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Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space

Cluster 13: Ormeau Road and the Markets

99.3 Shaftesbury Avenue (Owner: Privately Owned): An area of fenced-off unused land at the junction with Ormeau Road.





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2008







In spring of 2011 Belfast Interface Project commissioned a piece of research carried out by the Institute for Conflict Research to identify and classify the known security barriers and associated forms of defensive architecture in residential areas of Belfast. This document draws heavily upon the final research report produced by ICR and brings together photos and information from past BIP research projects including those undertaken by Frankie Quinn in 2005 and ICR in 2008.

The document provides an overview of defensive architecture and associated blighted space in Belfast together with a comprehensive listing, with photographs and descriptions, of security barriers and defensive use of space throughout the city.



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ISBN: 0-9548819-2-3

Published 2012









Community Relations Council