

Deriving a Narrative Infrastructure from Community Stories in Famagusta Walled City

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ABSTRACT

As facilitators of the public interest, urban change professionals cannot engage the public without telling and listening to stories. While previous research has addressed both story and narrative's role in creating policy and the resulting urban fabric, the feedback loop between narrative and urban fabric has not been modeled and tested. This thesis proposed an a priori coding model that applies to the processes in urban design and planning of long-term planning, analysis, and stakeholder engagement. The method of this study is a spatio-narrative theme analysis of urban interactions between the actors, their expressed identity that bounds their domain, and their narratives that drive land-use policy that shapes the urban fabric. The urban fabric of the Walled City of Famagusta on the island of Cyprus underwent a significant demolition period and a lack of investment in the historic fabric compounded by decline in population of 85%. The oral histories of the Walled City Association members provided location-specific narratives that were topographically located using a Geographic Information System. The community narrative themes of "labor" and "subjective wellbeing" associated with the Walled City were found to be deficient and poorly distributed.

Keywords: Narrative, oral history, storytelling, urban planning, urban design, Famagusta

ÖZ

Kamu çıkarlarının yöneticileri olarak, kentsel deęişim uzmanları, hikaye anlatmadan veya dinlemeden halk katılımını sağlayamazlar. Önceki arařtırmalar, hem hikaye hem de anlatının politika oluřturmada ortaya çıkan rolünü ve bunun sonucunda ortaya çıkan kentsel dokuyu ele alırken, anlatı ve kentsel doku arasındaki geri besleme döngüsü modellenmemiř ve test edilmemiřtir. Bu tez, kentsel tasarım ve uzun vadeli planlama, analiz ve paydař katılımı süreçlerinde kullanılmak üzere, önceden belirlenmiř bir kodlama modeli önermektedir. Çalışmada kullanılan yöntem, aktörler arasındaki kentsel etkileşimlerin, onların etki alanlarını belirleyen ifade kimliklerinin, ve kent dokusunu şekillendiren arazi kullanım politikalarını yönlendiren anlatılarının, anlatısal tema analizidir. Kıbrıs adasındaki Gazimağusa Suriçi'nin kentsel dokusu, %85 oranındaki nüfus azalmasına baęlı olarak, tarihi dokuya yatırım yapılmadıęını göstermektedir. Gazimağusa Suriçi sakinlerinin sözlü tarihi, Coęrafi Bilgi Sistemi kullanılarak topografik olarak saptanmiř yere özgü anlatılar saęlamıřtır. Gazimağusa Suriçi ile iliřkilendirilen “emek” ve “öznel refah” topluluk anlatı temaları, eksik ve yetersiz daęılmış olarak tespit edilmiřtir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Anlatı, sözlü tarih, hikaye anlatımı, şehir planlaması, kentsel tasarım, Gazimağusa

I dedicate this work and its motivation to all sentient beings.

May they be free from suffering.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Nicias's rousing words to the Athenian soldiers on the beach at Syracuse: 'You are yourselves the town, wherever you choose to settle ... it is men that make the city, not the walls and ships without them ...' (from *3 Thucydides*, translated by Thomas Hobbes, VII, 63, pp.308-9 in Rykwert, 2013, p.696).

The political activity that precipitates urban changes is dependent upon the rhetorical actions of community stakeholders. Therefore, the focus of this study is the narrative interaction of people with their domain; and if this interaction fosters persistence or decline of urban fabric. The research here documented attempts to describe the pervasive influence of narrative on how humans use space, adopt space, and negotiate the sharing of space. This chapter introduces the history of storytelling in human cultures and describes a need for adapting this tool to the processes of urban design and planning. The aims and questions proposed, tempered by the limitations of the subject matter, form the structure of the thesis.

1.1 The Persistence of the Story

The best idea in history, the worst idea in history, the recipe for a meal, the sentences of every written page, Paleolithic cave paintings at Lascaux – each is an expression of storytelling. In the antique oral compendium *Alf layla wa-layla*, the storyteller Scheherazade tells inter-woven tales nested to avoid her own demise (Burton, 1885). Should her tale come to a conclusion her king and husband, Shahryar, would have her put to death. She demonstrated a method of preservation that relied upon a continuity of stories that holds the attention. The over-arching theme of *Alf layla wa-layla* is to tell stories to further persist.

Society only persists through community's ability to craft stories that endure. Each community described in the past-tense is a terminal story. Jared Diamond (2005) explores a variety of failed civilizations across the planet. Diamond's work details mismanagement of resources or trade policies resulting in collapse of the named civilizations. With each epitaph, Diamond writes the final chapter of civilizations to document their fatal choices. The moral of each collapse is warning to contemporary societies to learn the danger of ignorance.

Lacking stories, or the ability to tell stories, humans cannot overcome ignorance to learn from one another. A story explains a cause and effect relationship and assigns cultural or personal meaning to the relationship. The human is a story-telling animal (Throgmorton, 1992) and it is difficult to define any culture without telling their story. While media types have proliferated, oral storytelling plays the most diverse roll in the history of society including teaching, mapping, entertainment, or convincing others of an argument (i.e. policy craft). The persistence of cities is predicated upon leveraging policy (i.e. stories) to combine efforts and pool resources.

1.2 The Need for a Narrative Approach

There is traditionally a technical divide between the graphic skills of a designer and the rhetorical skills of a politician. A significant proportion of a designer's skill is to use line, shadow, and sign to express an intent to the consumers of design. Other examples of urban change professionals, be they developers or activists or engineers, are similarly hampered by their own presumptive approach to the urban context. The common refrain at a public meeting is that the urban change professional has their own professional agenda and is not listening to the public.

The challenge for the urban change professional is to know which elements of the public's narrative to value, and how to translate it into a spatial expression that can

become the basis for a common map. Lacking a common map that can be used for policy decisions, listening to the public is a chaotic process.

Policy developments reflect the morals of stories told to policy makers. Such stories are filled with affable characters, and set on a specific stage and in a time. Told convincingly, these stories' crisis and resolution distill to a moral that is captured and codified to ensure incivility is diminished and society endures. A community's stories of crises and resolutions can be distilled to a moral. That moral can be captured and codified to ensure that civil compact is preserved.

In public engagement scenarios, the public brings their stories to policy makers who codify each story's moral into codes or policy. Policy makers can then build significant shared infrastructure when there is strong public demand for new infrastructure.

For example, core infrastructure systems of a city are conveyors of transportation, communication, waste, and commodities such as fuels and water. Exerting a significant influence on the morphology of cities, the core infrastructure and resulting urban fabric must be extended for a city to expand, or upgraded to allow for higher population densities.

As facilitators of the public interest, urban change professionals cannot build core infrastructure without engaging the public by telling and listening to stories. Schank (1990) has described a neurological propensity for narrative within all human beings that predates urbanization. While previous research has addressed both story and narrative's role in creating policy and the resulting urban fabric, the feedback loop between narrative and urban fabric has not been modeled and tested. This study suggests that local stories constitute a *narrative infrastructure*: spatially-bounded patterns of human affect that influence the morphology of cities. It is described as an

“infra”-structure because it is not visible, typically lasts for multiple generations, and often taken for granted.

Like all civil infrastructure (and most natural infrastructure), if abused or disregarded the narrative infrastructure supporting the city fails. The value of a functioning narrative infrastructure is to be found today in metrics related to migration, business starts, and tourism (Rose, 2016). Some cities have chosen to focus on city branding or “boosterism” as a substitute for a substantive narrative infrastructure (Paulsen, 2004). The result is an economically segregated city that focuses high-cost urban design into chosen neighborhoods (e.g. Central Business Districts, tourist districts, and historic districts) while allowing low-income neighborhoods to suffer disinvestment, neglect, even abandonment.

1.3 Research Aims and Questions

Cities persist longer than any one generation. This demands a greater vision of purpose on the part of its citizenry if they are to support the ongoing quality of life after their death. Long-term thinking and planning which supports this goal requires a medium of planning which transcends time, style, and opportunism. Stories have long performed this role, but how can this informal phenomenon be applied in a formal setting? Specifically:

1. Which criteria are appropriate to spatially distribute (i.e. map) narratives regardless of the city’s location?
2. Once the narratives are mapped, is it possible to compare the relative intensity and extents of the narrative themes of local oral histories?
3. Does the narrative infrastructure approach help to explain current urban conditions and what policies can be proposed to correct deficiencies?

Through the oral stories of current and former residents, this study analyzed the narrative infrastructure of the Walled City of Famagusta. To understand the land-use policy implications of the Walled City narrative infrastructure, it is necessary to define its spatial and thematic extents. While the influence of narratives is pervasive throughout human culture, there are systems of feedback where a narrative inspires change, and that change influences the next cycle of narration. The aim of this study is to explore the influence of different types of narratives on the public perception of urban fabric.

To achieve this aim, this study requires a description of what is a narrative and how it evolves. With the goal of understanding the pervasive influence of narrative on the human condition, urban change professionals must understand why, where, and how narratives are employed by civil society. Only then will it be possible to approach the ultimate goal of all urban change professionals: to propose modifications of the narrative infrastructure to improve the quality of life in cities.

1.4 Limitations

This study is focused on finding actionable points of leverage to change the polis-narrative through the analysis and manipulation of the narrative infrastructure. The study of said infrastructure is not intended to contribute to the sciences of sociology or psychology, though it borrows from both sciences. Rather, it is a narrative theme analysis of urban interactions between the actors, their expressed identity that bounds their domain, and their narratives that drive land-use policy that shapes the urban fabric. The urban fabric then influences actor identity, causing a feed-back loop where the urban change professional can influence the narrative process to adjust the urbanization/acclimation cycle.

This study assumes the city, its people, and the narratives are systems constantly informing and changing one another, and that there is no ultimate solution or objective position. Systems that interfere and change one another are unquantifiable, making prediction impossible (Case, 2017).

Designers are traditionally in the role of finding solutions to problems, and this mentality is ultimately counter-productive for the city and its population due to this lack of predictability (Brand, 1991). This work does not support positivistic metrics, coercive planning methods, or theories of development. Following the examples presented by Alexander et al. (2005) and Uzzell (2008), this work limits itself to fostering locally-relevant generative proposals rather than generalized urban design theory rationales.

The humility of learning to listen to the stories of a community – the pertinent and seemingly impertinent – can potentially elevate the urban change professional to a teller of stories. Like Scheherazade’s ever-forking narrative, each community’s stories must be retold a proverbial thousand and one different ways every moment – an ever-evolving field of interactions – as people strive for happiness and satisfaction.

This degree of complexity demands that the urban change professional strive to overcome the limitations of academic and professional hubris that tends to favor spatial or economic theory over local narrative (Uzzell, 2008).

Both the spatial extent and sample of the case study that follows are constrained by the necessity to examine a discreet local set of narratives. The Walled City of Famagusta is 1.15 kilometers wide on its longest diagonal, has only three points of ingress/egress, and 1,000 residents. The sample is further constrained to the interviews conducted by the members of the Famagusta Walled City Association (Mağusa Suriçi

Derneği, or MASDER) between 2015-2017. This spatial and sample limitation narrowed the case study's scope by framing the data topologically and generationally.

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

Following this introductory chapter, the second chapter will frame the theory of narrative infrastructure and address how other researchers have addressed the interactions of narrative infrastructure themes and their methods for both analyzing and influencing the urban narratives.

Chapter three details the method of the field case study carried out with the neighborhood association of the Walled City, Famagusta. Chapter four summarizes the results of this case study. Using the narrative infrastructure approach, chapter five discusses the implications of the data in terms of narrative infrastructure. The concluding chapter details the strengths and weaknesses of this approach, and suggests directions for future research to capitalize on the strengths and overcome the weaknesses communicated by the community narratives.

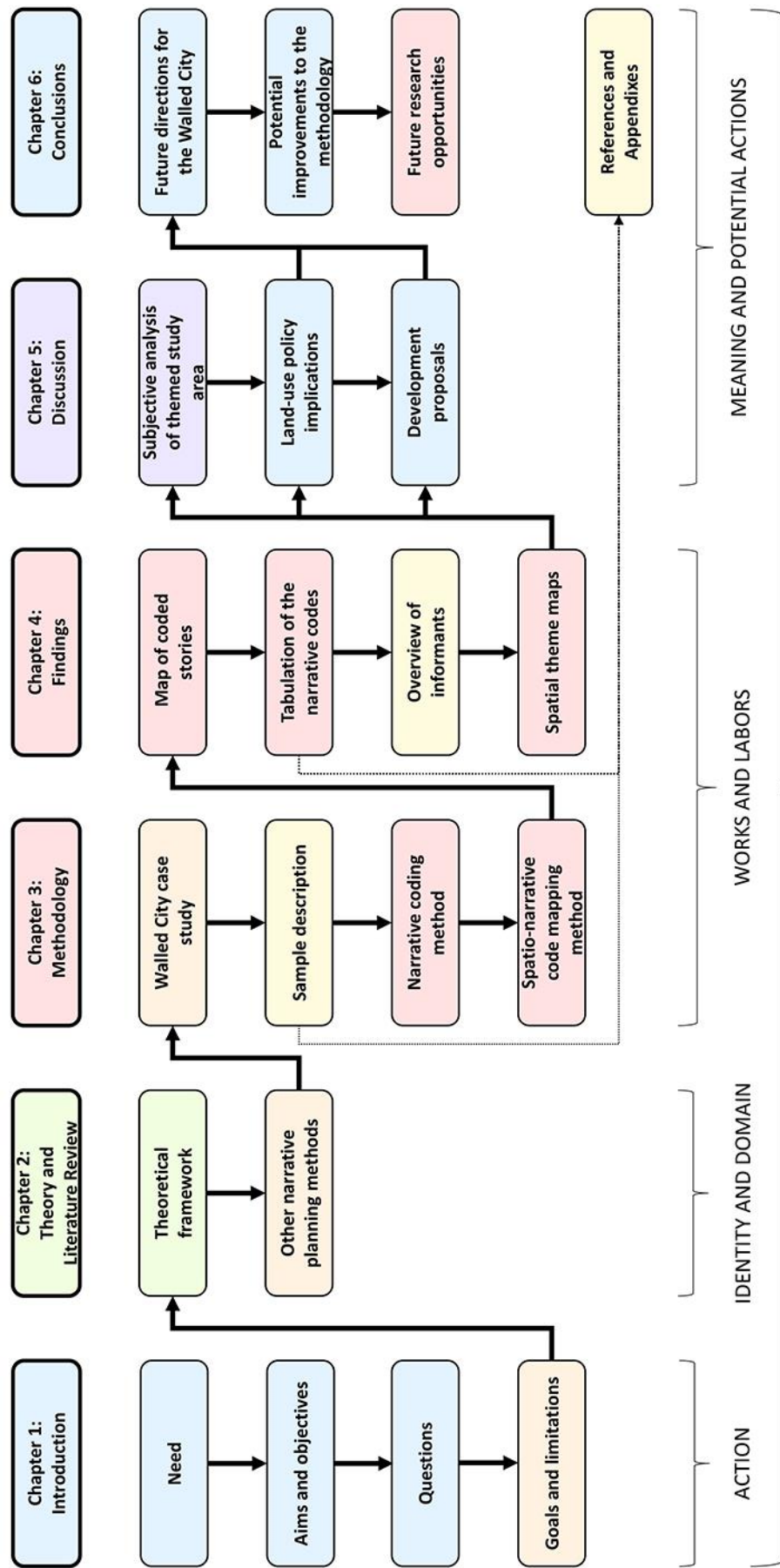


Figure 1. Thesis Structure Flow Chart

Chapter 2

FRAMING THE NARRATIVE INFRASTRUCTURE

In this chapter the foundational theory of Hanna Arendt (1959) is used to provide a framework for narrative infrastructure. Six examples of research relating to storytelling and urban planning or design are reviewed in detail and examined for congruence with the narrative infrastructure themes. The six themes of narrative infrastructure are then described in depth.

2.1 Defining the Human Condition

Sustainable cities are predicated, in part, upon the application of narrative theory. While there are a variety of approaches for sustainable urban design such as urban fabric morphology and psychological analysis of urbanite relationships to space and place, civilization cannot be fully understood without recognizing the pervasive nature of narrative and story. Employed individually, each urban design approach has internal consistency and demonstrates a pathology of urban phenomena. Though they provide valuable insights into policy, meaning, ethnography, place identity, and the urban fabric itself, these approaches can be improved with storytelling techniques.

The proposed goal of urban change professionals is betterment and sustainment of urban human activity. To aid in the achievement of this goal, here proposed is an abstract framework to study different aspects of the urban human condition – both in isolation and through their interactions. To describe an individual urban dweller (actor), how those dwellers interact (actor network), and the built fabrics derived from

those interactions it is necessary to draw upon authors generally researching psychology, sociology, and political philosophy.

Hanna Arendt's (1959) text *The Human Condition* identifies narrative as one of three legs of civil society. Through the analysis of Hellenic classical authors, Arendt describes the early citizens of Athens attempting to differentiate themselves from the typical tribal system of governance. Storytelling, through the application of rhetoric, was the principle way of defining the public sphere (Tassinari, Piredda, & Bertolotti, 2017). Inspiring the action of others towards a common purpose – a politician – is founded upon rhetoric. The core of storytelling technique leverages the human mind's predilection for seeking patterns of cause and effect (Schank, 1990; Gottschall 2012).

In abbreviation of Arendt's description ancient Athenian social structure: it was a collection of laborers, workmen, and citizens. The laborers provided for the daily (definitively perishable) necessities of mortal life. Workmen built the artifice of durable improvements to urban life: tools, huts, pottery, etc. The citizens inspired action through rhetoric or acted to improve all actors' condition by laboring or working together: common defense, civil infrastructure, etc. From this division of civil society, Arendt describes all *polis* as mixtures of people who tend to specialize in these activities but also as individuals engage in all three activities to differing degrees.

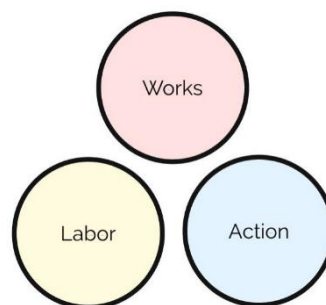


Figure 2. Euler diagram of Arendt's 1959 "human condition"

These three elements of Arendt's human condition are not confined to the urban context. Any society that achieves a division of work and labor is prone to develop a ruling-class who will step into the role of leadership. Whenever two people come together to accomplish something there manifests a polis. Laboring alone, a person can make bread; working alone he or she could build a boat. By combining efforts, two or more people can build a ship or cook a banquet. In order to combine efforts, they need to communicate the starting conditions, agree on a path, to achieve an agreed upon goal. They must tell a story, agree to the moral, and act. To forge coalitions and combine the efforts of many, it is critical to tell a story. Thus, cities are residue of narratives and stories (Childs, 2008; Rogers, 2013; Filep, Thompson-Fawcett, & Rae, 2014; Bakshi, 2014.) In order to study Arendt's elements in the urban context, both spatially and in time, it is necessary to integrate them with three sub-elements: domain, identity, and meaning.

Arendt defines a "laborer" as one who engages in effort to develop a product with limited persistence (e.g. such as bread, but not a masonry brick). In contemporary society most people engage in a certain degree of labor on a daily basis, while some rely on it as a vocation. For the purpose of the narrative infrastructure, a laborer, person, or actor is defined by how they differentiate themselves from others (their identity) and the physical extent of their activities (their domain). It is not possible to fully separate these two elements as they are both defined by actor memory.

Similarly, many people are professionally engaged as workers creating different durable goods or products meant to be used in the creation of durable goods, perishable goods/services, or ideas. A work can be described as a product meant to persist that is imbued with cultural meaning and is emplaced in a distinctive domain. The domain can be any arena of human endeavor for which a boundary can be described.

When members of a society wish to change how the society works, they must engage in either direct action to effect change, or inspire action of an audience with their story or rhetoric. Their goal is to establish a theme/meaning behind their action or story worthy of being adopted either as law or policy. Such meaningful result becomes the guidelines for creating of the works created by the society.

This element of action is the venue where all public works are initiated. As such, the role of the urban planner or designer originates from a need for action expressed by the public.

Within the recent research on urban planning, design, and management informed by narrative theory, there are two dominant paradigms. The first is highly goal-oriented with narrow time horizons. Research has been extended in the field of place attachment to develop a model of urban space that is largely positivist oriented though relying on mixed methods (Hernandez, Hidalgo, & Ruiz, 2014). This cross-sectional approach is goal-oriented in its pursuit of a more perfect city and was used by Filep, Thompson-Fawcett, and Rae (2014); Marris (1982); Yanow (1995); Sandercock (2003); and Paulsen (2004). Such works are more focused on the direct function of narratives and how this can be leveraged to predict public and institutional reactions.

The second paradigm focused on the influences of narratives on both formal and informal long-term policy (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983; Brand, 1991; Aravot, 1995; Childs, 2008). Molotch, Freudenburg, and Paulsen (2000) and Throgmorton (1992) studied longitudinal influence of narrative and storytelling on the development of the policy and urban fabric. Molotch, Freudenburg, and Paulsen (2000) documented two neighboring cities' different responses to the same forces over a century (Molotch, Freudenburg, & Paulsen, 2000). James Throgmorton (Eckstein & Throgmorton, 2003) proposed in his later research to leverage the community's

reliance on narrative-thinking to adjust both policy and fabric. While this does have ethical implications, narrative has always been used in planning and design as civil society is predicated on narrative and storytelling (Arendt, 1959; Arnstein, 1969).

Drawing on Throgmorton, Michael Jones and Mark McBeth's (2010) development of the *Narrative Policy Framework* (NPF) provides both quantitative and qualitative tools to identify the archetypal characters at work in every public narrative or story. Through the coding of "hero", "villain", and "victim", Jones and McBeth's team demonstrated how narratives and their tellers can be individually analyzed and compared. Though the NPF method is ostensibly focused on describing post-narrative results on policy and urban fabrics, there are examples of successful field deployment of narrative theory to support action research.

2.2 The Narrative Turn in Design

Ancient Greek authors, notably Aristotle in *Rhetoric* (1929) and Cicero's *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (1959), discuss the simultaneity between narrative and the polis, that one cannot exist without the other. Arendt (1959) made this the cornerstone of her research into the human condition: political life, laboring life, and work life. The last, *work*, provides a scaffold to integrate the practice of urban design with process of narrative theory.

