Tea or coffee? Politics and Bingo on the pavements


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Twaddell Avenue, North Belfast

August 2014: more than a year ago, shortly after the 12th of July annual parades in Northern Ireland, political campaigners set up a ‘civil rights camp’ at Twaddell Avenue, North Belfast. Located on a small patch of derelict land next to a roundabout, the organisers, mostly men, use a caravan and container as operational centres. Decorated with all the insignia of pro-British imagery, it serves as shelter and meeting place. The surrounding fences are covered by British and Northern Irish flags, protest banners and messages of support: ‘Respect our Culture’, No Surrender’, ‘British and Proud’.

The reason for their ongoing protest is a stretch of road that the Orange Order, a masonic style organisation and defenders of Loyalist/ Unionist/ Protestant tradition, were and still are not allowed to parade. The civic right they campaign for is to make the home-ward march along a traditional route, which includes a short section of street through a Republican area: one of many interface zones in Belfast and Northern Ireland, where Protestant and Catholic communities border and are still entrenched in sectarian segregation and polarisation. A walk of six minutes which was stopped by anti-parade protestors at the 12th of July parade in 2013, was followed by days of violent clashes with police and rioting on both sides of the community.

Since then, every evening, the Twaddell protesters march with banners and flags towards the ‘demarcation line’ in an attempt to complete their parade. And every evening they are prevented from passing by a cordon of police, trying to avoid a reoccurrence of the clashes.

It is by now a well-choreographed daily routine; here the protesters, there the police; both sides framed by pro- and anti-march supporters and spectators. In the language of Northern Ireland’s peace policy, the protest is part of a well-managed conflict repertoire.

There are many parades in cities and villages across Northern Ireland by the Orange Order during the summer season, especially at the 12th of July commemorations. Most of the marches are peaceful, watched and celebrated by many people with an inclination

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1 Twaddell Avenue is named after a Unionist politician, murdered by the IRA in 1922
2 The Orange Order with its origins in the seventeenth century battle for supremacy between Protestantism and Catholicism, is the largest Protestant organisation in Northern Ireland with at least 75000 members, mostly male. ‘The parading tradition which the Orange Order upholds is an honourable and historic tradition, which was the norm for other fraternities in the past. The parades of the Orange Order are the largest public Protestant witness of their kind anywhere in the world.’
3 The march moves between the home lodge and the city centre. They are allowed to march the full route early in the morning but are not allowed to make the return march in the evening.
4 Daily updates about the campaign are posted on Facebook: Proud to be Protestant
5 ‘The number of parades organised by the loyal orders and broad Unionist tradition (2,569) represents 58% of the overall total. The number of parades organised Nationalist groups (175) was a slight increase from the previous year (157) but remains very low at 4% of the overall total.’ Parades Commission for Northern Ireland Annual Report, 31 March 2013.
or firm belief in Protestantism and the union between Northern Ireland and Britain. However pro-Irish, Republican citizens (in the majority Catholics) see these marches as sectarian and expressions of triumphalism, more so, when the marching routes cross community lines. (Komarova and McKnight, 2013)

This ethno-national categorisation in Protestant/ Catholic is of course a simplification of a conflict which mainly took and takes place in working class areas of high deprivation on both ‘sides’ and which still reverberates, more than a decade after the peace agreement in 1998.6

This binary simplification is partly due to the fact that even today more than half of the population of Belfast is living in wards that have a 90% Catholic or Protestant background (Parades Commission Annual Report, 2013). The segregation is even higher in interface areas, with homogeneous communities in terms of national/religious identity.

The ‘cultural’ division between the two communities finds its spatial and architectural expression in territorial demarcations: through 30.5km of high fences, euphemistically called ‘peace walls’; through flags on lampposts and painted curbstones; and to come back to the caravan, the Twaddell protest camp about an unfinished parade.7 What these devices do beyond their spatial function, is the construction and re-affirmation of social identity. They are as much real and physical, as symbolic and performative (Komarova, 2008). The ritualized parade claims urban space for its purposes and turns public space into an ethnic, political, religious, cultural defined territory for likeminded citizens and as an exclusion zone for others.8

Policing the Twaddell camp and their daily attempts to march through the Republican area costs the taxpayer £40,000 daily, which for an impoverished area, seems like a waste of money. The Twaddell leaders blame the dissident republican threat for the expense, besides, they argue ‘...what price do you put on your culture and human rights?’ (Belfast Telegraph, April 2014)

Politically, one could see this protest in line with other long-term movements, from ‘Occupy’ to Tahrir Square, (though the Twaddell protesters lack a revolutionary, liberating potential). Artistically, one could regard this stand-off as a ‘socially engaged’ action and visually potent performance. In its appearance and community involvement one could nearly read it (yet make no sense) as relational art practice. To go even further, its visual display is surprisingly similar to Mark Wallinger’s ‘State Britain’ installation for the Turner Prize at Tate Britain, where the artist painstakingly recreated an anti-Iraq war

6 The ‘Good Friday agreement’ as a major step in the Northern Irish peace process was signed on 10 April 1998. It was approved with a great majority in two simultaneous referendums in Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland in May 1998.

7 The Northern Irish writer Glenn Patterson describes the difficulties with the term ‘community’ in ‘Don’t mention the C-word’: ‘In order to take the sectarian heat out of our conflict (another C- word in need of examination) the labels catholic and Protestant were first diluted by the addition of “community” and then effaced almost completely as the Protestant and Catholic communities just became the Two Communities. But as soon as the Two communities model was established, the singular form itself was altered: it became the fragment rather than the thing greater than the sum of its parts.’ The Irish Times, 4 Jan, 2014, www.irishtimes.com/news/politics/don-t-mention-the-c-word–1.1643567

8 Milena Komarova, Martina McKnight: ‘We are watching you too’ ‘Urban space and claiming territory are central to the symbolism of parades. Individual parades are highly ritualised performances of the traditional ‘custom and practice’ of marching along clearly defined routes. Unionists’ assertion of the right to parade and nationalists’ contestation of a parade’s route represent and perform a power struggle over territory (Bryan 2006, Cohen 2007). The enactment of parades and protests temporarily incorporates space into a performative practice (Cohen 2007) that contains the possibility of redrawing boundaries (Leach 2005). While these performative acts may not leave a lasting material imprint they are an integral part of the dynamics of continuity and change.’
camp previously located at the Houses of Parliament. As an act of transition from real to symbolic, from action to representation, Mark Wallinger re-appropriated the objects and situation of a six year-long political protest for the art world, raising ‘...challenging questions about issues of freedom of expression and the erosion of civil liberties in Britain today.’ What he inadvertently also raised were questions of legitimacy of such transformations and the commodification of political activism through aesthetics. For the Twaddell protesters, their day and night long sit-in is an expression of freedom as well: a campaign for loyalist culture and the right to express community identity; protestant and British.

But the Twaddell camp is not art nor does it want to be. It is propaganda, reactionary and, for many, intimidating. There is no future and no progression in its protest; it is a stand-off of a discredited ideology against transition towards a ‘shared future’. The Twaddell protest can’t change its way, nor is it inventive enough to find new ones. It is an unwieldy protest, one which does not open new social and spatial relations. It is stuck.

Commons Road, Ballykinler

October 2009: a caravan is parked on the pavement of a crossing in the small coastal village of Ballykinler, a 40-minute drive south of Belfast. It is decorated externally with ceramic sculptures of birds and flowers and patterns of roses: an abundance of living room ornaments turned inside-out. The caravan combines the intimacy of a private home with a public display and purpose. It is the new, mobile community centre for the village: a communal meeting place, un-funded and un-supported by the local Council. This is an initiative by Anne-Marie Dillon, mother of seven children, local resident, artist, activist, feminist (listed in her own order of priorities). Her response when asked why she gets engaged, both personally and artistically, is convincingly simple: ‘Just because we don’t have a community centre doesn’t mean we are not a community.’ A statement and conviction that motivates most if not all of the many projects in Ballykinler by Anne-Marie Dillon and PS².

Once a week, sometimes more often, the caravan is crowded with ten, twelve women, most of them pensioners. They meet to talk, have a cup of tea, play bingo, listen to music, remember stories and invite others to tell them more. They do craft, plan car boot sales to raise money for a pensioners day trip, for a girls and boys youth club, for mothers and toddlers, for the future. They have fun and carry out communal tasks at the same time. They care for the village and are, despite their age or because of it, drivers of social change. Perhaps, as Anne Querrien argued after visiting the village, they care because they are women. For Christoph Schäfer, the caravan goes way beyond its practical use and symbolic language,

What do you do in a country, where the classical routes of political self-organisation and militant collectivity have gone so far, for such a long time, that they have lost their integrity, their emancipatory potential has been all used up?