Building upon the advancement of structuralist theories of narrative arising in the 1960s, the "narrative turn" (Kreiwirth, 2005) has been employed widely in humanistic fields in the last several decades. "La narratologie" (narratology) was coined by Tzvetan Todorov to describe what French structural linguists (e.g., Roland Barthes, Claude Bremond, Gérard Genette, and A. J. Greimas; refer to Herman ,2008) used to marry their theory of language with Russian Formalist literary theorists (Herman, 2009a). By joining the study of the written text with a general theory of language, the

French theorists turned the structures of the scientific study of plot, setting, characters and the other dynamics of literature into cognitive science and made them available to the humanities including spontaneous conversations and historio-graphic writing to visual art, dance, and mythic and literary traditions (Herman, 2009b).

This cross-disciplinary approach has increased since the 1990s (Schank 1990; Hyvärinen, 2006). A semiotic bridge between the fields of narratology and urban studies owes a considerable intellectual debt to Claude Lévi-Strauss (1963) who's opening chapters of *Structural Anthropology* build the link between structural linguistics, anthropology, and social laws.

Structural anthropology studies have long been applied to narratives, both oral and written. This methodology is useful for comparing narrative content generation to generation and region to region – this is to say over vast regions and long time-spans. Only recent science have focused on narrative policy analysis (e.g. Molotch, Freudenburg, & Paulsen, 2000; Jones, McBeth, & Shanahan, 2014; Yanow, 1995; and Throgmorton, 1992) and the built fabric of cities (e.g. Childs, 2008; and Mazrui, 1999).

The theory of narrative infrastructure relies on Arendt's (1959) theory of the human condition (labor, work, and action) as a scaffold on which is hung the theories of these contemporary authors crossing disciplines between cognitive science (e.g. Schank, 1990), ritual-affirmed identity (e.g. Jackson, 1994), place identity (e.g. Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983, Jacobs, 1961, & Alexander, 1979), the artifice of culture (e.g. Mazrui, 1999 and Molotch, Freudenburg, & Paulsen, 2000), urban design and policy (e.g. Childs, 2008; Gray & Jones, 2016), and emplaced meaning (e.g. Sandercock, 2003 and Rykwert, 2013).

As the various authors' theories overlap multiple of these six themes of narrative infrastructure, the themes are discussed from:

1. the single actor's perspective (*labor*),
2. through individualization through ritual (*identity*),
3. where those rituals are emplaced (*domain*),
4. how works and artifacts are crafted to aid labor, identification, and emplacement (*works*),
5. how acculturation is embedded in action, rituals, and place to become *meaningful*,
6. how as individuals or communities actors initiate change in all the above (*action*).

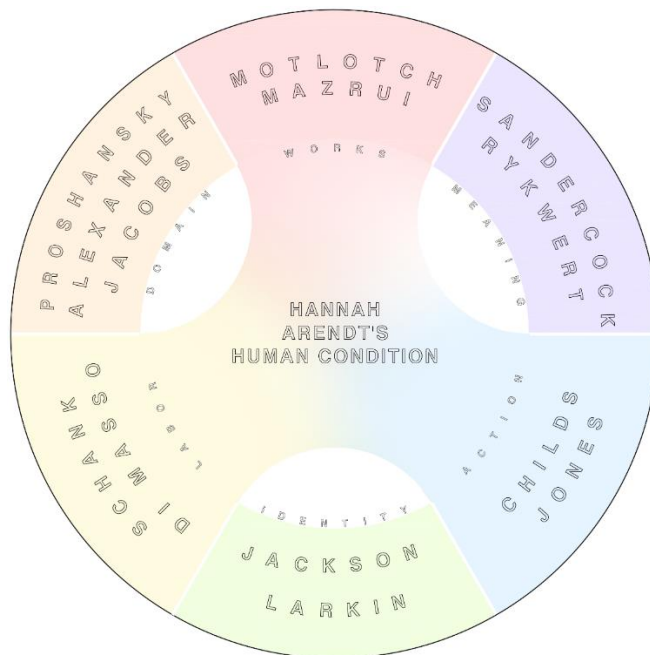


Figure 3. Authors and narrative infrastructure diagram

2.3 Other Methods: Stories in Planning, Urban Design, and Policy

While the application of narrative-informed planning/policy and design has been discussed in various literature, few are applied to case studies. What follows is a

detailed review of six studies with research methods that address some, if not all, of the six themes of narrative infrastructure.

New Theory of Urban Design (1987) and Generative Design (2005) by Christopher Alexander et. al.

Alexander demonstrated in his *New Theory of Urban Design* (1987) it is theoretically possible to introduce new urban fabric to an existing context while reinforcing the continuity of the context. The text is a report on a graduate urban design studio conducted with students of University of California, Berkley redesigning a neighborhood in decline near San Francisco. The nineteen students and four professors established a simulated development environment where each new building or feature in the neighborhood was proposed in sequence. Rather than starting with a rational scheme for the whole neighborhood, the studio started with only the entrance: a triumphal arch gateway. The students then proposed one building after another to fill in the neighborhood behind the gateway with a constant eye towards framing public space and leaving a portion of their own work unfinished as a starting point for the next student's design.

In this way, the work evolved with simulated continuity of the previous building programs and styles. The professors evaluated each new project as a zoning review board would evaluate a change of land-use request. Issues of use compatibility, scale, and how the new use helped define the space between buildings were critical to the process. The results unfolded with a strong sense of internal continuity and resulted in a picturesque city-scape.

Alexander is specifically attempting to break-down the paradigm of designer as form-giver to the public realm, designer as creator, designer as artist (Alexander, 1979). This attitude persists despite architects and urban designers historically low

direct influence on the majority of urban development (Brand, 1991). To understand Alexander's intent it is incumbent on designers to review his text *A timeless way of building* (Alexander, 1979) where he proposes that a city is a process, not a product. Alexander's notion of a "timeless" building is one that is neither dated stylistically nor a finished construction.

This distinction matters to the city erected in a design process which, legal design errors and omissions notwithstanding, relieves the designer of responsibility for the design when construction is finished. Given that the buildings begin to age, to be adapted, and eventually demolished, it is false to claim the programmatic function is fixed at any one point in time (Brand, 1991). Therefore, to build in a "timeless" manner, designers must work within a continuity of context and culture if they are to be supporters of urban morphology, rather than impediments to the community adaptations of the fabric. Cities that persist exhibit a transmutation of previous fabrics into new fabrics (Alexander, 1977).

Alexander's (1987) own conclusion in *New Theory of Urban Design* (1987) was his method could not be integrated into the existing urban development industry as it is predicated upon fixed meanings (development codes) that commodify the land. The way most cities regulate land-use is not in a continuity with the context, but via law to be applied regardless of contexts. The law itself is a record of the morals of many different narratives over many years collected as a compendium of minimum standards.

Alexander's (1987) contends that, as the city is consistently derivative from the previous works, it is effectively "generated" not "planned".

Even where it is possible, generative planning may be undesirable because of perceived inability to control outcomes, or to control the planning itself, or

because of difficulties of gaining funding or other institutional support, or for other reasons (Uzzell, 2008, p.115).

The results fail to have the characteristics of a "work". The resulting urban fabric is not a tool to be employed to a pre-ordained use, it is a manifestation of the cycle that includes the work, but also narrative and labor. Per Arendt (1959), there is no way to dictate how the polis will act, and there is no way to predict outcomes. Such is a difficult fact for politicians who are employed to make the laws and codes that protect the members of the polis from each other.

Codifying any individual story is no different than relying on the story or constellation of stories that led to the current building and development code (Rapoport, 1977). Clear and unambiguous building codes simplify the development process, which reduces procedural costs to the developer. The less interpretation of a code necessary, the easier it can be transferred to a check list with a binary indicator: "satisfied" or "unsatisfied, request variance". This enables developers to define the costs of development earlier in the project cycle, allowing them to borrow funding to satisfy known costs with predictable returns. For the business, it is a matter of balancing risk against returns. Unambiguous laws and codes reduce the risk of public resistance to development schemes that satisfy those laws.

In 2005, a group of colleagues and students advanced Alexander's urban design principles with a land use code proposal, the *Generative Code*. Presented as a guide to politicians, developers, and urban change professionals, the code is formatted to be adopted reference into city code. The kernel of the *Generative Code* is: "[t]hat the order in which things are introduced is as vital as the specification of the geometrical features. This is common sense, and ordinary." (Alexander et al., 2005, p.3) Continuity of the ongoing urban meaning is critical to the successful application of the code. The unending narrative is the goal. The *Generative Code*, adapting the lessons of *New*

Theory of Urban Design, provides a method of using action to change the polis while relying on second-order thinking of the *animal laborans*, and their associated sense of identity and domain. This code includes a mandate for the inclusion of in situ actors' sense of identity and domain as foundational to each proposed design or land use change.

The theory is not overly focused on the associated identity with works except as they relate to domain. This does suggest that historic identity is not as heavily valued as the living rituals of the community. Alexander's et. al. 1977 work attempts to address the "quality that cannot be named" that they propose under-girds a *pathos* rooted in the combination of built fabric and nature. As it is explicitly unnamable, it is not a quality that lends itself to historic classification. This implies that to preserve the sense of domain that supports actor memory, a great deal of direct work with the in situ actor's is necessary, that their narrative must be treated as constituent of and under-girding urban design.

While Alexander's team offers a method of how to work with narratives of a community, it does not propose an approach to the narratology, ethnography, or content analysis of those narratives. Per Alexander, this method is not fully developed for regional, or even city-wide planning. It is most applicable to neighborhood-scale projects.

Planning as Persuasive Storytelling About the Future: Negotiating an Electric Power Rate Settlement in Illinois, James A. Throgmorton (1992)

Focused on the post-debate policy results of electricity pricing in 1980s Chicago and portions of Illinois, Throgmorton (1992) engaged a variety of theories of narrative

analysis on news media. The assumptions presented were that an audience of actors possess a natural capacity to evaluate a policy narrative's fidelity and coherence.

Narrative *fidelity* is achieved when the story puts forth a logic of good reasons: strong, well-reasoned morals that can be followed by the listeners. Audiences judge *coherence* on three measures (Throgmorton, 1992, pp.18-19):

1. in terms of its internal, structural coherence;
2. in terms of how well it deals with issues and counter arguments appearing in competing stories;
3. and in terms of the reliability of its narrators and characters...tell stories that 'do not negate the self-conceptions that people hold of themselves.'

Throgmorton (1992) asked how do actors judge these two qualities when listening to or reading policy narratives? He presented the evolution of the policy debate over a decade through narrative analysis of newspapers. He took note of where each side of the debate engaged or failed to engage the five core principles of good narrative:

1. Build a plot: conflict, crisis, and resolution into the narrative such that laboring protagonists move from one state of understanding to a new state of understanding.
2. The characters of the narrative are interesting, believable, and relatable individuals with plausible identities.
3. The action of the narrative is in its rightful context (domain), in that the narrative is emplaced that it can rely on extent meaning.

The policy narrative point of view is (for both actor and story characters) appropriate:

...they have to ask, both for themselves and their characters, who is standing where to watch the scene? Who is speaking? To whom? In what form? At what distance from the action? With what limitations? (Throgmorton, 1992, p.19)

The limitations become the starting point of narrative adjustment: build the sense of meaning of the domain with imagery that engages the imagination of the audience, and rhythm to leverage the human mind's propensity to seek patterns.

Showing how each actor in the debate used or failed to use these principles, Throgmorton demonstrated how the published policy narratives eroded or strengthened their position. While the analysis is conducted in hind-sight, it does suggest a correlation between the principles of good storytelling and the success of a policy debate.

Noting that local argumentation often takes place on a face-to-face basis, I suggest that acting as a skilled-voice-in-the-flow evokes emotions that become embodied, and that such embodied emotions are an extremely important but essentially neglected or marginalized part of planning practice (Throgmorton, 2007, p.367).

The urban change professional employing narrative is aiming to establish meaning about the policy subject within the minds of the stakeholder actors. The domain bounding the issue under consideration likely contains the works and actors who will define the successful change of meaning. The beholder's share (Gubser, 2005) demands the urban change professional to: "acknowledge, care for, and attend to one another's deepest inner fears, angers, suspicions, joys, and hopes." (Throgmorton, 2007, p.377).

The ritualistic elements of daily life actors use to define themselves chronologically are used to define tribe membership. The tacit assumption is that those within the actor's tribe will extend protection and help the actor as needed. The greater the sense of tribal relation the greater the tendency for xenophobia (Diamond, 2012). In debates of contested domain, the typical starting assumption is an action or narrative must result in policy winners and losers. Throgmorton (2007) suggests this should be overcome by fostering narratives of inclusiveness, or joining separate tribes through common ritual on the shared domain.

Throgmorton (2007) suggests a process of skillful meandering through the various narratives espoused by the various actors. Direct confrontation is inherently relying on a “good” versus “evil” narrative trope that demands winners and losers to public contest. Where there is not shared identity, the domain will be a source of contest between actors. The professional must endeavor to actively listen to all competing actor narratives from the relevant contested domains of the policy issue. Then it is possible to build “sustainable economies of spirit” (Throgmorton, 2007, p.377) that requires the actors to establish, identify, or manufacture a shared domain and shared identity. The shared domain and identity allows shared narratives which engender shared cultural sense of meaning (i.e. shared values).

Throgmorton (1992) concludes that actor cannot be told their experience is wrong in any convincing manner. Facts can be debated but actor experience is the source of their emotions. Further, he stresses that urban change professionals must engage these same stories in the work of planning. Later, Throgmorton (2007) would refine this approach to suggest urban change professionals become “skilled-voice-in-the-flow” of the meandering narratives that compose the activity of the civil arena (Throgmorton, 2007, pp.375-376).

The method of narrative analysis used by Throgmorton (1992) involves all the elements of narrative infrastructure except work. This is likely because the subject of the policy debate revolved around a core infrastructure – itself a work.

***Goonawarra: Core Story as Methodology in Interpreting a Community Study,
Graeme Dunstan and Wendy Sarkissian (1994)***

Based on an ethnographic approach, Dunstan and Sarkissian (1994) developed a fictional core-story to sketch the emotional state of an under-served community in Goonawarra, Australia. The team was tasked with reporting back to the Urban Land

Authority (ULA) about the polis's predisposition to recommencing publicly-funded development in its community. The researchers used different public engagement techniques to amass and code a large amount of anecdotal content describing themes of "anti-government" and "betrayal".

The research team used a variety of public engagement methods (Dunstan & Sarkissian, 1994):

1. *Search Conference* with local service providers, attendance by invitation;
2. *Letter-boxing* of every household on the Estate outlining the ULA's intentions for consultation;
3. *Interview survey* comprising both structured and open-ended questions, and involving a representative sample of households;
4. *Storefront* in a temporary on-site office where people could drop in for a chat and information, with opening hours designed to give everyone an opportunity;
5. Six small *group meetings* of residents with members of the study team and from the ULA and its design and planning consultants; and
6. *Discussions* with the "Accountability Group" established to oversee this research and the subsequent development of the next stages.

The diversity of approaches assured that the research team gathered the widest variety of stories from local actors, while also building the trust necessary. The team was government-funded, and not subject to a higher-education institutions code of human subject treatment. From this data, the team derived the themes and content of the "core story" used to conclude the study. Starting with the common themes identified by their coding process, the team developed an almost fairy-tale-like story by "[u]sing heroic, mytho-poetic language, [allowing them] distance and also giv[ing]

voice to those voices which are often not heard..." (Dunstan & Sarkissian, 1994, p.84). Through public exposure and feedback, the community ratified the emotionally-charged story as representative of their discontent with the Urban Land Authority.

This story became a ritualized artifact to ratify the identity of an underrepresented group of actors who claimed a domain under the jurisdiction of the ULA. The study and project are cross-sectional, and the overarching effect on policy (meaning) and works is not a part of the study. The actor satisfaction with the core-story promotes the idea as worthy of consideration in the urban change process. The best practices of "story renewal" included with the report include (Dunstan & Sarkissian, 1994, p.12):

1. A telling of the story in a way that accepts its truth and acknowledges its power and pain; (action)
2. An atonement in which there is an exchange that settles the differences; (establish common identity)
3. A ceremony or ritual emerging out of true local involvement and commitment by government, local and state, that publicly acknowledges the new beginning; and (engage in common ritual to infuse the common identity with a common domain)
4. An ongoing commitment and trust that a new approach is possible and will be acted upon. (foster meaning)

Our best guess at the local 'myth' is presented as an offering, an attempt to explain from the place of detachment and overview that myth can provide the power and tenacity of the local story in terms of a Great Story. (Dunstan & Sarkissian, 1994, p. 9)

"Narrative-Myth and Urban Design" as an investigation of Meaning: Iris Aravot, 1995

Aravot (1995) wished to explore the *genius loci* of a city and posits that map of domain only partially represents the urban reality. Her students were tasked with

integrating urban planning data points with related cultural expressions in media, policy, or oral histories. Specifically, the students were required to make an empirical inquiry and speculative response to display, classify and analyze the relationships between the meanings of urban spaces or architecture with various times and places. Rather than focusing on extent of the meanings (an exercise in mapping the domain) the students were tasked with demonstrating the architectural narrative through the undergirding patterns of demographics, policy, or media.

Aravot (1995) quotes extensively from Ernst Cassirer's (1944) *An Essay On Man*: "Myth and primitive religion are by no means entirely incoherent, they are not bereft of sense or reason. But their coherence depends much more upon unity of feeling." Most important, "even in the life of civilized man [myth] has by no means lost its original power." (Aravot, 1995, p.80) This is expanded upon with prevailing postmodernist approaches towards architectural and urban narrative focused on (1) poetry or literature or (2) free narration. The first is to adapt the structures of poetry and literature as semiotic allegories for criticism of works. The second enters into the process of design using characters (i.e. components) or plots (i.e. relationships) as sourced by the designer. In the process of criticism, the first approach builds a platform of establishing and demonstrating the meaning of works, where the second approach is action-oriented: a method to change conditions of the works to suit a change in identity. This "free narration" is incipient only. It lacks the power granted by the evolution of a form over time via the aggregated actions of the polis, which, as Cassirer pointed out, has not been lost.

The narrative-myth derived from the aggregated efforts, facts, and processes of the polis is designated by Aravot the myth *a posteriori*. The *a posteriori* is the dense wisdom that hints at greater depths hidden from the neophyte or uninitiated. Such

myths are vague enough that they do not contradict actor memory directly nor commonly held beliefs. Through its vagary, such myths impose meanings on phenomenon which are unexplained by history or science (Aravot, 1995).

The *a priori* urban narrative-myth is a potentially misleading concept. Aravot (1995) describes the *a priori* narrative-myth as the narratives presented by actors where suitable depth of meaningful identity attached to domain is absent, as would be expected for a new work designed on speculation. The confusion is to describe the *a priori* as a myth, when it is based on rational principles of design applied to the irrational landscape, or an existing irrational urban context. Actors engaged in imposing a rational on the irrational are inherently attempting to change by action, thus fully attempting to convince the polis by narrative.

Aravot's (1995) work might be easier to understand from the perspective of narrative infrastructure by divorcing the terms "narrative" from "myth", even though myths need a narrative medium to be discussed or examined.

The twenty-nine design students developed background studies of the planning of Tel Aviv (e.g. demographics, land use, densities, statutory data, economic data) plus one additional aspect (politics, ideologies, or a media). Source were varied between text, observation, and interviews. From this body of data, the students were required to identify a common denominator that united the themes of the planning data and additional aspect that expressed why the aspect persists in the city. Students were encouraged to document the relationships with an analogous model. This final step entered the students into a reflexive dialog with the narrative myth, evolving it through their work into a starting point for new design work. The fourteen results varied across different themes or myths, largely focused on the military conflicts aftermath, and the change of cultural identity through immigration.

Avarot's methods provided a mode of investigation into meaning of cultural expressions and their dependent works, the resulting analogous models produced by the students do not provide avenues for further examination of the urban fabric. The models do provide a residue to examine the students' relationships with their city. As actors with agency, the student's myth-models would serve well as discussion points for future action by the polis.

The paper does expose the city's multi-generational central myth as one under cultural and military siege with scant assumption of persistence. Based upon the case, this study does not address domain as the actors sense of domain is fluid, and unwise to claim by the inhabitants.

Christopher Alexander (1989) would confirm the distinction between *a priori* narrative and *a posteriori* urban myths. The latter are the result of interlocking patterns, where the former requires the designer to presume a narrative lacking in substance. This *a posteriori* manufacture of a rational narrative suggests a lack of common identity arrived at through common ritual.

History Repeats Itself, But How? City Character, Urban Tradition, and the Accomplishment of Place, Harvey Molotch, William Freudenburg, and Krista E. Paulsen (2000)

The interaction of built works, meaning, and domain were explored by comparing two California cities. The cities shared many physical characteristics and a great deal of history, but their urban design greatly diverged over the course of fifty years. By rehabilitating the notions of "character" and "tradition", Molotch, Freudenburg, and Paulsen (2000) investigated the persistence of place character.

Utilizing actor network theory, they examined how a city's sense of continuity is carried by the common identity of the community. The proposition that works

influence the rituals of a community is important to urban design, as the desire of urban change professionals is to improve the quality of life of the actors.

The researchers investigated three elements of the two cities:

1. The activity and character of community voluntary associations
2. The physical works of the city, including the informal expressions such as graffiti
3. The influence of nature on the policy of land use and community narrative

Community voluntary associations are “linking devices” in that they are sources of potential action in a community and also the memories of actors that invigorate a sense of meaning in the works of a city. Such associations invariably share a domain, and rituals.

Physical works stand in as reminders of memory, and thereby contribute to the shared ritualized narratives of daily life in a city; the aggregated social agreements that lie behind them.

Nature both influences and is recipient of narrative in similar manner as the works of a city, including offering a character to stories.

The team used content analysis of newspapers but crossed the data with industry, demography, land-use development, and physical character of the cities. Ventura showed a decline over time due largely to industry diversity, fringe-belt development favored over downtown reinvestment, and bifurcation by a high-speed motorway.