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9 For his Turner Prize nomination in 2007, the artist Mark Wallinger recreated peace campaigner Brian Haw’s Parliament Square protest against the Iraq war: a meticulous reconstruction (not originals) of over 600 banners, photographs, peace flags and messages from well-wishers that have been amassed by Haw over five years, until he was removed by the police in 2006. www.tate.org.uk/whats-on/tate-britain/exhibition/mark-wallinger-state-britain

10 Mark Wallinger: ‘State Britain’, see 1

11 Interview with the pensioner group, Anne-Marie Dillon, the Education and Library Board and a local Councilor. BBC Radio Ulster, 16.12.2009.

12 PS² started to work together with Anne-Marie Dillon since 2009, just at the beginning of the mobile community centre. Since then most activities were carried out together and with the support of PS².
A.M.Dillon and the Forever Young Pensioners suggest new ways, how to voice dissent, without treading down the same old beaten track. They constitute a parallel space of exchange, a centre on the move. The Pensioner’s style of ‘aggressive cosiness’ renders unspoilt forms of collectivity – the private tea party – accessible – as a source of political action. A winding rose – that has thorns. (Christoph Schäfer, 2010)

The mobile community centre caravan was in use (and sometimes still is) for more than a year. It was one phase and one formal construct in a long-term commitment by Anne-Marie Dillon, PS² and other contributing artists and researchers, to engage with the residents and social environment of Ballykinlar. Their commitment led to a string of interventions, workshops and activities which were and are mainly concerned to propose and test forms of community space at a very basic, low cost level, yet with plenty of fantasy, resilience and playfulness. Interestingly, it was the spatial need of the community to have a centre that triggered the actions and interventions, leading to new and changing ‘built’ situations and artistic and social outcomes. This process with its different spatial constellations can be viewed and analysed as visible manifestation of the less visible social need to meet and communicate. As a process it did not develop linearly and steadily, instead it sometimes happened organically or ad hoc, erupting as re-action and protest to something, and at other times it was carefully planned and prepared. There were regular events (weekly meetings); seasonal events (village fair; summer trip; Christmas celebrations) and spontaneous actions (right of way protest; Bus Stop).

When measured against criteria of socially engaged projects, the community caravan seems to tick all boxes: it is creative, community centered, bottom up, small scale, DIY, cheap, un-self–or little funded and nearly idyllic with the rose patterned seats, friendly pensioners and rural quietness. But it is not idyllic, nor is Northern Ireland, nor the village.¹³

Ballykinler or Ballykinlar, depending on which of the two ‘communities’ one belongs to, is wedged between the Mourne Mountains, the Irish Sea and cutting off the access to the beach – a British Army camp. The adjacent Abercorn Barracks has dominated the village since 1902. The military provided many jobs, allegiances and opposition, – again depending on one’s national/cultural identity. During the ‘Troubles’ the army operated in Northern Ireland, but now they prepare for deployments in Afghanistan and future areas of armed conflict worldwide.¹⁴

The village is a condensed rural microcosm of Northern Irish society, history and politics, magnified through the presence of the army. So it’s similar to interface zones in Belfast and its urban environment of segregated communities. Northern Ireland is regarded now to be in a transitional phase of post–violent conflict. For nearly two decades, European ‘Peace Funding’ supports community initiatives promoting a ‘shared future’ and respect. Public art, until recently mainly limited to visual art and mural projects, developed a language and formats of community participation that is increasingly formulaic and packaged to produce a positive result. The expertise in peace–building strategies and initiatives is high, and – one might argue– an industry

¹³ In an interview for this text, Anne–Marie Dillon talked in connection to an early work, a cottage out of cow dung and dust: ‘This was a dark space, it exists all over Northern Ireland. It was brutal, a brutal piece and that is exactly what I am working on in Ballykinlar: it is a brutal place.’ Interview with A.M Dillon, Ruth Morrow and PS². June 2014.

¹⁴ In July 2014, the ‘2nd Battalion The Rifles’ were relocated to an army camp in Lisburn, Northern Ireland. The Abercorn Barracks and its ground are now only used as training ground and many jobs were lost in Ballykinler and nearby villages. How this will impact on the community remains to be seen.
based on funding in itself.

Within this context, ‘space’, as a social and built construct is only mentioned, debated and funded, if it is closely connected with the word ‘shared’. Shared space is a key concept in politics and community relations, yet there are ‘...intrinsic problems in defining and shaping public space as ‘shared’ and ‘civic’ in cities, towns and villages that have experienced prolonged ethno-national conflict – both in terms of policy approaches to, and the practice(s) of, sharing space among communities.’ (Komarova, 2008, section)

What this means for projects and initiatives with communities, is an overwhelming intentional or internalised tendency, to harmonize conflictual situations and negate differences in their outcomes. In simple terms one could say, it produces rainbows, images of stereotypical hope, with little connection to the social reality. This is echoed and finds its equivalent in the critique by Claire Bishop of Bourriaud’s relational theory where the ’... artwork is presented as social interstice within which these experiments and these new “life possibilities” appear to be possible.’ (Bourriaud, 2002)

Bishop counters Bourriaud’s concept of a harmonious, microtopian situation with its absence of friction, by referring to Lacau and Mouffe, who ‘....argue that a fully functioning democratic society is not one in which all antagonisms have disappeared, but one in which new political frontiers are constantly being drawn and brought into debate – in other words, a democratic society is one in which relations of conflict are sustained and allowed for, not erased. Without antagonism there is only the imposed consensus of authoritarian order – a total suppression of debate and discussion, which is inimical to democracy.’

The mobile community centre or other projects in Ballykinler by A.M Dillon and PS² are never intended to harmonize social conflicts. It is not social work, nor is it ‘peace building’, though it works with social issues and some pedagogical understanding. It is artful and playful intervention through constructed situations and actions; some familiar, like a caravan or a village fair; some unfamiliar, like a caravan for the public or a fair as contemporary museum. It is a work process that finds and invents situations for conversations and negotiations, and appropriate spatial forms for it to happen. And though the formal appearance might sometimes look beautiful, or as Anne-Marie Dillon critically says ‘pretty to a degree it almost covers the brutality’, the work ‘scratches the varnish of peace till cracks show’. This doesn’t mean that the outcomes are better, socially or aesthetically more significant. It is a creative position and work ethic that requires honesty and comes with risks and setbacks. It is based on a long-term commitment and on the fact that A.M Dillon is a local resident and permanently ‘on-site’. Thomas Hirschhorn’s terms of ‘presence and production’ can be applied to A.M Dillon’s role here, as much as his rejection of the term ‘social art’:

15 Claire Bishop: Antagonism and Relational Aesthetics. In: Theory in contemporary art since 1985. Edited by Zoya Kocur and Simon Leung, 2013, p177. It could be argued that the Twaddell protest in North Belfast is an act of suppressing debate with its ‘no surrender’ policy.
16 Interview with Anne-Marie Dillon, Ruth Morrow and PS². June 2014.
17 Conversation: Presupposition of the equality of intelligence and love of the infinitude of thought: an electronic conversation between Thomas Hirschhorn and Jacques Rancière. In: Critical Laboratory. The writings of Thomas Hirschhorn. MIT press, 2013, p371. It has to be stressed that Hirschhorn on an
As much as the pensioner group in Ballykinler embraced and ‘loved’ the rose-patterned caravan, (it became a model for a ceramic flower-pot as part of a later project), it was not the first, nor the last spatial situation of a community centre. This aspect of change and the various permutations of achieved and ‘lived’ spatial constellations is important. Within their material and architectural limits, they are both real and symbolic expression of (village) life.

The first spatial situation for a community centre, was a series of ‘coffee mornings’, where A.M Dillon placed chairs, sofa, tables at the side of the road. An open-air living room prepared and decorated for ‘guests’. It was a very raw and naked protest, with a minimum of spatial definition, but high in symbolic and political value, and as an artistic happening. When it rained, ‘community’ didn’t happen. Subsequently, the caravan, familiar as a holiday home but unfamiliar as civic public space, was clearly an ‘architectural’ improvement, not least as shelter from the rain.

Yet the aim, for the pensioners, was a permanent space, a community centre, a refurbished old building or a new, purpose-built space, just as other neighboring villages and towns had. With a boarded up, disused primary school in the heart of their village centre, their long-term aim was to use the building as a community centre. It would be big enough to incorporate many groups and activities, but it was in public hands (Education and Library Board) and slowly fell into disrepair—reasons enough to act.

When a BBC Radio Ulster programme discussed the situation of the pensioners, their ‘protest’ and use of a caravan as community centre, the programme was introduced with: ‘They say they are using pensioner power to shame the local education and library board into letting them use somewhere a little less mobile to meet in.’