These long-term results in Ventura were possible in Santa Barbara at the same time. The difference in how Santa Barbara actors related to the power dynamics of the actors attempting change caused the two communities to diverge. In example, rather than allowing for industry representatives to steer the community towards allowing the growth in petroleum jobs and infrastructure, Santa Barbara actors listened to one

another. They arrived at adaptive decisions based on identity/domain resulting in continuity with the past. Santa Barbara's resulting place identity was reinforced with each decision. Much planning in Santa Barbara was focused on coming to a common story rather than creating a new Utopian story where the actors in Ventura employed heroes, villains, and victims in policy narratives. Ventura's approach created winners and losers of policy debates.

Conversely, Santa Barbara engaged in a process of adaptive decisions that attempted to join desperate viewpoints through negotiation (often verbally). This method of actor-network demands greater trade-offs, but only occasionally winners and losers. The process was based on inter-group substance, rather than slogans or branding. Injecting a new mission statement, community organization, or civic work all carry the risk of artificiality.

For local individuals and groups with only weak resources, the weight of accumulating conjunctures – and the routines they imply however unhealthy, inegalitarian, or otherwise troubling these adjustments were – set the terms for adjustments that must be made. This is Arendt's (1958) principle of action practiced by the polis.

Meaning was reinforced through the connective tissues between economy, civic organizations, architecture, and nature by making them the focus of urban change professionals, not as subjects considered in isolation.

Given persistent hierarchies of wealth and ideological control in places, reproduction (i.e. development) requires all local actors to make adjustments (even capitulations), drawing on the configurations of place that have so durably come down as works infused with the community's sense of domain.

A qualitative narrative policy framework? Examining the policy narratives of US campaign finance regulatory reform. Garry Gray and Michael D. Jones, (2016)

Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) has been a theory in development since the mid-2000s (Jones & McBeth, 2010) utilizing narrative analysis to conduct research on policy. Originally developed as a quantitative approach (relying on large samples), Gray and Jones' (2016) have adapted the method to smaller samples and a qualitative approach. Relying on elite stakeholder interviews, the two authors conducted a narrative analysis of policy positions of politicians on the subject of campaign finance reform.

The fundamental assumption of the NPF is that narratives are constituted of social meaning and allocate power (Gray & Jones, 2016). Established narratives can transcend factual validity while maintaining that power. The political actors construct meaning through the stories they tell by incorporation of:

1. Setting (domain)
2. Characters (hero, villain, and victim: identified laborers and workers)
3. Plot (action)
4. Moral of the story (the policy solution, or meaning)

Policy debates invariably revolve around different characters in a common domain leading to a conflict, or plot. The resolution of that plot is the moral or adopted law.

Table 1. Narrative Policy Framework

Policy narrative element	Definition	Narrative Infrastructure:
Setting	Consists of “legal and constitutional parameters, geography, economic conditions, and other factors regularly deemed relevant by policy actors involved or associated with a public policy” (McBeth et al., 2014: 228).	Domain
Characters	Three categories of characters: “victims that are harmed by the problem, villains that intentionally or unintentionally cause the harm and heroes that provide or promise relief from the harm” (McBeth et al., 2014: 228).	Laborers and Workers practicing Identity
Plot	Plots link policy narrative elements by establishing relationships between characters, their policy settings, and the moral of the story (McBeth et al., 2014)	Action
Moral of the Story	The policy solution promoted by a policy narrative.	Meaning

Narrative Policy Analysis follows four steps (Jones & McBeth, 2010):

1. A problem definition is developed from policy theaters of high uncertainty, complexity, and polarization as identified.
2. Competing narratives that challenge the dominant policy narrative(s) defined in step 1 are identified.

3. The two groups of stories identified in steps 1 and 2 are compared and a grand policy metanarrative as derived from the comparison.
4. The researcher determines how the new metanarrative frames the policy problem to choose the most appropriate conventional policy-analytical tools of microeconomics, legal analysis, statistics, organizational theory, and/or public management

NPF research provides three scales of analysis (Jones, McBeth, & Shanahan, 2014). The macro-scale focuses on institutional, national, and cultural narratives; the meso-scale on group, neighborhood, and coalitional policy narratives; and, the micro-level is concerned with the influence of policy narratives on individuals.

The data of the study consisted of 29 oral interviews with key stakeholders in the United States campaign finance arena. Developing codes from the initial literature review, the interviewees were coded to group the stakeholders into categories that defined their publicly expressed core-view on the issue. The interviews were semi-structured with follow-up questions emailed at a later date.

The interviews were then coded using qualitative data analysis software (Atlas.ti) to abstract the themes of the interviewees. The result was a subtext shared by all sides of the debate focused on characterizing the opponents as *naive* or *villainous*: both sides reported that reelection process gamesmanship interfered with the debate. Politicians who were up for reelection were apt to refocus on immediate constituents' desires rather than hold party-line politics. The inductive coding process allowed the researchers to triangulate policy narrative communication strategies used by both sides of the debate.

In adapting the NPF to qualitative methods, Gray and Jones incorporated Lincoln and Guba's Naturalistic Qualitative Standards (1985):

Credibility: The study should be credible to those from which the information was gathered and to critical readers.

Transferability: The transfer of findings from one domain to another is a goal and should be assessed.

Dependability: This criterion refers to consistency in research processes.

Confirmability: Results should be supported by the members of the community they are derived from and other external sources whenever possible.

Using the adapted NPF, the research team demonstrated a narratological model in an ethnographic approach. Rather than developing a comprehensive ethnography, the team was able to focus on discreet questions of political import.

2.3.1 Summation

Table 2. Urban Change Narrative Methodologies

Urban Change Narrative Methodologies			General Approach		Scale Studied			Narrative Infrastructure Themes Addressed				
			Cross-sectional	Longitudinal	Micro	Meso	Macro	LABOR	IDENTITY	ACTION	MEANING	WORKS
Authors	date	Subject										
Alexander et al	1989	San Francisco, USA										
Throgmorton	1992	State of Illinois, USA										
Dunstan and Sarkissian	1994	Goonawarra, Australia										
Aravot	1995	Tel Aviv, Isreal										
Molotch, Freudenburg, and Paulsen	2000	Santa Barbara and Ventura										
Gray and Jones	2016	Campaign policy, USA										

From the tabulation of Table 2, it is clear that narrative methodologies all include addressing group identity and rituals, their political stance, and the meanings or themes that those groups wish to be communicated. What is very infrequent is the extents of labor or the domain of the community identities and rituals.

Based on the recent literature, it appears necessary for both comprehensive and incremental urban change to be informed by study of all six elements. Urban change professionals should consider:

1. The living – laboring – a people, and how they manifest subjective wellbeing.
2. The rituals and temporal patterns that people use to individualize their identities.
3. The immediate context where identity has established a domain.
4. The historical context and technical work abilities of the society they exercise to achieve contentment.
5. The themes, or meaning, of past actions and stories that grant continuity with the past and future of the society and thereby forms the basis of policy.
6. The actions and narratives that are competing for the publicly shared commodities.

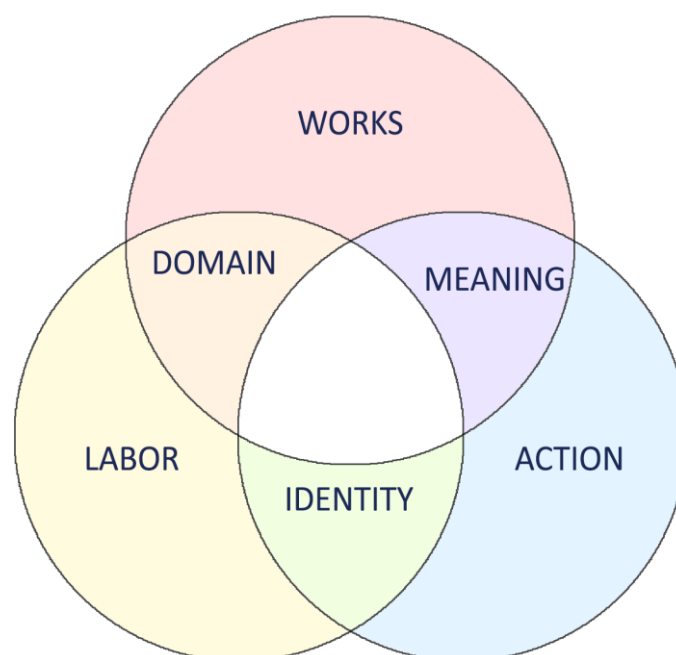


Figure 4. Venn diagram of narrative infrastructure developed by the author, 2018

2.4 Labor and Memory

Arendt (1958) introduced the genus *animal laborans* to describe the “ape laborers” to differentiate them from the actors who craft (*homo faber*) and the actors who speak

(*homo narrans*). The product of labor is specifically not meant to last, but to be consumed immediately. The procurement of food from a plant, the baking of bread, the cutting of grass — each is a labor. The laboring actors are specifically focused on daily needs as opposed to creating durable goods or forging a better union among the polis.

Arendt (1958) claims the somatic, often rhythmic, use of the body in labor induces greater subjective well-being. In other words labor is the cause of the emotion of happiness. Arendt (1958) reasoned that the process of natural selection would filter for happy specimens. Subsistence labor may produce a neurochemical rewarded for similar reasons sugars are associated with a pleasant taste. For this reason, those specimens were more apt to engage in the labor of survival reproduce, and pass on the genetic neurological trait that rewards that labor.

Though a wealthy actor may be able to hire the labor to support his or her life, and buy all the tools and artifacts to keep life comfortable, there are some elements of moment-to-moment human life that require personal labor. Each person must attend to his or her bodily functions, and, as of this writing, no one is beyond the need for personal health care. As a unifying thread of the human condition, all humans are predisposed to develop stratagems to meet their needs. The seemingly infinite varieties of strategies mostly converge on ensuring survival of the individual actor. The more intelligent the actor, the more dynamic the strategy.

The human drive to labor leads to survival and happiness and the tendency to exercise intelligence in the pursuit of happiness. In order to make actionable this human drive to labor, it is necessary to posit a theoretical configuration of human intelligence. From first principles, Roger Schank's 1990 text, *Tell me a story: narrative and intelligence*, sought to encode intelligence into an artificial information

processor. Schank's work demonstrates human cognition is governed by the rules of narrative structure. His work offers a baseline for examinations of phenomenon which depends upon the human faculty of cognition. Before discussing the ideas of domain or identity, it is necessary to establish how the laborer processes new ideas into memory via narrative patterns.

To convey a memory to another actor, a narrator knows subconsciously that the audience (or actor) interprets experience after it has been abstracted into linguistic patterns. In order to invoke an interpretation that is favorable, the narrator adopts a plot that is well known within the local culture and fits the facts of their own experience to that plot. Schank called this the "story skeleton" (1990, p. 147). This adaptation process will omit facts that do not fit or contribute to the plot. Narrators rely on the typical plot to leverage common cultural ground. The retelling of the story replaces the experience of the story (Schank, 1990), and the now-adapted tale becomes what the narrator remembers. This has the effect of diluting the facts of the event remembered while solidifying the emotional point of view of the narrator.

The actor's method of interpretation leads to similar dissolution of factual data. Cognitive psychologists refer to the two primary modes of intelligence as both "cool" and "hot" cognition, and first- and second-order thinking (Schank, 1990; Jones, McBeth, & Shanahan, 2014; Mischel, 2016). First-order thinking is critical and discriminating of facts. It requires a great deal of attention and is unsuited to typical activity in daily life. Second-order thinking relies on patterns already in the actor's memory. These can be as simple as how to walk or drive to work. Using magnetic resonance imaging (MRI) scans, this less-conscious thinking has been located in the limbic, evolutionarily-older portion of the human brain (Schank, 1990). When an actor encounters new information that challenges or threatens existing patterns, their brain

attempts accesses their past experience to find a heuristic to assimilate the new pattern (Jones, McBeth, & Shanahan, 2014 ; Shanahan, Jones, McBeth, & Radaelli, 2017). Eventually the actor settles on an emotional response first and logical explanation second.

Menary (2008) describes this emotional response as a pre-narrative structure that is as much psychosomatic as it is neurological. These embodied experiences and skilled behaviors are translatable to narrative, but they lack the cause and effect order of the narrative structure and lack meaning. While emotional responses are inherently difficult to anticipate in a dialog or political engagement, the pre-narrative structure describes a pattern bounding the variety of emotional responses.

These patterns are successfully repeated rituals or patterns of ideas established in a semi-lattice similar to Alexander's description of a city (Alexander, 1966). Alexander described the city as many patterns interfering with each other leading to unpredictable outcomes as they did not obey a strict hierarchy. Evidence that contradicts an actor's prior knowledge or assumptions will be biased against in their evaluation process, while the reverse is also true: ideas or facts that confirm their bias will not be critically analyzed (Shanahan, Jones, McBeth, & Radaelli 2017; Jones & McBeth, 2010). Actors are not going to exert themselves to engage in first-order thinking if a second-order pattern is already complete and vaguely relevant. The second-order pattern will overlay the original data, resulting in false back-stories that the narrator has no control over (Throgmorton, 1992).

Stories that have no relation to embedded second-order patterns or are contrary to those patterns require the actor to engage in critical first-order thinking. In either occurrence, the actor is thinking defensively – either to defend their lattice of interrelated ideas or to defend themselves from a potential threat. Whether a story

arises in conversation or in art or architecture, the closer it adheres to an actor's expectations the more favorable the idea's reception.

Whether positive, negative, or neutral, the emotional response takes place 100-200 milliseconds prior to cognition (Lodge and Taber 2005). Essentially actors have made up their mind before they think. The cognition process is largely focused on assembling from memory a logical reason for the emotional response. If the definition of "remember" is to "put members together" (the opposite of dis-member) then the linguistic processing of a memory is an act of dismemberment . The neurological record of an event in itself cannot be transmitted between people as it is composed of various contextually dependent sense perceptions that are filtered through internalized linguistic processes. The act of narrating sorts the sensory experiences and emotional responses into a continuity that can be expressed in language independent of the original context or sense perceptions.

Memories not sorted into a story and retold will fade as their sensory experiences blur with more recent sensory input (Schank, 1990). Idiosyncratically, the mind will linguistically take a story apart over and over each time it repeats the memory. In time the memory is wholly an abstracted fabrication of the mind (Schank, 1990). Over years, the retelling of a story is going to constantly refer back to the evolved theme of the story, not the sensory elements of the experience. Over time, the stories lose resolution, and what we remember actually changes. "In addition, and more importantly, the classroom related cluster of cognitions may eventually show changes toward becoming an over-simplified and idealized conception" (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983, p. 65).

Experiences left untold are not extensively influenced by linguistic limitations that confuse the original theme (Schank, 1990). While subsequent experiences will confuse

the memory, the details are not diluted by the interpretive process. Negative stories tend to reinforce the negative experiences in exclusion of all other facts of the relevant events and locations. This is not typically what actors do; it is not psychologically healthy to dwell on negative memories. Actors are much more apt to tell positive stories of their past, thereby reinforcing their emotional theme.

New causes and conditions that give rise to phenomenon influence the emotional response — changing the memory (Schank, 1990). Mental trauma is healed by forgetting the original causes and conditions. As retelling of the story abstracts the sensory record of causes and conditions of mental trauma, retelling of stories dilutes the troubling memories. Stories repeated multiple times in a ritualistic manner become part of the actor's identity and become an embedded neurosis with psychosomatic implications for the actor's physical health (Pennebaker & Seagal, 1999). The causes and conditions of stories can originate reflectively from the actor's memories but their experience of their environment precedes the reflective process.

The experiential extent of the mind is limited to the extents of sensory perception. The human mind is capable of imagining what is not ontologically present. This faculty is rooted in the ability to take in givens from the senses — data channels that relay analogs of phenomenal world to the brain for analysis. Actors perform analysis on abstract narratives as well as sensory givens. While evolutionarily-older portions of the human brain will respond to sensory stimuli in the moment, the higher reasoning portion of the brain does not prioritize stimulus from senses or memories. This function of thinking about things in the abstract is a primary measure of intelligence (Schank, 1990).

This bias causes a perception that the world in general was better in the past. Negative outcomes of the present seem to outnumber our memories of negative

outcomes in the past. Nothing in the past was beyond the actor's ability to survive, hence subsumed into second-order thinking patterns. Conversely, the present is where the actor does first-order thinking; so, subjectively, threats are here or soon to manifest. This nostalgia has led to a desire to re-enter the past.

Loss-aversion, one of the key components of nostalgia, is rooted in this bias for things and ideas we already have acquired. Fear of loss is twice as motivating as desire for gain (Kahneman, Knetsch & Thaler, 1990). This drives actors' senses of protecting what they have.

One example of this is the perception of public safety in the United States. Related refrains sound something like: we used to be able to leave our doors unlocked; children could walk themselves to school. But now there are so many more deviants committing crimes against children. Actual crime numbers prove this to be exactly the opposite (Tyler & Cook, 1984). In the mind, new examples of crimes outweigh the extent of past crimes, many of which have been forgotten.

The reflexive, or narrative self, has an inter-subjective, or dialogical structure. It is structured by the interiorization of speech... The unity of the reflexive self is pragmatic, it is anchored in the experiences of an embodied self which is embedded in an environment (Menary, 2008, p.83).

Schank's analysis of the process of cognition reveals the higher reasoning portion of the brain does not prioritize stimuli from external senses over imagined stimuli. The well-crafted narrative has the potential to change actors' memories of events in their past. Expressed language can arise as fully formed expressions of ideas and emotions, but per constructionist philosophy of language, can also arise in response to the individual's environment (Di Masso, Dixon, & Durrheim, 2014).

To understand how thoughts arise from sensory perceptions ever to be analyzed by the reasoning human mind, it is necessary to describe the primary influences of sensory input. Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff (1983) attempted to build a critical bridge

between individual psychology and actor environs such “that the psychologically healthy state of a person's sense of self is not a static one, rather it is characterized by growth and change in response to a changing physical and social world ” (p. 59). Their discussion focused on the influences of self- and place-identity on actors’ sense of (respectively) identity and domain.

The influences of actor psychology must be sought in their personal ritualistic patterns and spatial-use patterns. These two patterns provide adequate bounding to include a limited understanding of both actors and associations of actors in a way that informs the narrative infrastructure.

The story-telling framework of human intelligence proposed by Schank (1990) and Menary (2008) describes the biases of memory that manifests as habitual patterns of Arendt's (1959) *animal laborans* psychology. Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff (1983) expand this model to encompass the influence of the immediate surroundings on *animal laboran*'s memory. Prior to entering into a discussion on Arendt's works, the narrative infrastructure framework needs to detail how laboring actors come to identify with the world of things, ideas, and domains.

2.5 Identity and Ritual

To discuss the concept of actor “identity,” it is important to understand its etymological roots. The Latin root “*idem*” is defined as ‘the same (as above)’ and was used to avoid repetition in writing. In Latin, it is literally ‘the same,’ from *id*, ‘it, that one,’ from PIE pronominal stem *i- (see *yon*) + demonstrative suffix –*dem* (Online-Etymology-Dictionary, n.d.: *idem*) .

The reference to the “*id*” was adapted by psychoanalysis to describe the self-interested motivations of people. In this text *identity* is used to describe the extension of the ownership of self beyond the gross anatomy defined by the actor’s natural body.

Thus to identify with a thing or group is to establish a psychological attachment to something outside one's own body. The degree of that attachment will vary but the essence of the definition is that a sense of personal necessity is assigned to something other than the actor's natural body. Thus equated to a body part, an actor is likely to react to the threat of removal of an identified fabric as an attack on their body.

As in all attempts to delimit where an actor or actor network begins and ends, it is necessary to define a boundary of the extended body. Inside that boundary presumably exists all objects and concepts necessary to define the actor. The process of defining that boundary requires a narrative to describe the difference between "self" and "other". Typically this process is exercised to communicate to other actors and to lay claim to territory beyond the physical body.

The development of self-identity begins with learning to distinguish self from others by means of visual cues, auditory cues, and other perceptual modes (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983). Through the process of observation and education the child develops concepts of "mine" and "yours", "me" and "other", and learns to verbally express these distinctions. Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff (1983) go on to warn that developed cognitions include both positive and negative emotional actor predispositions to the identified urban fabric. In the process of learning to verbalize these predispositions, the actor develops their own "core story" as proposed by Sandercock (2010). The core story aggregates throughout the life of the actor until:

We become our stories. When we tell stories about ourselves, we draw on past behavior and on others' comments about us in characterizing ourselves as, say, adventurous, or victims, or afraid of change, or selfish, or heroic. But in telling and re-telling the story, we are also reproducing ourselves and our behaviors (Sandercock, 2010, p. 22).

The core story is constantly in a state of performance – just as characters in fiction are unaware of their fate, the actors cannot anticipate the challenges they will face or joys they will realize. The actor network environment produces a complex system

where actors co-author their core stories together (Throgmorton, 1992; Jones, McBeth, & Shanahan, 2014). The actor develops their role in the polis to distinguish their value within the polis from other actors as well as claim membership so they can benefit from the action of the polis. As the core story evolves, it establishes the actor's mental framework for second-order cognition. The core story becomes the reference system for second-order cognition and associated bias. The acquired identity of the actor conditions both confirmation and dis-confirmation bias (Shanahan, Jones, McBeth, & Radaelli, 2017). Core stories, like all stories, are emplaced, leading to actor bias that has developed from ritual use of space.

Identification with an abstract concept or physical fabric beyond the actor's body requires repetition to affirm the association in the minds of other actors (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983; Schank, 1990; Jackson, 1994; Molotch, 2000). An actor need not raise their hand to claim to own hands, but for an actor to claim to own a stick it is sociologically necessary to exercise that claim by routinely possessing the stick with their hand. The process of encapsulating the manufactured world and fellow actors via identification, whether of necessity or comfort, results in a sense of safety by bodily inhabiting the space and associating with those co-actors (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983). In this way, identity is a social compact extended to objects, concepts, and actors but requires a reification or ritual. The actor thereby defines themselves and their value to the society with the goal of receiving affirmation from the community (Maslow, 1943). The practice of identity requires a variety of ritualized actions, which is the physical manner of expressing a narrative.

Within the narrative infrastructure, any shared narrative between two actors establishes the smallest unit of a polis. In that exchange of ideas, this prototypical community relies upon a variety of linguistic and behavioral cues to establish rules

between the two actors and provide a degree of civil container within which both actors agree to act. If an ongoing mutual benefit between the two is agreed upon, the actors will codify their exchange of ideas. They will create a ritual or a thing to act as an reminder and embodiment of the relationship.

Where language sufficed for the initial trust and exchange, the two or more actors will agree to share a ritual, and likely a space for that ritual. Through this process they share an identification that they together share stories of co-memories (commemoration) with others (Sandercock, 2010). The mutual benefit the actors realize becomes common property and a civil container within which both actors agree to act. Their group identity has been attached to a space.

In this manner a physical space can be domesticated by the process of group identification. The domain is made manifest by the rituals of the actors. This definable place-identity is perishable as it is dependent upon the reenactment of the rituals by the actors. The relationship is reflexive such that once a place-identity is established, the place and its acquired cultural symbols shape individuals' sense of identity (Larkin, 2013; Di Masso, Dixon, & Durrheim, 2014). The majority of research on place-identity is focused on place attachment as an intrapsychic process that can be described psychologically (Di Masso, Dixon, & Durrheim, 2014). In addition to personal differentiation, actors also define themselves in relation to physical settings of daily life.

While it is undoubtedly true that in the experience of daily life there is little self-conscious reflection on the meaning of home, the work place, or the neighborhood, there is theoretical value in articulating the functional properties of place-identity as part of the socialization process, and of place-belongingness as one aspect of place-identity (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983, p. 61).

Absent the rituals, the place reverts to mundane fabric available to any other actors who practice their own rituals in the same space. When two actors or networks of actors identify with the same space but do not share common rituals for that space, the

space is contested. The opposite extreme is the increase of unclaimed space in established cities becoming havens for informal communities and economies. In contrast, with the relatively sedentary rural populations, contemporary urban actors, due to their nomadic tendencies, are less likely to develop personal or cultural rituals that claim space.

J. B. Jackson (1994) described the essential nature of cultural rituals to define the sense of place. His examination of the sense of place in the late 20th century rural United States highlighted the scarcity of either evolved domain or stable urban fabric to anchor personal or group identities. Yet a sense of place was still definable through the "...lively awareness of the family environment, a ritual repetition, a sense of fellowship based on a shared experience" (Jackson, 1994, p. 159). Even lacking monumentation or physical patterns, the sense of a place can be psychologically anchored in memory without being anchored in space. "In our urban environment which is constantly undergoing irreversible changes, a cyclical sense of time, the regular recurrence of events and celebrations, is what gives us reassurance and a sense of unity and continuity" (Jackson, 1994, p. 160).

Hernandez, Hidalgo, and Ruiz (2014), working with Scannell and Gifford's work (2010), proposed three dimensions to place attachment as a psychological process. Two of their three dimensions, affect (emotion) and behavior (action), are aligned with Arendt's model of the civil polis of the laborers beholden to their animal needs and the actor as politician. Scannell and Gifford provided the third dimension, cognition, is proposed not as a unique dimension unto itself, but a manifest feedback loop between the emotional root of action: identity and the actor.

Defined by Hernandez et al. as the "PPP framework" (p. 126) for person, psychological process, and place dimension, their work does not explore the place

dimension with spatial tools. Rather, the PPP framework defaults to psychological analysis techniques. The framework is effective in describing the relationship between action, ideas, and emotions as they relate to actors. By assessing the degree and manner of identification with place, which joins affect and action (or affect and speech), it rarefies the participant such that spatial research can seek corroboration of that analysis in the physical dimension. The urban fabric then can be described through the rituals of the denizens:

But the town is not really like a natural phenomenon. It is an artefact — an artefact of a curious kind, compounded of willed and random elements, imperfectly controlled. If it is related to physiology at all, it is more like a dream than anything else (Rykwert, 2013, p. 717).

Animal laborans tells ritual stories to possess the world by imposing their sense of identity on both concepts and the tangible world to define their possessions and rolls to other actors. Where this process intersects in physical shared space, it is necessary to define domain.

2.6 Domain and the Actor

A “narrative infrastructure” is composed of the built fabrics and biome that bound the externalized memories of individuals and communities (Childs, 2008). Childs (2008) identifies the narrative fabric as a public resource to be protected against the dangers of natural disasters and urban renewal, both of which could “engender a kind of mental health crisis that impoverishes individuals and can destroy a community.” (Childs, 2008, p.176). Being composed of both a sequence of relevant events (a narrative) and a three dimensional matrix (infrastructure), the individual actor and groups of actors adopt specific spaces for the exercise of personal and group identity in a defined domain (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983; MacKian, 2004).

These actor domains are differentiated from the overall urban fabric through the degree of physical association. Their rituals and resulting feedback is, in turn, filtered by the domain as an aggregate of sensory input:

The 'information' that is being transformed through spatial metaphor is not the prime focus. Above all, because the information comes from, is filtered through, is expressed in relation to the body, and its movement through or residence in space, this is inherently spatial, relational information already (MacKian, 2004, p.618).

The “relational information” in the spatial dimension is chartable, in both duration and space. Yet the fidelity of that information is limited by the attention span of the actor. While an actor who has an unremarkable day will not be able to recall in detail what they were doing, they will have a sense of which urban fabrics they were using. If, hypothetically, an actor returned from buying food, they may not be able to remember all the items they bought at the grocery, but they are probably going to remember they were at a grocery. This is a function of how the actor indexes urban fabrics for use in daily life. The grocery, as the modern “hunter-gatherer” place, has a great variety of items cognitively mapped for the sake of gathering preferred foodstuffs (Schank, 1990). The tendency of an actor to subconsciously map or “plot” their journey through the store to optimize the shopping utilizes a narrative framework including a beginning, middle, and end (Schank, 1990).

This is not to suggest the actor is working from a script or storyboard, but a vague meandering among waypoints between the entry and exit of the hypothetical store. Wayfinding within the store obviates the need for detailed planning on the part of the actor. When an actor traverses any given space beyond the home, he or she is saturated with events and items that lack personal consequence or affect. In the memory of the actor, the multiple times retracing the same routes will cause interfering memories over time (Schank, 1990). The travel through known territory is more often subconscious, with little impact on the actor’s personal narrative. If pressed, the actor will

retroactively embellish such indistinct memories with plausible sequences of events based upon their own presumptions. Schank (1990) defines this as *story-based memory*, where a plausible yet fictional narrative fills in the gaps between waypoints of more consequence to the actor. These embellished memories are substituted for an accurate record of events, such that “Stories are a way of preserving the connectivity of events that would otherwise be disassociated over time. One reason we tell stories, therefore, is to help ourselves in remembering them” (Schank, 1990, p. 124).

Relationship between the domain of an actor and the actor’s memory appear related to first and second-order thinking modes. Memories are physically outsourced to the ritually used landscape to reduce the necessity of first-order thinking. Physical items that are novel or discovered in unexpected locations will stand out in the actor’s memory as discontinuities, forcing the actor to update their mental map for use during their next visit. Actors must exercise skills of mimetic environmental control in changing the setting, the behavior of others, or his or her own behavior (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983). The confusion caused by too rapid change in an actor’s expectation of their domain appear to result in a phenomenon akin to a mental health crisis (Fullilove, 2004). An actor’s domain is defined by their memories of the urban fabric and biome:

At the core of such physical environment-related cognitions is the 'environmental past' of the person; a past consisting of places, spaces and their properties which have served instrumentally in the satisfaction of the person's biological, psychological, social, and cultural needs (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983, p. 59).

The extreme example of the loss of all domains is experienced by refugees. The same but lesser experience of loss is nostalgia for childhood domains due to urban morphology. The demolition of an actor’s various domains seems to leave a memory gap with physical coordinates within the urban fabric. To reduce the sense of memory loss, actors externalize their memory into their domain with mementos. The process

of serial vision as described by Gordon Cullen (1961) is applicable at both an urban and domestic scales. The wayfinding of an actor through a familiar space, while not typically overtly mapped, is greatly informed by sensory or wayfinding cues re-experienced in serial progression. The subtle ritual of noticing and dwelling on the memento reinforces personal identity. Both monuments and graffiti are expressions of outsourced memory: placing serial memory cues in space to lay claim to urban fabric as personally relevant domain.

As the actors tend to ignore the majority of sensory data they are exposed to, mapping this sense of place charts a city that appears to be nodes of consequence associated by largely fictional narratives. Actor's memories of their domains are fungible, and their actual sensory interaction with those changing domains constantly demand the actor renew their domain with rituals: "The way we narrate the city becomes constitutive of urban reality, affecting the choices we make, the ways we then might act." (Sandercock, 2003, p.12).

2.6.1 Domain and the Actor Network

Daily and seasonal needs can be satisfied by the urban change professional by interviewing actors about their needs and wants. Those needs and wants are more likely to be focused on short time-spans such as relates to employment and the lives of their children. If asked to describe their needs and wants for their grandchildren, a mid-forties aged actor is likely to speak in generalities about education and "high-quality of life". In general, those with the most capacity to act (be it political action, direct action, investment action) are using the narrowest formal planning horizon (Schwartz, 1991).

The city operates at multiple time horizons: daily, seasonally, and inter-generational. Jackson (1994) describes how small informal cultural rituals become

reflected in the land in a similar manner described by Jacobs (1961) where an established fabric built by previous residents shapes the rituals of later generations.

Jacobs' seminal work *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) provides a variety of insights into the nature of domain. Unlike towns, cities are accumulations of strangers. Modern towns, with the large volume of migration have lost the integration of community that informs Jacobs' distinction between town and city. The manifestation of the rituals of the street and sidewalk described by Jacobs (1961) are largely specific to mid-twentieth century Chelsey, New York City (and neighboring boroughs), yet she accurately described how those actors utilized the urban fabric as a collection of rituals. Starting with actors' front-stoop, their sidewalk and street, the mix of commercial tenants on that street, up to and including maximizing pedestrian connectivity with small blocks; Jacobs described functionally and temporally dynamic domains of a city from the perspective of the actor.

Though the fabrics of the built environment respond only to actor intervention and entropy, domains require constant reenactment of rituals to persist in a given state. Jacobs (1961) suggests leveraging the diversity of possible rituals at different times of day to continuously induce culturally sanctioned activity. Throughout Jacobs' (1961) work is the affirmation that the civil domain requires constant vigilance — literal watchers of the street – to ensure decorum, if not equity. Common domain requires the informal ritual of sentries to enforce the shared identity. “In cities, liveliness and variety attract more liveliness; deadness and monotony repel life. And this is a principle vital not only to the ways cities behave socially, but also to the ways they behave economically” (Jacobs, 1961, p. 99).

Space left idle is available for illicit rituals that can become habituated to the space by their actors, changing the associations of all actors who might use that space. This

cycle leads to a perceived loss of a domain by the first actors, which is expressed in their narratives. Through the process of assigning meaning (discussed below) these narratives reinforce the surrender of that specific domain to the new actors.

To exclude actors of one socio-economic class from the domain of a higher socio-economic class results in segregation and disintegration within urban fabrics (Jacobs, 1961). At a personal scale there is a need for a degree of privacy within the close confines of the city: "... it is not considered dignified for everyone to know one's affairs. Nor is it considered dignified to snoop on the others beyond the face presented in public. It does violence to a person's privacy and rights." (Jacobs, 1961, p.59).

Shared neighborhood scale public domains exists as the venue for class integration. The public domain is the ideal space to share with strangers or passing acquaintances. As the space is public, none are making personal sacrifice for others. The exchange is limited to the conversation, rather than an act of hospitality which might suggest expected reciprocation. Absent this shared domain, the community will develop insular private domains which preclude the sharing of temporal rituals, which in turn precludes the development of common identity. Such segregation leads to contests for the limited urban fabric.

At the macro level, national communities do not typically exhibit homogeneous values and knowledge (Cranz & Lindsay, 2014). The lack of frequent shared rituals at a national level is largely a result of each meso or microculture having different domains. The sited meso or microculture will address its membership spatially, and define the group members partially through the actor's relations to the shared domain (Cranz & Lindsay, 2014). In addition to the specifically micro and meso domains of actor's lives, there is the parochial institutions such as places of worship, education, and social assistance groups which "supervise the neighborhood and organize pro-

social activities" (O'Looney, 1998, p.223). Other institutions such as adult-oriented entertainment venues contribute contrasting narratives to the local neighborhood. Social conflict arises where the rituals of actor groups diverge within the same domain.

2.6.2 Mapping Domain

Without getting into the process of land-use policy (as discussed below in the subsection meaning), contested space is a chief concern of the urban change professional. To understand contested domains, it is necessary to abstract the domains to a common map. The abstract boundary provides an extent to the contest, and helps to identify other actor networks who may be unaware that their domain is contested. Through the process of describing the rituals of an actor network and how they are reflected in the space, the competing actors have the potential to enter into a dialog about how domain use, and is the first step to discovering how to share a domain.

The process of mapping of a domain is a seizing of fabric or biome. The map or artifact record publishes a narrative of the actor's identification with a specific fabric. The act of assembling the narrative around the artifacts or landscape requires the community at large to address the defined claim on contested space. Overtly or subversively, the meaning or theme of the map or catalog is not legal title, but that the physical fabric is an extension of the actor's natural person (Caquard & Cartwright, 2014). At the behest of the aboriginal community, portions of rural Australia is under federal protection to preserve the significant Aboriginal area (*Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Heritage Protection Act 1984*, Australia). Many of the land forms are mnemonic cues for the aboriginal "songlines" which form a network of story-based transportation maps have been utilized for many thousands of years by the aboriginal community (Chatwin, 1988; Kearney & Bradley, 2009). The navigation of the land was performed by singing the story of the land, with the land itself being the cue for

each verse. Thus ancient stories could lead a tribe from water source to water source with an accurate anticipation of required supplies to accomplish the journey. These walking/singing rituals were claimed as substantive to aboriginal identity, thus worthy of overriding private land-use rights.

Childs (2008, p.176) writes: "[w]ith generations of weddings, the institution of marriage becomes part of the soil", claiming that the identity of a culture is merged with the landscape and urban fabric the culture inhabits. Lacking pervasive externalized mnemonics such as aboriginals of Australia, most cultures rely on formal monumentation regarding a limited number of historical points of political import. The majority of cultural memory is not formalized, resulting in casual loss of culturally relevant urban fabric or biome. The act of mapping and cataloging allows both the transmission of the meaning and the extents. Any policy is arbitrary if lacking definitive extents. When the extents of cultural memory are known, the polis can take definitive action or enforce policy that protects that fabric or biome.

Similarly, any cultural landscape lacking definitive extents is subject to arbitrary action by current or future generations. Actor memories are both fungible and temporary. Each successive generation tends to inherit the fabric of their parents, but not necessarily the plot or pattern that domesticated the fabric. To remember is to retell the story, and thus perpetuate the domain within the fabric. When paired with external mimetic media, such as wedding pictures or maps, the study of domain enters into the field of anthropology or cartography. Lacking such external media, ritual use, or story-telling tradition, the place-identity (the domain) is likely to return to homogeneous fabric or biome:

In the field of literature, maps are employed by scholars to better understand how a narrative is placed in a geography, how a geography has informed or influenced an author or how the narrative is 'locked' to a particular geography or

landscape... In other words, the potential of maps to both decipher and tell stories is virtually unlimited (Caquard & Cartwright, 2014, p.101).

Regrettably, the best map is an imperfect representation of a domain. As noted by Alexander (1966) the interactions between actors and fabric is, subtle, multi-scaled, temporally dependent, and diverse. There is an important point towards establishing a domain: it must intentionally exclude. While maps reduce the richness of personal experience of an individual's domain, it is necessary to translate some of that experience into a narrative that can be communicated to others for the preservation of personal or group identity.

Typically the identity documented by mapping exercise is not desired, but indicative of the extents of social decline: poverty, crime, and inequity are important deficit maps for planning processes. There is the risk of focusing too much attention on narratives of decline, which can cause communities to identify with deficits. Analogous to Schank's (1990) discussion on the need to forget past trauma to truly heal, community actors need to avoid identifying their natural person with a map describing a domain of decline. The actual act of publishing a map of decline can lead to apathy within a community (O'Looney, 1998). The goal of a governmental mapping effort is to identify boundaries and limitations for land use, but when mapping social issues the map's narrative is focused on community need (O'Looney, 1998). This bias inherently maps neighborhoods with descriptions of their failings: crime, poverty, lack of care, lack of food. Each of these layers compounds the narrative of failure, which tends to reinforce public and institutional bias. This has resulted in literal "red-lining" of neighborhoods in the past, requiring various laws to force lending institutions to limit their use of bias (*Civil Rights Act 1968, s. VIII [USA]*). Such maps of formal memory are drafted to exert control over the polis and its institutions.

Maps that chart personal narratives tend to be informal by nature. Personal or group domain is where actor networks categorize and sort memory to effect long-term propagation of their identity. The process of encouraging long-term thinking is an important part of the work of urban change professionals. In contested domain where expressed narratives overlap there are likely to be conflicts of interests between story-holders but also the potential of fostering comedic integration. Domains without a diversity and depth of narratives maps are at risk of tragic actions of short-term exploitation. Works created under short-term conditions often fail to acquire cultural meaning that is identified with by the polis. The mental health, safety and welfare of the polis is dependent on the relationship between the laborers and their works.

2.7 Works: Artifice and Attachment

Every tool is designed to effect a specific desired product, be it another work or in support of labor (Arendt, 1959). Each artifact is designed for the task with which it is engaged, not the resulting human experience of the work or labor. Where consumption is the goal of products of labor, the inevitable destruction of the product of work is incidental to its use (Arendt, 1959). The artifact's durability is eventually used up, weathered, eroded, or destroyed by natural disaster – but only after it has served its purpose many times.

Though it eventually fails, the built environment (the sum total of human works) is composed of all that has been brought from the raw to the finished state with the intent to endure. The process of transforming by violence raw materials into assemblages of works, the *homo faber* becomes a creator of his or her own solutions to problems: "...in order to erect a world, not — at least, not primarily — to help the human life process" (Arendt, 1959, p.132). If decay is the presence of problems, that which

alleviates decay promotes life. Thus by supporting labor and alleviating decay, the work becomes associated with the life and subjective well-being of the actor.

A place attachment with the work is affirmed through the process of ritualized identification. As the work eventually succumbs to wear and tear, it becomes a source of psychological loss. Until then, the actor jealously defends the work against theft. The psychological attachment to the work is defended like attachment to life itself. Though Arendt (1959) presents *homo faber* as “lord and master” of the material world because of the super-position over the work, the inherent impermanence of both the actors and their creations defines a tragic narrative arc between having – then losing – artifacts.

The narrative of the artifact starts with the desire for better outcomes from labor than those remembered. Schank (1990) describes creativity as the ability to adapt memories of stories to present conditions. This can be as simple as recognizing an old friend who has changed their hair style or as nuanced as noting the similarity between precedent law and current legal entanglements (Schank, 1990). For manipulation of the built fabric, this suggests actors do not mimic the previous forms, but leverage the human ability to partially match memories to problems at hand.

The actor’s adaptive process is structured by narrative: starting with a domain (givens), identifying a villain (problem), and inventing a hero who uses the givens in a novel way to overcome the villain. This narrative arc presumes the solutions of the past are the raw material to deal with the present, thus establishing a continuity through artifacts. Schank (1990) reaffirms the successful designer as the “bricoleur” of Claude Lévi-Strauss (1966). This theory of intelligence and creativity mandates that the urban change professional be thoroughly immersed in the narrative of their context — as

much as their own craft. Using the memory of the local narrative simultaneously with the craft of design determines the success of “adapted” solutions.

Those built solutions are, at a minimum, the setting of actor stories: containers whose shape influence the rituals of actors. The integrated density of narratives embedded in the urban fabric develops a kind of agency through its unpredictable influence (Molotch, Freudenburg, & Paulsen, 2000). The actor is neither capable nor motivated to integrate the multitude of narratives that arise from any one fabric (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983). Actors tend to ignore much of the setting of their lives until it is dysfunctional (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983). Often the goal of the urban change professional is to imbue notable aesthetic beauty in the mundane functionality of spatial design. Given the actors’ self-interest, the design risks distracting the polis from the actors’ narrative. This is the equivalent of a stage-set upstaging the actors. Yet the set is simultaneously vital to the action as the minutia of the settings (e.g. size of a room, color, location of windows, bed, chairs, etc.) form the fabric of the user’s place-identity (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983). Adapted to the terms of narrative infrastructure, Proshansky Fabian, & Kaminoff (1983) suggest that works that underlie a user’s domain that complicates or inhibits their practice of their identity are rejected designs.

To proceed without awareness of local narratives is to impose alien culture on the local community. This requires the community to engage in first-order thinking, which will be heavily biased by previous conditions. Such design work does not leverage the continuity granted by the local narratives, making adoption by the local actors much less likely. Referred to as architectural colonialism and imperialism (Mazrui, 1999), glaringly inconsistent built fabric is less sustainable than materially more perishable indigenous fabrics. Similar folly is design meant to replicate a local narrative, rather

than adapt that narrative. Replication of fabric invariably suffer from errors and a lack of patina. The local actors would presume to use second-order thinking relating to the work, but the subtle errors give rise to the awareness of uncanny discrepancies. The foundation of a narrative is its setting, and when inauthentic, the narrative is discontinuous and untrusted due to a subtle alien presence.

Nanetti and Cheong (2017) discuss the relationship between the intangible and tangible heritage as symbiotic:

Through this feedback between intangible and tangible heritage, not only do buildings, monuments, and mountains rise above the profanity of day-to-day human interactions, but art, music, dance, and theater can also become sacred. Even food and culinary practices become associated with places or peoples (Nanetti & Cheong, 2017, p.344).

The actors “read” the tangible built text composed with the vocabulary of materials (glass, stone, wood, concrete, plastics). This vocabulary is composed in architectonic and spatial relationships of mass, light, sitting, and scale (Yanow, 1995). No single material choice or element of symbolic content will suffice to distinguish ‘place’ from any other (Molotch, Freudenburg, & Paulsen, 2000). Neither would their absence exclude a new fabric from being part of a larger built fabric — so long as a local actor performs one of their many rituals therein. The most obvious ritual would be the builder’s ritual use of material: the material might change but the techniques of assembly will be particular to the sense of place. Molotch, Freudenburg, and Paulsen (2000) define place tradition as dependent upon the Structuration theory of this bricolage in time.