The wording captured a shift of the pensioners away from the excitement of basic temporary situations towards a desire for permanence, normalization: a proper centre, no longer nomadic. It also captured the search for and conflicts of a community.

With the growing confidence that the women gained through their collective actions, newspaper articles and visits by local Councilors, the take-over of the empty school seemed the next, logical step. Though the BBC programme did not open the doors to the school or a transfer of public ownership, the pensioners were given the use of an empty hair saloon, just opposite the previous caravan location, rent-free. The shop still remains the location of the’ Ballykinler/Ballykinlar community centre’ and is used by the pensioner group, a mother and toddler group, and two youth groups.

The ‘protest’ or ‘adventure’ for a community centre is however not over, though it has slowed down, at least as far as the pensioners are concerned. Their immediate need to have a fixed, warm community space is satisfied. Inverting Dillon’s statement: ‘Just because we don’t have a community centre doesn’t mean we are not a community’, one could ask if the village now forms as a community because of the’ Ballykinler/Ballykinlar community centre’? Definitely not, but they are on a process towards becoming a

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18 As part of the ‘UP–Down’ project by PS² in 2010/11 pssquared.org/UP–Down.php, London based ‘public works’ developed a village object together with the pensioner group. The final product, cast in ceramic and hand decorated by the group, was a ‘Rose Garden’ flowerpot, an exact scaled replica of the mobile community centre. It is now part of the ‘international village shop’ network www.internationalvillageshop.net/.


20 BBC Radio Ulster. See footnote 16
stronger community, with all its disputes, common ground, shared concerns and passions.

PS² intervened in this process through carefully planned yet low–funded art projects which fulfilled different roles: as art interventions, as academic research, as multidisciplinary contributions, all centered in the community. It is and was a mutual approach of giving and taking, of exchange, beneficial for all – or at least we hope.

Three examples of projects that illustrate the changing spatial aspects and formats:
- Rhyzom workshop in Ballykinlar 21
- Transfer Test: student project about a conversion of the empty school into a community centre 22
- Village Fair (Up–Down) 23

The Rhyzom workshop was located on the village green, used as both football pitch and Gaelic football playground.24 Due to the lack of a bigger facility (the hair salon only became available several months later); PS² placed an office container (cultural centre) at the edge of the pitch. Together with the caravan (community centre) it formed an extended community spaces not only for the two-day conference in Ballykinlar, but for the following month. The office container was in use not only by the pensioners, who liked the bigger space, but also by an informal mother and toddler group (who liked the safety of indoor and outdoor play possibilities on the pitch) and a youth group. This temporary, ad hoc constellation of container, fenced–off play area and caravan, satisfied, and at the same time stimulated, the need and desire for community space.

‘Transfer Test’ invited architecture students of Queen’s University, Belfast ‘…to propose ways of (self–help) renovation of the former Primary School and its potential future use as a community centre.’25 The week–long project, with community consultations, site visits and research was highly productive and produced architectural models, plans, and costs, indicating a phased, DIY orientated process of adaptation. The outcome was presented to the community in Ballykinler as well as to peer students and the wider public in Belfast. The project not only demonstrated the old school in a new light – as a community centre, but also increased the urge to achieve a take–over and to equip the community with material and data. It sparked new ideas and a renewed interest by the pensioners and parts of the community to campaign for the school. Though the outcomes were handed over to the press, local Councilors and Northern Irish politicians, there was, again, no opening of school doors. However, it lead to an ‘official’ consultancy

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21 Cultural production in rural environments and small towns. 17 – 20 June 2010. As part of the EU funded Rhyzom project, PS² organized a workshop with local and international artists and researchers in Ballykinler, including the community and Army. http://pssquared.org/workshop.php
22 Transfer Test was a 5 day planning workshop by first year students from both the undergraduate BSc Architecture and the Masters in Architecture course in the School of Planning, Architecture and Civil Engineering at Queen’s University Belfast as part of the ‘Street Society’ programme of live projects, 12–16 March 2012. http://pssquared.org/streesociety2012.php
23 The village fair (28 May 2011) was the final part of the ‘UP–Down’ project which included four different projects of art workshops with different individuals and groups of the village: the production of a film and cinema caravan; a local object (which became the ceramic caravan pot); the construction of a scrap metal mobile sculpture; a village newspaper and News website. February–May 2011 http://pssquared.org/UP-Down.php
24 Gaelic football is associated to Irish/Catholic culture, football to Protestant. Usually they do not share a common playground.
report and Village Plan organized by the local Government, demonstrating possibilities for a community centre, yet without mentioning the existing work and struggle from the pensioners, artists and researchers.