The order of assembly of new fabric is not the defining factor of overall fabric continuity. Each moment is unique in itself, but is predicated on the immediate prior events. Each actor is similarly unique given their unique combination of biographical identity and physical domain. Both actors and historic fabrics are unique given the assembly of unique prior conditions (Molotch, Freudenburg, & Paulsen, 2000). Thus

the definition of continuity is the process of drawing upon prior conditions, yet impossible to predetermine due to the path-dependency that is unique to each actor and location. Persisting in this time-dependent media, the actors translate the the city into narratives in the same manner they translate memory. The linguistic filter and associated bias is overlain the built fabric and reflexively becomes constitutive of urban reality (Childs, 2008; Sandercock, 2010). Actor discourse relies on the narrative turn to discuss the built fabric. This narrative informs the sense of place, which affects the choices made by the actors (Molotch, Freudenburg, & Paulsen, 2000; Sandercock, 2010).

Childs (2008, p.175) describes this as a “virtuous cycle: the urban realm emerges from a cycle of relationships between built forms and stories of place, and between multiple buildings in a settlement in which, like an ecosystem, one forms the context for another.” No individual portion of the built fabric is excluded from the narrative: the content of the city is enfolded into the actor’s urban fabric narrative due to its ontic persistence always prompting the actor’s memory. The actors go on to judge changes to the built fabric based upon how those changes integrate with their personal and cultural narratives (Childs, 2008). Rapid changes to the built fabric can result in domain shear that threatens the actor’s place-identity. Under normal circumstances, the actor perceives change in their lives happening at a much more rapid rate than urban morphology. This leads to a misconception of environmental stability, which in turn validates the actor’s belief in their own continuity over time (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983). Their sense of place-identity, mirrored in the physical world’s seeming persistence, provides the mimetic container for the rituals underpinning their self-identity (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983). As buildings tend to outlive actors, the meanings and interpretations may change, causing generational strife as the

actors of today yield their agency to their children (Yanow, 1995). The implications for the development of city narratives leads to considerable consternation. Anticipation of housing and commercial filtering whereby new market-rate construction becomes the next generation's low-cost housing option requires long-term thinking by those with the capacity to act. Developing for a diversity of rituals and income levels today overcomes the danger of mono-cultural developments built to serve a single level of affluence:

We cannot blame their (the developments) poor staying power and stagnation entirely on their most obvious misfortune: being built all at once. Nevertheless, this is one of the handicaps of such neighborhoods, and unfortunately its effects can persist long after the buildings have become aged (Jacobs, 1961, p.198).

Works are adopted as domains through development of meaning. Meaning develops through inter-generational ritualistic use. Domains are abandoned when the meaningful narratives are not passed on from one generation to the next. The fabric of the domain will experience a period of decline until immigration of new actors can afford the devalued works, bringing a new set of narratives to the works. To the original actors who made a domain of those works, the narrative may be one of decline. Yet the strength of works is in their persistence, which they lend to the narratives emplaced therein by each new actor network (Childs, 2008).

2.8 Meaning and *Animal laborans*

[narrative is a] form of human comprehension that is productive of meaning by its imposition of a certain formal coherence on a virtual chaos of events (White, 1981, p. 251).

The threat of existential crisis is omni-present in the human psyche. Most actors who trace the narratives of their lives note the common plot of growing old and eventually dying. This ultimate bounding of the human condition is beyond the text of Arendt (1959). Whether through procreation or authorship or some other stratagem, actors desire continuity. Be it their physical being, their contributions to society, or

their reputation – they desire their works, labors, or domain to influence others beyond their mortality (Dunstan & Sarkissian, 1994; Valentine, 2009). As every manifestation of people and their societies are perishable or subject to change, there is no ultimate remedy to this common existential crisis.

In terms of relative relief from this common crisis, oral stories are one of the longest lived media. The oldest known story with accurate factual content is 13,700 years old and originates in Australia (Reid, Nunn, & Sharpe, 2014). The song lines (see Mapping Domain above) of Australia have increased over the centuries, interlinking and increasing the cultural interconnectedness between aboriginal communities (Chatwin, 1988). Preservation of personal identity through stories or other media is only likely to happen if the story has meaning to future actors.

The work of an artist, or architect, or writer is not the source of cultural meaning. Neither is the creator the source of the cultural meaning. The meaning is established through interpretation by the audience (Throgmorton, 1992). This share of the meaning of a work belongs to the audience. The phrase "the beholder's share", which was introduced by the Austrian art historian Alois Riegl, denotes that part of an artwork's meaning which must be contributed by the viewer (Gubser, 2005).

This degree of agency granted to every individual who consumes narrative of all types foists the individual into the action of the narrative, hence they are each "actors". At the least they must take the cognitive action to ignore a narrative, if not actively accept or reject it for its implications. This action requires them to replay the narrative in their own mind, but being within their mind, its interpretation is greatly influenced by the memories of the actor (Schank, 1990).

2.8.1 Meaning is the Moral of Stories

Meaning is proposed in the sense that an artifact, idea, work of art, or piece of writing defines the culture beyond the artifact's original function. The preoccupation of actors with preservation of their identities makes meaning an important part promoting the preservation of any artifact or idea (Dunstan & Sarkissian, 1994). According to Dunstan and Sarkissian (1994), every actor and actor network has a "core story" that is composed of elements of their narrative that is interlinked with meso or macro narratives of their domain. This layering and interlinking of stories is the "lash-up" of stories and facts described by Molotch, Freudenburg, and Paulsen (2000):

Any identifiable thing in the world, be it a toaster, a norm, an ethnicity, a fact, or a city, gains its reality through an even more complex ecology of enrollments among diverse actors and the "stored-up" human activities represented by physical objects that also, in this sense, have a kind of agency (Molotch, Freudenburg, & Paulsen, 2000, p.793).

The stored-up meanings integrate knowledge of events in a domain and attains meaning by associating with other second-order patterns of memory preexisting in the minds of the audience (Schank, 1990; Sandercock, 2010). 19th-century New England factories and schools were built to resemble churches on order to leverage a "church behavior" to school children and factory workers. The politicians and architects of that era were keen to leverage the aggregated meaning inherent in the church-style to associate a subservient mindset for the activities within schools and factories (Yanow, 1995). This deliberate use of hermeneutics channeled the actors' experience of the public space towards a narrative meaning "control" and away from a meaning "democratic". This is a clear example of how meaningful works can be utilized as a tool of societal control.

Works take on meaning by serving as the enclosure or context for familiar narratives that arise directly from the lived experience of actors (Menary, 2008). The

semiotics of works is manifest in the residue of changes wrought on the work as growth, ruin, or maintenance.

Research in belief systems has found meaning can be systematically assigned within a culture (Jones, McBeth, & Shanahan, 2014, quoting from Ewick & Silbey, 1995). Meaning is not randomly assigned because the narrative or work is relative to the domain and local identities. The combination of community rituals in discrete space with established narratives is often reduced to a name. The name of an actor or work becomes a short-hand for the collected stories about the named (Childs, 2008). This is not to suggest a name inherently grants meaning, but that actors name artifacts they find meaningful to package the semantic content for ease of communication.

Systems of meaning encoded in observable symbols (e.g. written, verbal) ability to encode emotional underpinnings are limited by language (Dunstan & Sarkissian, 1994). Vocabulary shortcomings notwithstanding, the need for language to proceed from cause to effect within the sentence structure limits the number of conflicting views that can be expressed any one time. The mind appears capable of holding simultaneous conflicting views that manifest as multi-dimensional fields of meaning and implication.

The “discursive perspective” (Di Masso, Dixon, & Durrheim, 2014) proposes that place attachment is not limited to the intra-psychic process of the individual actor. The identification with domain needs ratification from others for it to be a shared domain. The social “glue” that binds society is the inter-meshing of agreements established through common rituals or agreed upon meanings about community-possessed works leading to institutionalized socio-spatial order (Di Masso, Dixon & Durrheim, 2014).

The agreed upon meanings of narrative plots constitute the morals espoused by the culture. The moral – the policy or design – is the resolution of the plot between the

characters in a specific setting. The moral is not the dénouement, the rising action, or the anti-climax. The moral of a story is the meaning of the narrative. It is upon these morals which civic policy is founded (Jones, McBeth, & Shanahan, 2014), and is the starting point of urban design.

2.8.2 Meaning Imposed versus Meaning Accreted

Quality fiction is not only transportive, but the reader imagines being the character in a similar way a thespian enters the role of a character of a staged fiction. Readers do not re-read fiction or historical narratives because they forgot the plot, rather they are re-imagining the character's emotional arc. The actor needs to "relate" to the character through a common sense of identity and/or domain. If the author successfully identifies their audience and molds the character around cultural norms, the audience can more easily don the persona of the characters in the story.

These characters can be adopted by the actors as constitutive of their sense of personal and cultural identity. In much the same way a place becomes saturated with enough meaning for a community to adopt it as their domain, the great stories likewise become meaning-full and archetypal for the culture. The narratives of the story become a cultural territory of affect. Such social structure contains stories that are proverbial, and have been adopted as local tradition. The rote format of the traditional narrative is an infrastructure that provides for continuity of meaning from generation to generation (Molotch, Freudenburg, & Paulsen, 2000).

Meaning of the *a pastori* domain encountered in case studies as described by Norberg-Schulz (1980) and Rykwert (2013), is constitutive of these traditional narratives. A culturally significant narrative engenders the idea of a town or *genius loci*. The story becomes compartmentalized as a teaching-unit for transmission from one generation to the next, thus facilitating continuity. Such cultural myths tend to

operate at the macro level, or the subtle narratological structure of the community. While these narratives tend to form a baseline for cultural values, their origins tend to be obscured by time. The residue of the myth may be limited to commemorative coinage, monuments, and other state-sponsored physical reminders of the common myth of the community.

Other *a pastori* domain narratives accrete physical residue at the meso level. Current and recent generations are and have been proceeding with the labors and works of life together in shared domains. Their pursuit of labors and works result in changes to the land and the character of the publicly visible works. Within these actor-network “lash-ups” the character of place is the manifest interactions of these uses (e.g. works, labors, and rituals) over time, plus the deterioration with use and time (Molotch, Freudenburg, & Paulsen, 2000). This informal socio-cultural sharing of identities to establish domain distinctions between actors gives rise to neighborhood character.

A priori narratives about how the traditions or character should be adjusted focus on the needs of present or future actors. In pursuit of political action, these micro-level narratives attempt to demonstrate how an injured party (victim) needs redress from those responsible (villains). Within these policy narratives, the advocates call upon the policy makers or enforcers (heroes) to change how the domains or common goods are distributed or used. These *a priori* narratives are subjected to the uncertainty of interference from other actors. Much of the effort of policy makers is to establish the continuity of a policy proposal with the traditions and character of the domain and its polis.

In this manner, the *a priori* narratives influence the established domains, and will be considered *a pastori* by the following generation. The society is composed of ever-evolving narratives (Brand 1992; Aravot 1995; Molotch 2000; Childs 2008):

In order to imagine the ultimately unrepresentable space, life and languages of the city, to make them legible, we translate them into narratives... Planning is performed through story, in a myriad of ways (Sandercock, 2003, p.12).

Urban narrative tends to be composed of formal and informal stories and associated myths. Composed of monuments, district names, and street names, the formal stories advance a political agenda of domestic or international story manipulation: war memorials, memorials to thinkers and activists, heroes (Kearney & Bradley, 2009; Pinzaru, 2012; Filep, Thompson-Fawcett, & Rae, 2014). The informal, *a pastori* stories are layered from many narratives and themes over generations. Formal, *a priori*, stories are hierarchal societal influence imposed on memory to change the future behavior of the population.

The rational, *a priori*, myths are representative of a culture's highest morals but often manifest as propaganda (Mazrui, 1999). Joseph Rykwert (2013) provides an examination of this phenomena and demonstrates the root inspiration to memorialization through stories of the built fabric. Taken to fascist extremes, the governmental definition of domain and meaning can manipulate personal identity (Rykwert, 2013).

Rykwert's (2013) text is a detailed study on the infusing of meaning from the first gesture of Roman urban design. The initial Roman camp-building process of dividing the land into cardinal quadrants was partly an act of paganism and partly pragmatism. The land itself was meant to reflect the astronomical order defined by sunrise and sunset. Noon was marked on line joining sunrise and sunset (*decumanus*), and a *vesica piscis* constructed to establish north and south (*cardo*) at a near-perfect ninety-degree angle from east and west. The camp and future city would reflect the celestial order in its plan on Earth. The orderly quartering of the land continued to finer and finer divisions until individual domus were defined from the original astronomical order of the city.

Such rational land use by empires would not resurface until the Law of the Indies imposed by Spain upon the Americas. Where the Romans were obsessed with leveraging the power of their numina in their city, the Spanish similarly were seeking a balance between the Catholic Church and provincial governance. Though they mapped different domains, the meaning of each was markedly similar.

Ancient China developed a multi-scaled land use policy based on the celestial underpinnings of the Dao Te Ching: a regular nine-fold square division of each farm was established to allow for eight fields for the family, one for the local government. The local government established a common warehouse with nine divisions: eight for community support and the ninth for the empire (Rykwert, 2013).

The United States separation of church and state within the laws of the republic established a land use system that left no place set aside for the numina. The Land Ordinance of 1785 stretched a cartographic reticulum across the sparsely inhabited interior of North America with no regard for geography or biome. The meaning of the land of North America was made simple: it was to be a source of profit. By disregarding all numina, the United States put land ownership forward as the most important meaning of life in the new republic.

The acts and rites of defining a domain have been studied in depth by Joesph Rykwert in his 2013 text *The Idea of a Town: The Anthropology of Urban Form in Rome, Italy and the Ancient World*. The earliest built fabric was a farm plot: an inviolate portion of the land that received the labor of a family, and though a social compact agreed to be owned by that family. Ancient civilizations shared this principle of domain establishment by cutting the earth with a plough into plots (Rykwert, 2013). This first map was full-scale – writ on the land itself. The meaning thence attached to the boundaries became the earliest land-use laws.

The boundary, though initially only the furrow in the land, would acquire height until it was a wall. The ancient Roman story recounted by Rykwert (2013) of Plutarch's 'Life of Romulus' speaks of Romulus slaying his own brother, Remus, for the crime of jumping over the farm wall of Romulus. Reportedly Plutarch was never satisfied that the offense was simply described as violating a sacred boundary as Romulus' land had a serviceable gate accessible by all including Remus. This story is an early narrative about acceptable use of private land. The theme of the story is death will be meted out to those who violate the integrity of an actor's works in a manner beyond the actor's control. In this manner, a story's theme became a law enforceable by the polis (and eventually the police).

The narrative allows the identity and domain of an actor to be situated in both time and space, making a verbal or written claim on works. The justification is the work is legally part of the actor due to investment of time or resources. The wall is the embodiment of a land-use narrative that states "within these walls is not yours – keep out." All artifacts are developed to satisfy a need, and the isolation of domains within the urban fabric means the land is "spoken for": a story has been spoken that lays claim to this land and others have agreed with the premise of that story and have acted to reserve it for the teller of the story.

Be it a law, a public work, or a building code, the moral of a policy story espoused in the public space first starts as a narrative (Pierce, Smith-Walter, & Peterson 2014; Jones, McBeth, & Shanahan, 2014). Incidentally distributed by traders, these narratives guided many early city-states to codify some of the earliest recorded examples of land-use law in the Mediterranean region (Rykwert, 2013). Communities use laws to control the ritual activity of actors, their works, and their labors. Inspiring

policy preference, the morals of narratives are codified into the will of the polis (Marris 1982; Throgmorton 1992; Yanow 1995; Paulsen 2004; Larkin 2013).

Policy and unconscious predisposition are both the result of meanings implied by a narrative (Gray & Jones, 2016). When a narrative uses plot, characterization, and setting it becomes storied. The moral of a narrative or story is a matter of interpretation by the audience of same. Story-craft leverages human cognitive function to cause the mind to adhere more implications to the given narrative (Schank, 1990). In contrast, rhetoric takes the intentionality of story-craft and insists the meaning of the narrative is present and critical to the polis (Cicero, 1954).

In contrast, informal stories are composed of the living stories of stakeholders (Alexander, 1979; Childs, 2008). Such myths of cities arising *a posteriori*, in that the myth of a city coalesces around dispirit facts and forms of the city in an attempt to give meaning, is employed to rationalize negative and positive values associated with a specific urban society (Aravot, 1995). This is the opposite of *a priori* myths, such as Rome's founding myth (which, arguably, could be *a posteriori*, as it would be difficult to prove one way or the other.) Where Rykwert (2013) would describe the idea of a town as an *a priori* story that organized the founding of a city and provided a durable pattern to unfold its future, urban change professionals today are tasked with composing a new core story from the narrative threads spun by the inhabitants (Alexander, 1979; Throgmorton, 1992; Childs, 2008; Tassinari, Piredda, & Bertolotti, 2017). Based on the Cassirerean theory of comprehension, Aravot (1995) stratified human cognition between the spheres of the *practical* and the *theoretical* at the conscious level, yet unconsciously there is a 'sympathetic' or *meaning-aware* cognitive functionality. "Thus the mythical perspective does not aspire to objectivity or neutrality but sees the world as saturated with emotional qualities." (Aravot, 1995,

p.80) Christian Norberg-Schulz (1980) anthropomorphized this sympathetic cognition as the “genius loci”, a “spirit of place” – both guardian spirit and the ambiance of a domain:

Ancient man experienced his environment as consisting of definite characters. In particular he recognized that it is of great existential importance to come to terms with the genius of the locality where his life takes place... Survival depended on a 'good' relationship to the place in a physical as well as a psychic sense (Norberg-Schulz, 1980, p.18).

Whether invoking Schank (1990) and second-order thinking, Avarot’s (1995) sympathetic cognition, or Norberg-Schulz (1980) numina, the common mode is an *a pastori* assemblage of stories and meanings. While many works have begun with an *a priori* development model, through time they are all recomposed, renovated, and repaired *a pastori* by subsequent generations (Alexander, 1979; Brand, 1991).

Thus as aggregators of many stories told by the polis, the works become *storied*. Actors may not be aware of the multitude of stories that surround a work, but they will be aware of semantic content associated by others. The *a posteriori* (i.e. informal) narratives are composed of the overlapping patterns of daily use.

In his article “A City is Not a Tree”, Christopher Alexander (1966) described actors’ use of urban space as a densely nested semi-lattice of inter-related patterns of daily life. This semi-lattice describes the relationships between such prosaic urban elements as a news stand, a traffic light, and commercial store. Co-located, the three together have been observed to become an informal media source for users of that street intersection. This pattern is enmeshed in other patterns depending on time of day, week, season, and actors. They become meaningful when actors – in action over time – are observed using and recombining the patterns.

Four decades ago Christopher Alexander and his research team at Berkley University proposed a physical or “pattern” language and an intuitive method of assembling those patterns into urban fabrics (Alexander, Ishikawa, & Silverstein,

1977). Alexander's method was predicated upon the intuition of both the designers and users in a design charrette process. The foundation of Alexander, Ishikawa, and Silverstein's (1977) theory was the need for a spatial language that uses patterns of activity as the unit of the language.

The pattern language technique is a mixture of storytelling and graphical demonstration. The resulting publications are anthropological extrapolations of some northern European and northern American patterns of spatial use. These different systems of organizing space, like language, bounds actors' memory, where they lend meaning to the actor's definition of domain (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983; Aravot, 1995; Molotch, Freudenburg, & Paulsen, 2000; Paulsen, 2004; Bailey, Devine-Wright & Batel, 2016).

2.8.3 Domain's Limitation of Meaning

A narrative or story's temporal dimension is the plot: the past injuries of the victim justify the present action by the protagonist — all of which is summed by the moral. Per narrative theory, changing the victim or hero of a story changes its moral, fundamentally changing the story (Herman, 2009a). While the setting is interchangeable to a unitary story, it is not for narratives that are hypodiegetically nested. The nested domains acts as a unifying thread to the story (Kwan & Ding, 2008).

Italo Calvino's *Invisible Cities* (1978) is an example that does not rely on the unifying thread of domain. It is a collection of fictional city descriptions told by Marco Polo to Kublai Khan, fifth Khagan (Great Khan) of the Mongol Empire. The fictional Polo character is placating the ruler with descriptions of the various cities within the realm. The Kublai character knows he could not visit every city in his empire within one lifetime, and relies on reported descriptions to expand his sense of domain. The cities described are unitary, unique macro works unrelated by culture or other

narratives. The result is a collection of fictional domains that mean nothing to the audience because the audience will neither visit them nor perform any rituals of life there in or share in the locals' exotic rituals.

In contrast to the unitary nature of each “invisible city”, the Scheherazade character of *Alf layla wa-layla* is also narrating to a ruler, but her stories are interwoven with stories and places to which Shahryar has domain. As one of the most popular “frame stories” of central Asia, the flexibility of *Alf layla wa-layla* allowed the narrator of Scheherazade's tales to retain stories they understood or preferred, omit the others, and add new stories heard from other places. In this the meta-narrative is a pattern of plots, morals, and settings into which characters from different stories can be staged. The result is a hypodiegetically layering (framed one within the other) of personal (i.e. micro) narratives within neighborhood/tribal (i.e. meso) narratives within cultural/regional (i.e. macro) narratives – each unique but using common domains.

To the actor, meanings are those elements of the narrative which integrates those stories already within their memory. When hearing or reading a story, the actor must rely on their internal faculty to fabricate a memory of the setting of the story. Unlike visual media, this imagined setting could only be generated from elements of the actor's own memory of personal domains (Schank, 1990). This mode of active listening allows the actor to fabricate an artificial association with story domains using their personal domains.

This bias, where only known domains are the building blocks of imagined domains, greatly limits the variety of narratives that can be employed by an urban change professional. Visual media can aid in overcoming the limit imposed by experience, but as of this date the immersive potential of digital media is still restricted to the sense of

sight and sound. Such media is consumed in discreet units within a persistent real domain in which the actor engages in the full spectrum of the human condition rituals.

Professional storytellers have subverted the limitation of actor experience through incorporation of descriptions of sensory experiences that the actor likely has in their memory, for example: the dripping of water, crackling of fire, the smell of coffee (Ellis 2012; Harvey, 2013). The more fragments of sensory memory a storyteller can evoke from an audience, the more the audience is mapping the story like a memory of their own domain. An example of this is a storyteller who, telling a small group of people whose names he knew, integrated locations in the story to the listeners: “Shotoku built a grand palace four hundred years ago, on the hill behind where Angela bought the bread yesterday” (J. Convery, personal communication, December 28, 2010).

In this example, Convery emplaced Angela (an audience member) by name into the opening line of the story about a great king, and attached Angela’s memory of the ritual of buying bread from the redolent bakery to anchor her attention to the story about to be told.

While a domain’s cultural symbols may physically persist, new narratives can fail to promote semantic content of storied domains when they are not associated with listener domains (Harvey, 2013). Each individual and collective integrates new narratives into their ongoing emplaced stories. This can result in assigning new meanings to existing symbols, particularly as the work ages or changes over time (Filep, Thompson-Fawcett, & Rae, 2014).

When a domain loses all semantic meaning or becomes associated with negative narratives, the actors tend to abandon the domain (Jacobs, 1961). In both occasions, the point of inflection is the micro and meso domains of the actors. Policy makers tend to see morals of stories as unitary rather than framed, and the actors as recipients of

policy solutions rather than the agents of change. The moral-cum-policy in isolation tends to fixate on the moral of one story and the associated works in isolation and disregard the nested story of the actors composed of many domains maintained by that diversity of actors (Yanow, 1995).

The actors practice this agency as the final arbiters of a new policy or works adoption into common use. If the urban change professional has not successfully mapped a common domain between the proposed change and the actor's existing domains, the actors are likely to ignore the work (Yanow, 1995). Long-lasting works with no recent problems, such as buried water pipes, storm drainage, power supply, or natural infrastructure are usually not identified with by the polis. In contrast, roads are scenes of daily human drama, and have a higher share of community media. Until an infrastructure fails or under-performs, actors take it for granted and omit them from their domain maps.

The meaning of any domain map is representative of the actors' bias. Without overlaying the different bias from each stakeholder actor, there is a lack of meaning for that actor (Pierce, Smith-Walter, & Peterson, 2014). Thus a common map includes all actors' meaning. Without mapping actor bias, the map itself is devoid of relevance to the actors. This suggests a causal link between domain and meaning. As abstractions, maps cannot avoid incorporating bias as it is the bias that grants relevance to the actors' domains (O'Looney, 1998; Paulsen, 2004).

This suggests a causal link between domain and meaning assigned to all works. It is incumbent on urban change professionals to address the source of morals directly in order to produce moral outcomes in common domains with the local actors. Meanings are the truth actors espouse, and to contradict a truth is to alienate the actor. Factual or

not, a community's truth must be mapped and respected, as it indicates their veneration.

2.9 Action and Narrative

2.9.1 Persuading actors

Per Aristotle (Freese, 1929), political power aggregates through persuasive political discourse. Political speaking urges the audience to either change society or maintain society (Rhetoric: i, 3, Freese, 1929). The political arena is only definable as a place where words are exchanged to motivate the combined action of the polis. Absent the words, the revelatory meaning of mute action is incomprehensible – and the continuity of society would be haphazard at best (Arendt, 1959). Without describing the agent of the action and those influenced, the policy action is a violence committed by an agent against another.

Thus the political necessity of speech between contesting actors: speech offered only to supporters is propaganda meant to reinforce an argument for action taken against political opponents (Arendt, 1959). Until the narrative is expressed to the political opponents, it is impossible to reach a negotiated solution.

This distinction includes political art – a type of propaganda – which relies on slogans, satire, or irony projected at an audience (willing or no). The beholder's share of a work of art retains its relevance to the beholder without the artist's signature, without a laborer or worker as subject, and without an opposing view (Arendt, 1959). While policy change has been achieved through the use of propaganda, it is more akin to attacking or shaming the opposing actors. Its ability to foster a culture of cooperation between all parties is limited. The *pathos* (affect) or *bathos* (humor) of such art work does not avail itself of the full range of modes of persuasion as detailed by Aristotle in Rhetoric:

Ethos: appeal to the authority or credibility of the presenter (Rhetoric: iii.16.8, Freese, 1929);

Logos: appeal to logic and facts (ibid: i.11-12);

Kairos: situating the argument within the contemporary domain or mode of the culture or audience (ibid: ii.4);

Pathos: appeal to the emotions of the audience (ibid: iii.1-7).

These modes of expressing political narrative are constitutive of a citizen's political agency (Deuten & Rip, 2000). The results of actors exercising their agency – exchanging stories and inspiring common action – are inherently unpredictable (Arendt, 1959; Case, 2017). The diversity of personal histories and skills of all the actors combine into a new shared sense of meaning that will be specific to the moment and location (Arendt, 1959). Unlike the gardener who can predict crop yields or the engineer who can calculate the point of failure of a beam, an agent of political change, whether by mute action or political persuasion, cannot guarantee the stakeholders any particular policy outcome: “This insertion [into the affairs of the polis] is not forced upon us by necessity, like labor, and it is not prompted by utility, like work... To act... means to take initiative, to begin,” (Arendt, 1959, p. 157)

2.9.2 Types of Stories

Schank (1990, p.39) differentiates between 5 types of stories:

1. official stories that tend to be used for societal control;
2. invented/adapted stories that are inherently meant to entertain and are derived from historical stories;
3. first-hand stories recounted by witnesses;
4. second hand stories that we heard about others (i.e. rumors);

5. culturally common stories (i.e. ossified) are evolutions of narratives told ritualistically.

The official story that tends to become policy are negotiated value judgments based upon the stakeholder-actors. The intent of an official story is to affix cultural meaning, hence such stories (and the laws based upon them) are outdated at a rate roughly inversely proportional to their detail. The more specific a law is, the less generalizable is its application (Rhetoric: i, 13, Freese, 1929).

The invented and adapted stories have been used by two teams in a urban change professional application. Dunstan and Sarkissian (1994) recomposed the interviews of many local actors (types 3 and 4 stories) into a new story that relied upon the ossified, or mythic, mode. Tassinari, Piredda, and Bertolotti (2017) engaged in the same goal, but utilized local specific storytelling modes to present the new story in two case studies (puppetry and public access television). Both urban change professional teams noted stakeholder adoption of the new stories, though how much this is due to the novelty of the approach is untested.

The first-hand story is the least threatened by interlocutors. An individual's expressed remembrances of facts can only be countered by challenging the individual's credibility. Within public discourse, such an attack tends to polarize debates and leaves little room for negotiating perspective to a mutually-supportive policy outcome.

The second-hand story has the least ethos of persuasion when spoken by a single orator. However, commonly-held second-hand stories tend to reinforce group identity, and can polarize a debate when challenged outright.

The ossified story takes on an air of "wisdom" in that it is both antiquated yet still kept meaningful through associated sense of group identity. They tend to emphasize

assumed cultural values and meaning, and are partly told to reinforce cultural bias and prejudice.

2.9.3 Elements of Action Narrative

Unlike the macro-culture focus of typical cultural stories that reinforce community identity, action narratives are future-oriented and challenge individual or community identity. Typically, action narratives are emplaced in definable meso-level domains (Throgmorton, 1992). While micro-level narrative analysis can be action oriented, it is typically focused on the non-policy struggles of a single individual actor. The meso-level analysis blends elements of both with an ethnographic approach.

Most narratives, be they personal, traditional, fictional, or political, share a fundamental framework:

1. A setting or context: this can include physical and legal domains consequential to the problem in the plot;
2. the characters: victims (those harmed), the villains who perpetuate the harm, and the hero who will stop the harm;
3. a plot that introduces a temporal element (beginning, middle, end), providing both the relationships between the setting and characters, structuring causal mechanisms, and assigning blame to the villain;
4. the moral of the story, from which the beneficial result can be derived (Jones & McBeth, 2010; Jones, McBeth, & Shanahan, 2014 Gray & Jones, 2016).

In policy narrative, logic plays a supportive role to the emotional components. Logic is the foundational premise of scientific research, and it is a common mistake for urban change professionals and academicians to rely on the *logos* of their argument without engaging the full spectrum of narrative elements (Jones, McBeth, & Shanahan, 2014; Shanahan, Jones, McBeth, & Radaelli 2017).

2.9.4 Setting

Aristotle's *kairos* is here equated to domain: the relevant time and place where the action narrative unfolds. Unlike the macro-culture focus of most traditional narratives, action narratives are future oriented and emplaced in definable meso-level domains (Throgmorton, 1992). Both however make themselves compelling by manipulating time, voice, and space (Eckstein & Throgmorton, 2003).

Sandercock (2010) elaborates on these narrative variables of time and space (voice is a function of characterization, discussed below):

Space – The interlocutor and audience judge the sincerity of the narrator partly upon the duration he or she assigns to the contested domain versus inconsequential domains proffered as supporting or damning examples. The narrator's domain definition must successfully encapsulate actors as policy stakeholders (Deuten & Rip, 2000; Sandercock, 2010).

Time – A narrator can control the duration of different parts of a story so as to lend emphasis – or dismiss as inconsequential – certain characters or locations. Repeating important points or locations within a narrative suggests patterns of significance between context or character and policy theme (Sandercock, 2010).

As the meso-level analysis involves individual actors as well as actor-networks, there is a considerable need to synthesize the affect and motivations of the characters per Aristotle's *pathos*.

2.9.5 Characters

We are our own authors, being the central character of the autobiographical narrative, we create ourselves (Menary, 2008, p.68).

It is the characters of a narrative that link the time and place of the story to the emotional content, or *pathos*. The narrative pattern of cognition (Schank, 1990) relies on the imagined cast of characters to act in the plot of those cognitions (Menary, 2008).

There must be the emotional catalyst of hope, fear, or desire for the *pathos* to arise in the mind of either the narrator or audience.

As the narrator aims to evoke the relevant emotion in the audience, the narrator must describe a character who is experiencing the action. The more completely the audience can imagine the character, the more they can sympathize with the character as a person who might share their rituals and values. Thus, they can identify with the character in the story. This identification between the audience and the character engenders *idiopathy* in the audience. The imagined insults and adorations experienced by the imagined character is idiopathically assumed unto the audience (Wirling, 2014).

By mapping the emotional responses of a character, the audience tends to engage in more second-order cognition with the logic of the narrative: if logical data suites the assumed priors of the character the audience is more likely to adopt the results as truth, if it contradicts the character's priors they will look to undermine the foundations of the logic. The character's map becomes a frame of reference for the plot as a whole, and the other characters acting within the narrative. The victim is usually assigned the audience's pity, the villain their ire, and the hero their sense of hope and justice. The hero's actions are the prime mover of narrative persuasion, regardless to the audience's prior disposition of the policy subject as a whole (Shanahan, Jones, McBeth, & Radaelli 2017).

The characters significance to the audience is moderated by the narrator's use of voice. The first-person voice is used to indicate the narrator is reporting events as a direct actor. Use of the third-person (she/he, they) or first-person plural (we) indicates the narrator is an *advocate*, literally "adding voice" to promote the views of an actor/character coalition. Narrators will often employ more than one mode in a single story. Where they give prominence and where they suppress voice is judged by the

audience as indicative of their bias; first-person narration being associated with testimony is presumably less likely to be biased by others.

The use of first-person plural in narrative is an overt coalition-building language that attempts to ask the audience to join the narrative's chorus (Tassinari, Piredda, & Bertolotti, 2017). The traditional Greek tragedy uses the chorus to express the voice of the common characters separate from the central characters who move the plot. At the conclusion of a tragedy there is typically bliss, honor, loss, or destruction visited upon the hero, victim, or villain, but the chorus is left to absorb the lessons/theme/moral. The chorus is representative of the polis – witnesses to the drama. The appeal by a narrator to the chorus is an appeal for fair judgment of the moral of the story, to suggest the polis adopt a change to the community policy or fabric to reflect the lessons encapsulated in the narrative. The voices used, to what degree, and absent voices are highly indicative of the narrator's bias (Sandercock, 2010).

Meso-level policy action narrative involves individual fictionalized characters and actor-networks often based upon real actors and actor-networks as a means of arousing sympathy or apathy towards those actors (Ivory, 2013; Tassinari, Piredda, & Bertolotti, 2017). As the real actors of a community are turned into characters of a narration, they tend to be simplified into one of the character types (e.g. victim, villain, or hero; Ivory, 2013). Shanahan, Jones, McBeth, & Radaelli (2017) describe this process as the devil-angel shift. Narrators will employ the "devil shift" to exaggerate the influence of their villains and their malicious motives. The "angel shift" exaggerates the narrator's (or narrator network's) ability to resolve the policy problem while specifically de-emphasizing villain characters (Shanahan, Jones, McBeth, & Radaelli 2017). Provided the audience is emotionally engaged by the characters' interaction (i.e. the plot) the

logic of the domain or research is subservient to the characters' disposition towards the findings.

2.9.6 Plot: Linear and Spatial

Table 3. Three Basic Categories of Narratives (O'Looney, 1998, p.216)

	<i>Plot</i>	<i>Lead Characters</i>
comedies	stories of social harmony being restored	Tricksters protagonist
tragedies	stories of people of noble character who also have a fatal flaw	Heroic protagonist
legal parables religious parables allegories epics propaganda	stories of just-deserts	Antagonist (typically)

What one character does to another and the ensuing results is the story plot-line oriented on the axis of time. While the narratives of political actors are rooted in their desire to protect themselves, goals, and priors, the narrative structure limits the categories for which audiences are culturally primed:

Disassociated from time, plot is used to refer to the two-dimensional graph of a community. O'Looney (1998) expanded upon classical narrative theory of plot-lines to the mappable society. The two dimensional plots can be combined into different narratives within the bounds community norms and expectations to form derivative designs.

The polis has the agency to compose their own neighborhood narrative by selecting a linear plot from a two dimensional group of plots. They are free to choose a starting point and the characters, and the outcome can reflect any of the three categories of narrative. Through this agency, the individual actors use narrative to express their emotional predisposition towards the domain. In comparing narratives (i.e. sharing

stories) they attempt to find consensus on the narrative category of the domain under consideration. Urban change professionals are usually obtruding on the local actor network, and must become acquainted with this endemic narrative infrastructure in the exercise of their agency.

An actor's negative predisposition towards a domain will reduce his or her perceived sense of safety, and thereby the likelihood of ritual use. Expanding upon Jacobs' (1961) principle of "eyes on the street", O'Looney (1998) claims the published map of a community can predispose actor narratives to plot-lines of decline: "When, for example, we avoid an area marked 'high crime area' on our map, we effectively reduce the number of 'public eyes' that can act in the capacity of a neighborhood watch." (O'Looney, 1998, p.211). The process of mapping tragedy tends to chart excessive individual actor strengths (O'Looney, 1998). Urban change professionals need to be aware that the plotting of tragedies on shared domain maps in exclusion of plots of success will brand a community, possibly even being adopted as the local cultural identity (thus starting a reinforcing cycle of decline, O'Looney, 1998).

O'Looney (1998) claims the inverse is true as well: that maps can include the intangible assets possessed within a community, not just the challenges and decline. There is a potential for political action that leverages the narrative potential inherent in a map:

...stories of community strength can activate self-fulfilling prophecies. An experience of prior success appears to enhance the possibilities of future success — even if the lessons of the earlier success or failure do not necessarily apply to the current situation (O'Looney, 1998, p.222).

Any community's domain is likely to have systemic assets and deficiencies. Mapping deficits establishes the domain where the rituals of a community have not led to subjective well-being or prosperity. The mapping of domains that emphasize adversarial, either-or, win-lose processes, even if the results came out in favor of the

protagonists or victims, is inherently a map of tragedy. Alternatively: “[comic maps] emphasize unitary, multiple-perspective approaches to discovering truths... chart out the places, circumstances, and modes of mediation and other forms of alternative dispute resolution” (O’Looney, 1998, p.218-219).

Where a tragic map might focus on equity, development, and the fostering of the arts, science and education, comic maps focus on domains that are venues of forgiveness between actors or where identities/rituals of actors are collocated. This process takes the original casting of the actors into the roles of victims and villains and proposes everyone involved in domain disputes be recast as humane actors in a story of striving together for mutually beneficial outcomes. In the most strict definition of "comic" there needs to be an expected ending that is defied. O’Looney (1998) fails to make this obvious, but the notion of mapping where a community has overcome a negative reputation through "play" rather than "heroism" is inherently comic. The foundational theme of all comedy is humans succeeding together in spite the forces of entropy and short-term thinking (O’Looney, 1998). In a tragedy tale, the characters make a choice between two or more valuable goals, and one is sacrificed. In a comedy, one or more competing goal is demonstrated to be without value, and discarded. Working within a tragic narrative, the actor will likely be faced with elements of value that cannot be reduced to a “pro/con” assessment or benefit-cost analysis. Domains that harbor deep meanings for a community are not inherently quantifiable because of the layering effect of aggregated narratives over generations (Throgmorton, 1992). Often, a linear plot will exclude other narratives in the same domain. The spatial mapping of all the valuable goals can aid the urban change professional in mixing narratives to offset potential tragedies in the process of political action/impact.

Yet a comprehensive map of the narrative infrastructure is not sufficient if the goal is to effect change through community narrative adjustment. Narratives require the time dimension added to domain's length and breadth. The moral of the narrative is derived from the plotting of various competing characters within that domain. The agency of any actor is dependent upon their use of *kairos* (Caquard & Cartwright, 2014). The narrative structure relies on cause and effect to seem consequential to the audience.

2.9.7 Audience

Narratives, by their very nature, are composed assuming an audience to receive a story. This dictates that the narrative is fundamentally inter-subjective: even narrative patterns of cognition assume an imagined audience (Menary, 2008). As the narrative cannot be conceived without the audience, the audience (intended or not) is a component of the narrative.

The relationship between the storyteller, the story, and the audience is the thesis of Hannah B. Harvey (2013) lecture series and text *The Art of Storytelling: From Parents to Professionals*. Stories persist in a venue only so long as the audience affective response is poignant. The persuasiveness of a story can be diluted by ineffective storytellers who fail to bridge the characters and the plot with the audience through the use of adjectives, similitudes, and metaphors to evoke the memory of sensory experiences and relevant cultural tropes (Ellis, 2012; Jones, McBeth, & Shanahan, 2014).

Narratives of political action, being future-oriented, are dependent upon the favorable reception by the polis to change the society. As members of the two dimensional plot of community, the polis are chorus to all linear plots through their domain, and effectively characters in the proposed narrative (Throgmorton, 1992;

Tassinari, Piredda, & Bertolotti, 2017). Except in performance with a hushed group, the storyteller must incorporate the political audience as interlocutor, joint author, or discursive partner in the delivery of political narrative (Menary, 2008).

In the inter-subjective arena of political narratives, the storyteller is presumed a character of the story or of a related story. For any narrative expressed, the polis presumes a subtext of the expressed narrative. The polis will rely on second-order thinking to identify a likely motivation for the narrator, regardless of how dispassionate the narrator or their subject matter (Throgmorton, 1992). The only purpose of speaking to the polis is to attempt to persuade the polis towards a combined action.

The action narrative's persuasiveness lies upon a spectrum between canonicity and breach (Jones & McBeth, 2010). The status quo of sociality relations and interactions can be recorded in the ethnographic canon, or precedent, of the society. For the political narrative to breach canon is a violence to the polis's collective sense of personal and/or spatial identity. The degree of breach that a story achieves is indicative of its persuasiveness (Jones & McBeth, 2010).

To avoid the appearance of an attack, a policy narrative's goal is to tell a story with a moral condemning a ritual or law of the community – that it is counterproductive to the values or sustainment of the community. Culturally congruent narratives that mirror the audience's prior cultural type are more likely to be tolerated, if not taken up by the polis (Shanahan, Jones, McBeth, & Radaelli 2017).

Congruence is achieved by cognitively *transporting* the audience into the plot of the story. Elaborating on the logics of a policy narrative requires an audience of *animal laborans* to engage in first-order thinking. The whole mind-frame of the audience is placed into a judgmental process where new givens are compared to established

patterns. Narrative transportation erects a false world for the audience to imagine, populated with engaging characters and sensory cues that reinforce the visceral experience of the imagined world (Green & Brock, 2000; Jones & McBeth, 2010). The narrative can then rely on audience second-order thinking which makes it more likely the audience to follow the plot-line as laid out by the narrator. An imagined world manifests in the brain of the audience with the same neurological processes as their own memories (Schank, 1990).

This posits the narrative into the semi-lattice of memories of the audience members. Where descriptive details are lacking, suggesting incongruence, the audience will exercise their beholder's share by subconsciously filling in the narrative with remembered experiences. Engaging simulated experiences triggers memory associations and causes the narrative to be incorporated into the personal map (Shanahan, Jones, McBeth, & Radaelli 2017).

The process of cognitively distancing the actors from their domain allows perspective, reflection, and appreciation of places (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983); which is also typical of imagined landscapes when the audience mentally returns from being transported to the action of the policy narrative. Throgmorton (1992) has summed the process of persuasive storytelling about the future in five points:

1. Urban change professionals are authors who emplot the flow of action using logical conflicts and their resolution to change the disposition of both the characters and the audience as they respond to evidence such as surveys, simulation models, forecasts of future conditions, or other data.
2. The characters are interesting and idiosyncratically believable.

3. The action's *kairos* is accurate: the characters identify with the domain which is specific to the ritual or law under consideration.
4. The author choose the appropriate voice to grant perspective on the action of the narrative, and is clear which character is relating to which, in what form, and with what mode or limitations. Once an ethical voice is chosen, it is seldom varied.
5. Employ the use of imagery and rhetorical devices such as rhythm of language, metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, and irony to transport the audience and maintain their attention.

Persuasive storytelling relies on Aristotle's four modes of persuasion: *ethos*, *logos*, *kairos*, *pathos*. Agreeing upon the moral of a story is dependent on the audience participation in narrative transportation via authoritative speakers describing plausible chains of events in a sensorially dynamic domain about characters with plausible motives.