The Village Fair, was the culmination of the ‘UP–Down’ project, and the first fair since decades in the village. PS² picked up the tradition of agricultural shows in rural areas in Ireland, a showcase of farming achievements and re–used the format as a ‘contemporary museum’ of the outcomes of the project workshops and village produce. A cultural fair with bouncy castle and ‘cinema caravan’; with a ‘bike limousine’ and oldtimer cars; with walking sticks and the ‘ceramic caravan pot’; tea and sandwiches made by the pensioners– sold from their caravan, and international food, cooked by army wives. A DIY fair, self–organised, partly funded, non–profit, with all the income going back for the involved groups. It was the biggest spatial constellation yet in the use of common ground, marquees, caravans, containers, open stalls. It was, for one day, a community centre, colorful and mixed together. Since then it has become a fixed seasonal event, though slightly more conventional but with the pensioners as core organisers. This process also suggests the importance of the symbolic value a space is given and, perhaps even more importantly, the activity of people this space holds or enables.

What became clear through the various spatial projects discussed here, was the incongruence between art interventions and political and organisational community work. We are critically aware of this shortfall and the fact that the ‘pensioner power’ was toothless when it came to committee meetings, applications and the slow process of Council decisions. Though the group were and are major stakeholders in the village, they are perceived as having ‘no capacity’ and insufficient governance structures. Though the press and local councilors took notice of the ‘unusual’ protest and activities in the village, so far the community has achieved limited representation and certainly no citizen control over decision–making processes that impact on their lives. In short: the protest for a community centre was not connected with a political protest that could connect and work within the power structures. We had been part of a process to raise awareness around social and architectural space but have failed to focus on political space. Whilst Claire Bishop suggests that at ‘...a certain point, art has to hand over to other institutions if social change is to be achieved: it is not enough to keep producing activist art.’ We think that it is as citizens, not artists or architects, that we are more able to support the pensioners through the appropriate administrative processes in order to achieve control and ownership.

So how does this work speak to architecture? It certainly challenges conventional value systems that use permanence, quality of materials, control of process and expense as measures of success, since this work is temporary, cheap, and uses materials in an ad hoc manner within largely improvised processes. But it is also working in places where conventional architecture won’t or can’t go. The act of making space, place and architecture is always contentious, but in a highly territorialized society, such as Northern Ireland, building is both intimidatory and vulnerable to intimidation. The spatial activities of AM Dillon and PS², at times architecturally crude, don’t just respond to need – they also provide spaces to ask questions, challenge perceptions and test accepted positions, not only in relation to the world around but also to the individual worlds within. This is an creative practice that initiates, enables and supports dialogue between diverse actors in contested spaces; providing temporary shelter to social relationships undergoing shifts in identity and/or re–configuration. Such practice asks for patience, and abandonment of the idea of an end point. Over time we have come to understand
the work as a form of improvised, socio-spatial rehearsal: architecture in the process of becoming, still open for discussion and as yet inconclusive.

As part of the research for this text, we interviewed the pensioner group in the former hair salon. They looked at images from the past with great fondness, with their open-air sit-ins, the caravan, the Bus Stop, the village fair. ‘It was good fun, it was brilliant’, they concluded with some nostalgia. All in their seventies, they still want to have a bigger centre for the community, but feel left out by decision makers and unsupported with their engagement by the wider local community. ‘We are left to do it. The young ones don’t. They have too much to do at home....’ The pensioners of course left their own homes several years ago, for a few hours a week, to drink tea, play bingo, care for the village and build a space of change; on the pavement; in a rose-patterned caravan; an empty hair salon and maybe, just maybe, in a refurbished school. But they are not stuck like their contemporaries on Twaddell Avenue, they are on the move, pulling and inspiring others to come with them.

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26 PS² interview with the pensioner group, Ballykinler, 03.06.2014
27 See 30
The Parades Commission for Northern Ireland Annual Report, 31 March 2013

Images

Rhyzom workshop, Ballykinler, village green, 2010

Protest camp, Twaddell Avenue, North Belfast, 2013

UP-Down project: bicycle-limousine workshop, Ballykinlar, 2011
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