2.10 Function of Narrative Infrastructure

Such a system is complex due to the feedback from those same built fabrics which in turn influence the future activities of the actors and future interactions of the urban society. Meaningful betterment of the human condition through public policy or urban design would seem unachievable in a system afflicted by self-interfering processes. Within the complexity, however, the human and societal tendencies demonstrably support a manifest desire for urbanization. Pragmatically, it is incumbent to study and leverage these individual and cultural aspects to propose modifications to the urban fabric that can potentially ease the process of urban change forward.

As urban change professionals operate from the arena of action and narrative, the approach described here is termed “narrative infrastructure”. It is a study of the structures that under-girds human society through the narratology lens.

Storytelling is how humans form thoughts and memories, how they describe their identity and rituals, how they encapsulate the setting of their domain, justify their works, communicate the meaningfulness of the above, and – when necessary – how they change the above. Like an unseen structure, or infra-structure, that supports the functions of the city, narrative infrastructure is pervasive throughout the city.

Chapter 3

FAMAGUSTA WALLED CITY: A CASE STUDY

In this chapter the methodology to map stories is described. The context of the case study and sample is explained in full to demonstrate the spatio-narrative analysis approach. Following this is a description of the tools used to conduct the case study.

3.1 Narrative's Definition of Place

Where the previous research has focused on macro-narratives applied to the meso (neighborhood) and macro (city) scales, this study inverts the standard approach by relying upon oral histories (micro data) applied at the meso level.

Setting aside the formal process of land-use policy, contested space is a chief concern of the urban change professional. To understand contested domains, it is necessary to abstract the domains to a common map. The abstract boundary provides an extent to the contest, and helps to identify other actor networks who may be unaware that their domain is contested. Through the process of describing the rituals of an actor-network and how they are reflected in the space, the competing actors have the potential to enter into a dialog about how domain is used, and is the first step to discovering how to share a domain.

The process of mapping of a domain is a seizing of fabric or biome. The map or artifact record publishes a narrative of the actor's identification with a specific fabric. The act of assembling the narrative around the artifacts or landscape requires the community at large to address the defined claim on contested space. Overtly or subversively, the meaning or theme of the map or catalog is not legal title, but that the

physical fabric is an extension of the actor's natural person (Caquard & Cartwright, 2014).

The narrative infrastructure method is calibrated to identify urban-fabric disassociation by the populace and suggest potential remedies in the context of an evolving city. As part of the narrative infrastructure approach, the tools of narrative analysis were tested on urban space. The method proposed for the case study is focused on capturing and contextualizing local narratives that contribute to actor's definition of place.

The process utilized in the case study required three steps:

1. Thematically code the recorded stories using *a priori* codes based upon the theoretical model;
2. Map the extents of the narratives;
3. Identify locations lacking narratives and compare to land-utilization;

3.2 Context of Famagusta

On the island of Cyprus, Famagusta is composed of a historic Walled City with commercial port, a university-oriented development to the north, and the involuntarily-abandoned development of closed Varosha to the south. The military of Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United Nations all occupy significant parcels around and within Famagusta. The geographical location of the Walled City is upon a sandstone geologic formation separating a seasonal river from the Mediterranean Sea.

Historically, Famagusta has had two dominant ethnic groups. However, the residential population of the Walled City has been predominantly of Turkish descent since the mid-seventeenth century (Doratlı, 2011, Dağlı, 2013). As a border city between the eastern and western urban design paradigms, Famagusta expresses a layering of urban fabric: from Lusignan (1192-1489 AD), Genoese (1373-1464),

Venetian (1489-1571), to Ottoman (1571-1878), British (1878-1960), Turkish Cypriot (1960-1974), and since, Turkish influence (Dorathı, 2011).

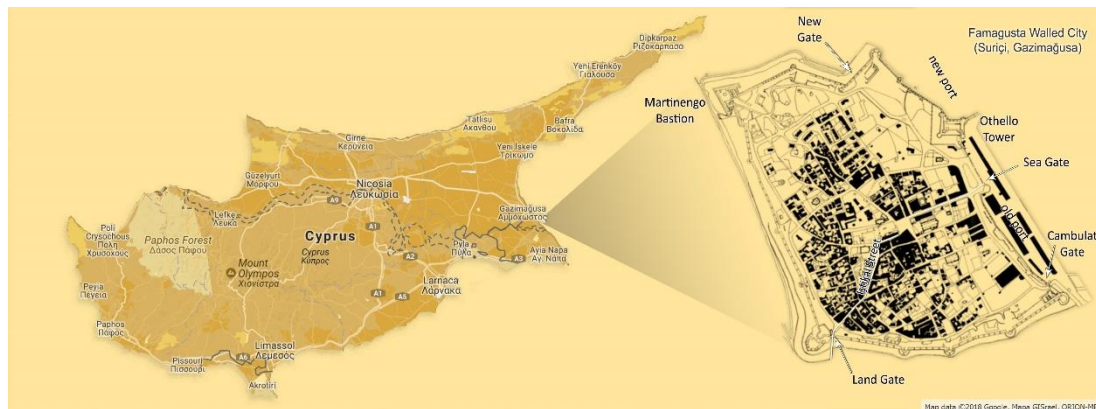


Figure 5. Context of Walled City, Famagusta, Cyprus
(source: Google, Mapa GISreal, ORION-ME, 2018, adapted by author, 2018)

Pre-twentieth century Famagusta urban fabric is largely defined by the limited access of two gates (Perbellini, 2011). The Ottoman reliance on Famagusta as an open-air prison for political exiles was functionally supported by the limited access (Dorathı, 2011). This established the İstiklal Street as the high-street connecting the Land Gate and the Sea Gate. The development progression from the high-street lessened private development pressure on the Cambulat area (south-east quarter) and Martinengo (north-west quarter). These quarters were utilized by the military over the centuries until the British colonial period which opened additional gates along the sea wall (Perbellini, 2011). Martinengo, lacking a gate still, is the least-developed quarter of Famagusta.

Compared to the Walled City, the land-use patterns of greater Famagusta exhibit significant modern influence – if only indicated by street-width (Dorathı, 2011). That indicator alone suggests a change of values for land-use from maximizing built area to a greater desire for vehicular transportation. This is one example of how a need, expressed within the political narratives about traffic, has changed land-use policy

significantly in the past century – from Ottoman to English empires, to a mixture of 20th century English and modern Turkish (Doratlı, 2011).

The narratives (P2-6, see appendices) describe the Walled City emerging from World War Two in poor condition. The population that had been supporting the shipping industry and retreated to the inland villages and the built fabric had room to expand even within the walls. The historic segregation between the ethnic Greek and Turkish Cypriots saw a predominantly Turkish Cypriot Walled City while Greek Cypriots established Varosha. As Varosha grew, so did the tourism industry, which provided a great deal of work for the commercial port at the Walled City. After the Turkish occupation of North Cyprus in 1974, Greek Cypriot land holdings in the north were redistributed to some Turkish Cypriots, leading to regional diaspora that decreased the population of the Walled City.

The modern base-industry of Famagusta is unrelated to the port or tourism: it is education. With the establishment of Eastern Mediterranean University in late 1970s on the northern fringe of the city (five kilometers beyond the fortified walls) the development focus moved away from the Walled City.

Between 1960 and 2018, the Walled City has experienced approximately a 85% population decline (Dağlı, 2013). This out-migration has been caused by a variety of factors, but this has been concurrent with a demonstrated decline in the condition of the urban fabric. The condition itself expresses a narrative of decline that is reflected in interviews with out-wall residents. Within the walls is the Famagusta Walled City Association (MASDER) who continues to salvage some of the narratives of early-to-mid twentieth century Walled City-life by recording the residents at their organization facility.

3.3 Sample Characteristics

The presence of MASDER and their efforts in recording location-specific oral histories suggested the subject of this case study. The serendipity of the organization, the body of data they have amassed prior to this research, and the discrete scale of the Walled City provides for a study sample small enough to be used for a demonstration of the narrative infrastructure methodology. As discussed by Molotch, Freudenburg, and Paulsen (2000):

Community voluntary associations are linking devices, not only because their variety and social makeup 'cover' so many substantive areas, but also because they harbor 'memory traces... they bridge the somewhat ineffable 'betweenness' of people's subjective experiences and the objective realities of locale (Molotch, Freudenburg, & Paulsen, 2000, p.794).

The oral histories were video-taped at the 2015-2017 scheduled meetings MASDER participants. The attendees were typically long-term or past residents of the Walled City, and tended to feel free to contribute in the speaker's narrative. This did lead to an unfortunate amount of unintelligible cross-talk, and intra-group subject matter that was not generally clear to the translator.

The membership of MASDER is largely made up of older community members who were raised in the city from 1940 to present day. The members can be described as engaged community members who appear to care about how the Walled City will change. While the Walled City anecdotally housed 8,000 residents in the mid-twentieth century, this has dwindled to 1,000 in 2018 (Dağlı, 2013).

While the database includes forty-six narratives, this study includes five (n=5) to demonstrate the method of mapping narrative infrastructure. These five were down-selected from the original forty-six recordings based on the quality of the recordings, the focus on daily-life issues, and the tellers reported ability to speak English should

follow-up questions become necessary. The names of the tellers was altered in the transcripts to protect the participant's privacy.

Discerning which were to be included in the mapping exercise was a matter of defining a location for a story component based on cues within the text and cross-checked with public Internet-based resources. O'Looney (1998) provides the following guidance on choosing the narratives to map:

Such maps should catalog the personal perspectives of community residents (from the inside-out) and look for opportunities to inventory and spatially analyze strengths, resources, and harmonic associations as well as locate instances of noble, if failed, resolve and action (i.e., to tell with their maps a variety of comic stories as well as parables of caution and tales of tragic ambition) (O'Looney, 1998, p.227).

3.4 Applying the Codes to the Narratives

The recorded narratives were interpreted by an architect and translator local to Famagusta. The resulting transcripts were coded using Atlas.ti by applying the six themes of narrative infrastructure: labor, identity, domain, works, meaning, and action. Where stories within the narratives were composed of multiple codes, the over-arching intent of the actor's reason to express their story was chosen as the theme to be recorded in the narrative infrastructure map.

3.5 Spatial Definition of Narrative Topology

This methodology relies on data triangulation using multiple storytellers to improve the accuracy of codes as applied to the Walled City map.

There are two components to mapping a narrative infrastructure: the geometry and the audience potential. Both components are derived from the dual paradigms of human spatial memory: the room and the city. Humans tend to address memories spatially by defining a domain limit to the context of a memory and rituals (Radvansky & Copeland, 2006), but will loosely integrate memory across domains when moving at human speed (Maccauley, 2000; Rosenberg, 2012).

3.5.1 Geometry of Spatial Narratives

The setting of the narratives are described by the tellers as either point, line, or areas of narrative action. For example, a story about the route to school is describing a linear narrative. Alternately, a story about a movie theater is going to be limited to the visual range of the building or the street-room to which it contributes.

Point Narratives: Point narratives are localized to singular entities by the narrator (a building, a tree, a field, etcetera). There are two methods for defining the service area of a point story. These are:

1. To the extents of the outdoor street-room to which the building contributes its facade (Ewing & Handy, 2009);
2. by visual distance experienced at human scale - approximately twenty meters (Alexander, 1977).

The first street-room criteria is derived from the capacity for a street with physical vertical enclosure similar as the walls of a room. Recent research on the Event Horizon Model of memory indicates that rooms become exterior organizers for actor memory (Radvansky & Copeland, 2006) and the act of passing through a doorway tends to cause cognitive disassociation from objects in the previous room. This phenomenon appears to be a function of human cognition as the effect is also reported when subjects are asked to only *imagine* passing through a doorway (Lawrence & Peterson, 2014). The definition of enclosure of a street room is primarily related to the regularity of the street facade on both sides of the street (Ewing & Handy, 2009). Unlike an architectonic room, street-rooms are enclosed to the front and back not with another wall of buildings, but by varying degrees due to discontinuity of either street wall: irregular building setbacks, t-intersections, or a crossing street (Ewing & Handy, 2009).

Experientially, an intersection is a hyper-location: it is in more than one street-room. Each street-room that extends from an intersection is discernible from the other streets as the intersection contains landmarks common to both street-rooms. At an intersection, transitioning from one street-room to another is no different than moving from one part of an 'L' shaped room to another. However, turning onto a third street would be the architectural equivalent of leaving the room, and the first street is displaced by the new street-rooms composed of street two and three.

The hyper-location effect of intersections is lost if the angle of intersecting streets is overly oblique. Montello's (1991) study of the effect of angularity of urban street structure on orientation and memory demonstrated that intersections that deviate 40 degrees or more from orthogonal will disorient actors from intersection landmarks. Effectively, the intersection is so oblique that the visual field of experience is not shared between the two streets.

Lacking a street-room, point-story's extents are limited to the human scale. This limitation is based on the actor interaction necessary for a narrative: at least one actor must be engaged physically with a character of a story (person, place, or thing) for the setting to be addressable. The physical setting then is limited to twenty meters, the distance typical for actors to recognize each other (Alexander, 1977). Therefore, any actor beyond twenty meters from a point-addressed narrative could not participate in the action associated with the narrative.

Line Narratives: Plots that traverse space along a route include the facade to facade street-section plus an additional twenty meters to account for the visual range into that route (per the human scale factor described above). A linear narrative will extend along intersecting roads those twenty meters.

Area Narratives: Neighborhood narratives are difficult to define as the actual boundaries of neighborhoods are rarely agreed upon by local actors (Lee & Campbell, 1997). For the sake of this case-study, area narratives are centered between streets with more than two intersections (collector streets). While a linear or point narrative may exist in two neighborhoods, neighborhood narratives are wholly contained by the approximate boundaries of the named neighborhood.

3.5.2 Audience Potential

The landmarks and way-points of an urban experience are meaningless until they are addressed spatially by the audience. This is not to suggest that the extent of influence of a located narrative would be limited to the sensory range of a landmark associated with the plot, characters, or theme. What is often ignored in such an argument is that landmarks and way-points are themselves fixed, and it is moving human sensoria that integrate these urban components into a sense of place.

Where this study focused on describing an accurate narrative infrastructure of today, this might be a reasonable factor. The intent is to free the narratives from any one time frame: past, present, future, nor any specific past time frame or planning horizon. The past, present, and future all have a common approximate metric: the length of a human stride. By relying on the ambulation of actors as the metric, the relational scale of narrative service area is always at human scale. Any decisions based upon those narratives will likewise start with a human scale. Given the benefits expressed by various authors on the subject of human-scaled urban design (notably Ewing & Handy, 2009 and Alexander et al., 1987) this extends narrative infrastructure to professional who subscribe to such a goal.

Mapping of oral history narratives presumes that the stories can be audited by actors in the future. In this study, the act of auditing of another's story assumes the new actor

is familiar with that story. Actors become the audiences of the narrative infrastructure by traversing the narrative's setting.

As the focus of this research is human condition, the experience of a narrative fixed in space is mapped based on its potential to be encountered by an ambulatory elderly adult (the least-mobile of the pedestrian cohorts) during perambulation through the built fabric. As walking is the most commonly available mode of transportation, it is studied in exclusion to other modes of transport. Except when an actor is a passenger in a transport mode, walking demands the least cognitive capacity compared to other modes of active transport.

Walking locates the body in place. In the repetitious act of turning over our legs – of falling forward, then rising and collecting ourselves into a corporeal rhythm – we are as it were like large knitting (or perhaps sewing machine) needles stitching ourselves into the local fabric of the environs, grounding and rooting ourselves even if momentarily. In this sense, walking tracks, outlines or traces a place through the continuous trail left by the moving body and the memory of its motions. In route, the city is repeatedly taken in at a robust glance. The surroundings are actively synthesized in and through our bodies. We are oriented increasingly from single points to broader positions to localized regions and places (Macauley, 2000, p. 7).

Neurological research in animal models of memory consolidation have focused on when locational memory is recorded by the primate brain (Pierrot-Deseilligny, Müri, Rivaud-Pechoux, Gaymard, & Ploner, 2002; Byrne & Becker, 2009). Narrative infrastructure tests for stories that persist during an average trip (400-800 meters). In order for any location to be remembered spatially by the parahippocampally dependent memory system, approximately five minutes must elapse to allow for other way-points to be experienced and provide context for the remembered location (Pierrot-Deseilligny, Müri, Rivaud-Pechoux, Gaymard, & Ploner, 2002).

Taking typical low walking pace of an eighty-year old actor, a speed of three kilometers per hour is assumed for this study (Bendall, Bassey & Pearson, 1989). In a straight line path, uninterrupted, and undistracted, this would yield an average walking

distance of 250 meters before memory integration. To allow for turns, moderate climbs, and traffic, this has been reduced by 12% for a narrative extent of 220 meters.

This approach assumes that the audience's memory of a story is cued by the landmarks within 220 meters of the locus of the story.

3.6 Spatio-narrative Analysis

Once each story was coded and mapped, the zones were overlaid with the narratives of the same code to find areas of the Walled City that figure significantly in the narrative character of place (two or more stories in the same location), but also to identify areas devoid of narrative influence.

3.7 Equipment and Software

The videos were collected with an SLR camera (1920x1080 pixels) on a tri-pod using the internal microphone.

The translations were performed using *Google Voice* combined with *VLC Media Player 3*.

The transcripts were processed and coded using *Atlas.ti 7.5*.

The maps were developed with *ArcMap Desktop 12.2.2*.

Chapter 4

FINDINGS

In this chapter are results of the application of the spatio-narrative analysis approach as applied to the Walled City using the narrative infrastructure codes. Each storyteller is described in general terms and the resulting maps of their narratives is presented. The statistical patterns of the narrative themes is tabulated to enable further discussion.

4.1 Narrative Infrastructure Locations

This study examined Famagusta Walled City in exclusion to the greater metropolitan area to limit the plurality of narratives that have evolved in the diversity of morphological patterns. This limitation on the extent of the study limited both the extents and temporal scope of the narratives. Culturally, this sampling is skewed towards older native Cypriots. While natives, immigrants, tourists and students all live in the Walled City, the native stories have precedence when discussing the older fabrics. This is not to suggest the other groups are without agency or need, only that their narratives will be heavily influenced by their own nostalgia for foreign fabrics. While everyone participates in and evolves the narrative infrastructure in the area under study, the first order narrative collection should be defined by tenure and those most susceptible to nostalgia locally (Molotch, Freudenburg, & Paulsen, 2000).

The five narrative recordings reviewed in this case study totaled 319 minutes of run-time, some of which was spent on introduction and conclusion by the key-informant and some spent on cross-talk from the audience. All of the tellers appear to

be over the age of 50 years, and P5 included three tellers, all women. The rest of the tellers were men. Refer to appendixes A-E for the coded transcripts.

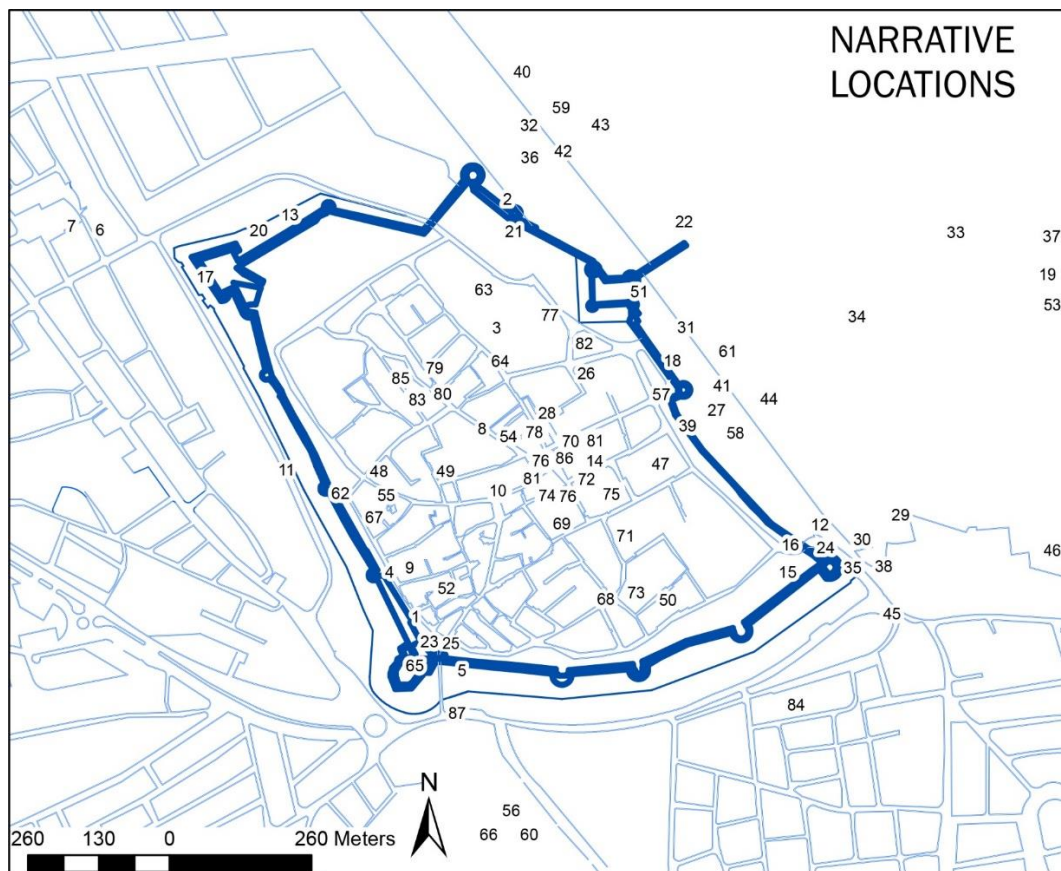


Figure 6. Narrative locations, refer to Appendix F

Where the narratives named locations described as adjacent to contemporary landmarks, suitable adjustments were made for approximating the location of a narrative. Infrequently, a narrative’s location was described in relation to absent landmarks, and in these instances the narrative was placed based on inductive clues from other narratives and contemporary land-use patterns. Given the necessity for defining the narrative infrastructure for a walking polis, those narratives identified off-shore were assigned to the nearest pedestrian location: the port or marina.

The narrative map indicates eighty-seven narratives (Figure 6), while the individual number of narratives was seventy-six. Five narratives were indicated on the map twice

as they are line-narratives, and to define the extents it is necessary to provide the ends of those lines.

4.2 Narrative Coding

The total narrative infrastructure codes identified in the recordings were 439 (Table 4), most of which were not presented in a plotted-narrative form but rather anecdotal or incidental. Of the 439 total codes, seventy-six were identified as central themes to a story that could be topographically located:

Table 4. Narratives versus Locative Codes

Narratives versus Locative Codes	P2 Ahmet		P3 Mehmet		P4 Kerem		P5 Sevel		P6 Özgür		TOTALS:
	narrative	locative	narrative	locative	narrative	locative	narrative	locative	narrative	locative	
LABOR	6	1	6	2	2	1	12	0	16	1	42
IDENTITY	14	3	6	1	23	4	18	1	15	4	76
DOMAIN	33	7	5	1	24	5	21	4	12	4	95
WORK	31	5	8	2	27	2	3	0	15	2	84
MEANING	16	2	10	2	17	2	8	1	7	1	58
ACTION	27	5	16	5	26	3	9	4	6	1	84
TOTALS:	127	23	51	13	119	17	71	10	71	13	439
Percent of Locative Stories:	18%		25%		14%		14%		18%		17.31%

4.3 Focus of the Tellers

The typical subjects of the stories included:

1. How the teller came to live in the Walled City.
2. What their parents did for a living in the Walled City.
3. What daily life was like at school.
4. How the other communities (Greek Cypriot and English) interacted with the tellers

Ahmet (P2, Appendix A) provided the longest recording (eighty minutes) and spanned covered the greatest topological extent of the Walled City. In addition to a substantial number of personal stories, Ahmet shared a variety of modern legends about 20th century gold and weapon smugglers (Story 22 and Recording P2, line 99).

Mehmet's (P3, Appendix B) recording was the shortest and also largely focused on history and activities at the port of Famagusta. Where his stories did enter the Walled City it was to discuss either how disaster at the port impacted the city or how the labor politics of the port were decided by events at offices, trade-halls or movie theaters.

Kerem (P4, Appendix C) was an educator and writer who lamented the post-World War Two Famagusta's rebirth and its decline post-1974 conflict. He expounded at length on the inclusion of the fine arts in the education of Turkish Cypriots in the Walled City. He relayed several stories of both class and cultural segregation.

Sevel (P5, Appendix D) provided no locative narratives with themes either of labor or work. Sevel's labor stories were offered generally for the whole Walled City (particularly related to her father's job as a food purveyor) or were anecdotes about her grandmother who was never a resident of the Walled City.

Özgür (P6, Appendix E) focused much of his talk on his father's consumable trade and pervasive influence across the Walled City. His description of daily life in Namik Kemal Square (Meydanı) hint at the relationships between generations.

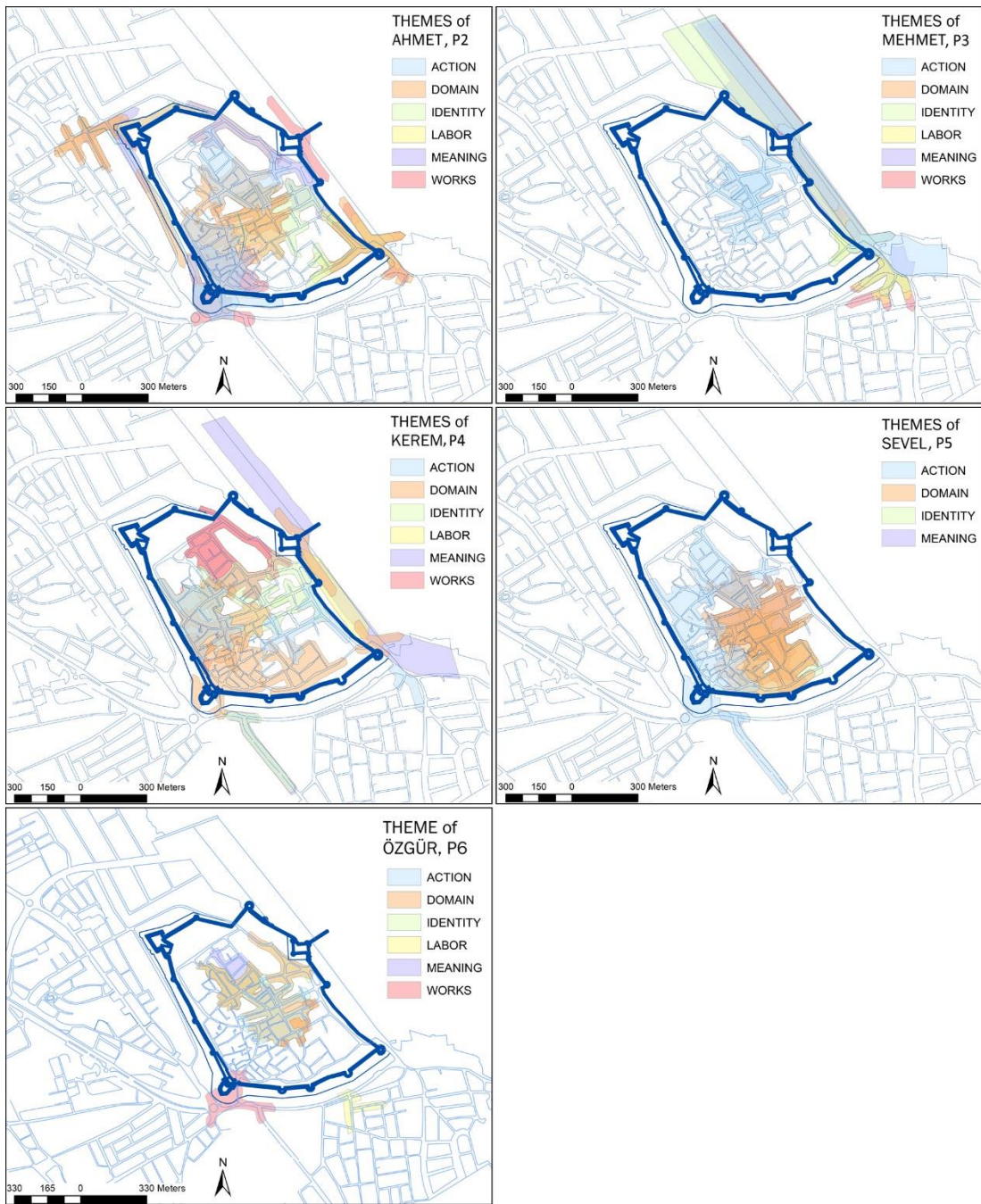


Figure 7. Maps of individual teller narratives by theme

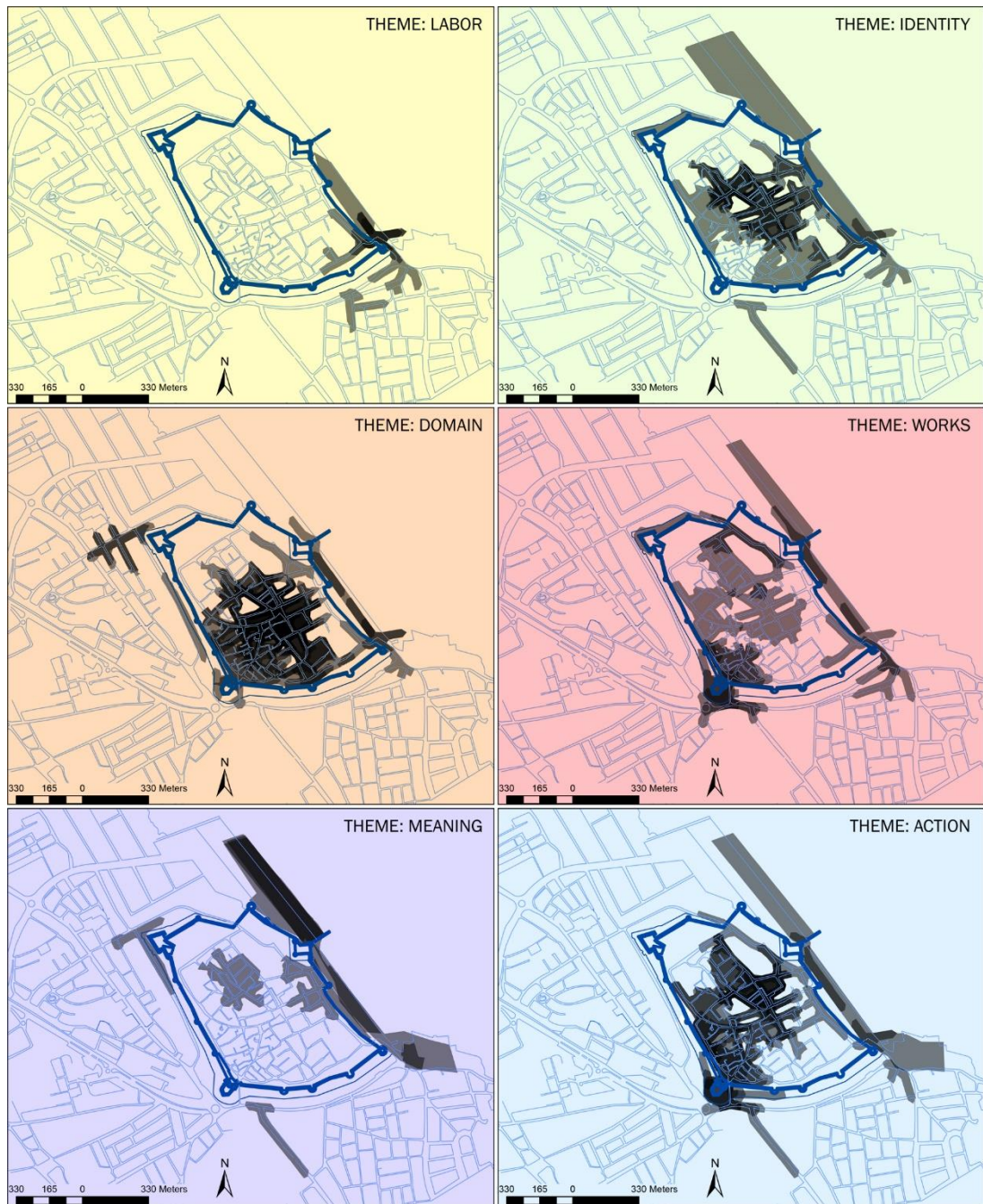


Figure 8. Combined theme maps of all tellers

4.4 Narrative Infrastructure Code Cooccurrence

Within the individual stories, there was a tendency for the narratives to layer multiple themes into the same story as follows:

The key findings from comparing the spatial cooccurrence (Table 5) of the same theme found in all five narratives are limited extent of location-specific labor and

meaning stories (both at 5% cooccurrence or less). The one exception was meaning and political action with the highest cooccurrence of the study: 17%. This supports the narrative infrastructure model that meaning is derived from action. What is atypical is the least collocated occurrence found between meaning and work: 2%.

Table 5. Code Cooccurrence

Code Cooccurrence	LABOR	IDENTITY	DOMAIN	WORK	MEANING	ACTION
LABOR		5%	5%	3%	3%	3%
IDENTITY	9		11%	9%	5%	3%
DOMAIN	8	19		12%	3%	10%
WORK	6	15	21		2%	10%
MEANING	5	9	6	3		17%
ACTION	5	5	17	17	29	

Chapter 5

DISCUSSION

The narrative infrastructure derived from the narratives of the storytellers is examined in chapter five in terms of the six themes of narrative infrastructure. The existing conditions of the Walled City are discussed in light of the specific stories by the storytellers. Combining these two findings, the mapped and the narrated data, proposals for policy and fabric development are detailed based on the data.

5.1 The Walled City Narrative Infrastructure

The narrative infrastructure is a rarefied model of the people, stories and the built fabric that uses an ethnographic approach to effect urban morphology and policy development. While the individual stories are meaningful for the original tellers, the spatial agglomeration of stories appears to display where Walled City natives focus their attention. The stated purpose of the MASDER meetings of documenting the subtle narratives of the community lends a degree of focus to the narratives that often exceeds the spatial content of typical oral histories. The group setting of the storytelling provides instant feedback to the tellers if they have trouble remembering where an event took place or in cases where there is disagreement with the teller.

Separation by age being a key macro-theme that imparts a great deal of meaning to the current political and cultural divide on Cyprus. The division of both play and learning between the two communities of children may have contributed to a separated identity and domain contest. Per the general theory of narrative infrastructure, only through sharing rituals in the same space together will it be possible for the two

communities to develop a common sense of identity and shared domain. This conclusion is not new information for the local actors:

[Speaker: One of the Men inside the room]: There used to be a Greek School in Famagusta. It was for the Greek who lived in Famagusta.

[Speaker: Kerem]: Yes, it was established in 1957. But it could just teach for a year. After EOKA's attacks started, all Greeks ran away from Famagusta and that school was closed. [Unintelligible] That school was used as a court and library. When I was a principal in Canbulat, I expressed that we should have the school open but they didn't accept (Recording P4, lines 113-115).

Generally, the thematic distribution maps (Figure 8) demonstrate a high number of domain codes. This propensity can be explained by reflecting on the general intent of MASDER. In bringing actors together as a group to discuss their memories of an urban fabric, a significant portion of each recording is composed of participants discussing the precise location of the individual stories. Further, the following observations were made from the data. These are categorized as labor, identity, domain, works, meaning, and action.

LABOR

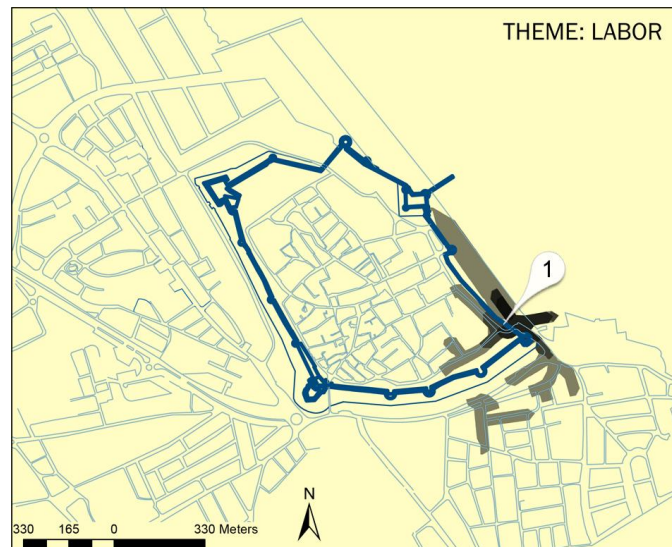


Figure 9. Map of labor themed stories

Even though labor was the least represented narrative theme amongst the recordings, they are all co-located around the Cambulat gate (point 1, Figure 9) and the old harbor. This geographic specificity strongly suggests that the community relates to this area as a locus of both industriousness and subjective well-being.

One trend generally agreed upon by the tellers is the unkempt condition of much of the Walled City's built and natural fabric (historic and contemporary):

The reason that the trees collapse today is because there is no earth left that they can dig their roots in (Recording P2, line 143).

You just needed a big enough dock for the ship to stop and let its passengers off and then allow them to board again and set sail in a reasonably short amount of time. They were considering it but they were more open to Greece as the cruise ships had started to increase in the Mediterranean. None came to Cyprus (Recording P3, line 165).

Those were the days of poverty, ignorance and shabbiness in Famagusta...and we moved to villages, it was misery, for sure. Famagusta were always the place for experiencing poverty inside the walls (Recording P4, line 7).

Unfortunately, I don't like the Famagusta of after 1974. It is now very barren and cursed (Recording P4, line 166).

Based on the sample of this study, the narrative infrastructure of the Walled City suffers a dearth of laboring narratives within the walls. As described by Arendt (1958), labor provides for day-to-day necessities and is the cause of subjective well-being. Several tellers spoke of participating in the labor of their fathers, but none of their own. Per the narrative infrastructure theory, ritualized labor (identity) will foster place identity (domain) with specific fabrics which become meaningful fabrics.

IDENTITY

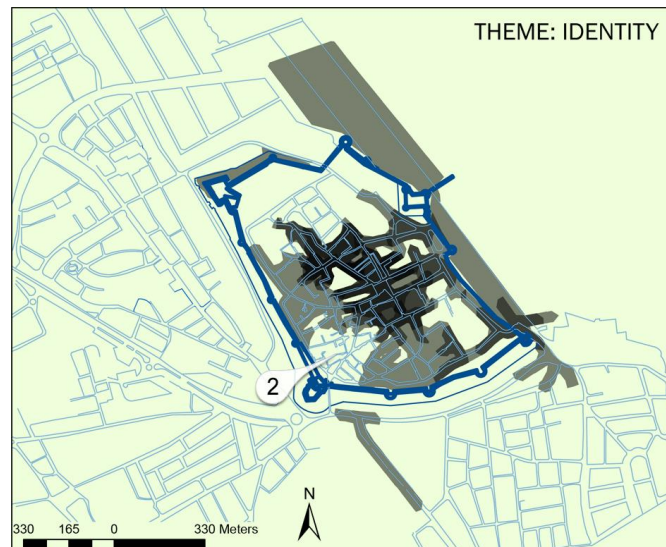


Figure 10. Map of identity themed stories

The sense of identity in the narrative infrastructure is largely distributed throughout the study area. Though there are twice as many stories about identity as labor, the highest concentration is less than half narrative density of labor. The lack of identification with the Akkule neighborhood (area 2, Figure 10) adjoining the Land Gate (point 3, Figure 14) is the most poignant of the finding about Walled City sense of identity.

Then we went to Mr. Hüseyin's house in Akkule Neighbourhood. There were two extremely rich people regarding their possessions in Famagusta: One was Mr Hüseyin and the other was another Mr. Hüseyin who was a grocer. All the houses and bakery shops in Famagusta were owned by Mr. Hüseyin the grocer. Not because he had a lot of money but because he had assets. The bakeries and all the houses in Akkule belonged to him (Recording P4, line 182).

Either the MASDER attendees for these five recordings had no prior relationship with this neighborhood due to economic reasons (Akkule was identified as more affluent neighborhood, whose inhabitants might have afforded moving away from Famagusta), or there is a genuine cultural disassociation with the area around the Land Gate. The apparent absence of urban elites from this sample suggests further

interviews be conducted to include this economic strata. Urban elites tend to have a disproportionate influence on the development of urban fabric.

Besides the clear identification with the primary schools, the narrators identified themselves with two themes: the rituals of their family (watching television, preparing a father's hooka) and the ossified folk tales

The latter is an expression of how meaning and identify are inherently tied in the narrative infrastructure. The ritualized telling of folk-stories ratifies the meso-culture intergenerationally by granting meaning to the context and its people. These stories range from the supernatural:

That story about the mothers; there use to be a fig tree at the Canbulat Gate and they would put some honey on the figs and put their hope in that... That was for young women who did not have children (Recording P2, lines 257-259).

to the legendary:

Water used to come from Değirmenlik through this tunnel. They said that [Unintelligible name] smuggled gold from there. However, they caught [Unintelligible name] although he smuggled the gold from there... The gold hasn't been found. They used to tell us back then that the gold was smuggled from here (the tunnel). Everybody says something (Recording P2, lines 86-90).

Expressions about the rituals of family life seem to provide a similar integration amongst members of family units:

The moment we saw my father coming home when he came around the corner we would light the small coals and put them in a can. He would come in and prepare his tobacco and place the burning coals on the hookah. You'd put the coals in a can so that they would get hot and they would burn there before you used them. When they became white hot he would place them on the hookah (Recording P5, line 128).

DOMAIN

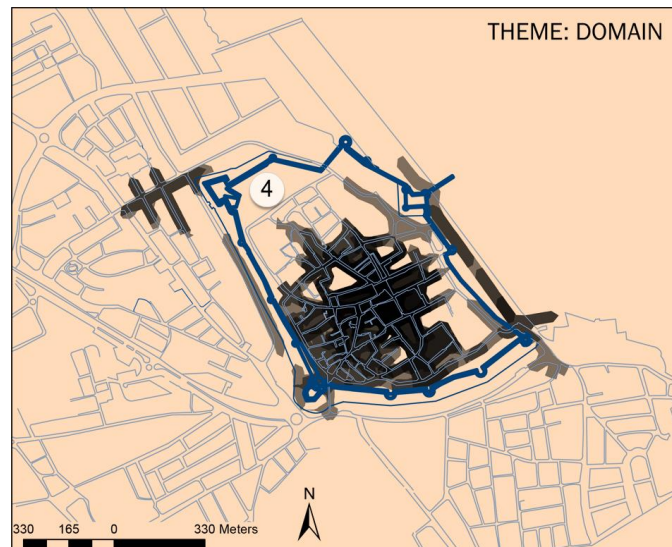


Figure 11. Map of domain themed stories

Given the mission of the MASDER to collect stories specifically about the Walled City and the narrative infrastructure theory's focus on locative stories, in this data set the domain narratives are both numerous and evenly distributed. The voids in the domain narrative infrastructure near Martinengo Bastion (area 4, Figure 11), New Gate, and just west of Cambulat Gate suggests a chronic lack of usable fabrics in these locations. Lacking any commodity and (in the case of Martinengo and Cambulat) accessibility, these areas have not been incorporated into the narrative sense of place.

Urban domains that acquire negative community narratives fall into disuse, potentially becoming harborers of anti-social behavior which further reinforces those narratives. Examples include all locally unwanted land uses ("LULUs": e.g. motorways, landfills) as well as boundaries between incompatible land uses (e.g. single family residential and industrial.) The negative narratives cartographically start at the LULU or boundary condition, thence progress into the neighborhood as each successive property is associated with bordering the properties in decline. "The more infertile the simplified territory (domain) becomes for economic enterprises, the still

fewer the users, and the still more infertile the territory.” (Jacobs, 1961, p. 259). To salvage a declining domain the urban change professional must address both the narrative of decline and the rituals that reinforce those narratives.

While urban change professionals must advocate and build suitable fabrics for realizing Jacobs’ “liveliness” they cannot cause liveliness to manifest. Absent community rituals, instigated from their own sense of identity, the best “designed” fabric will manifest “deadness”. From this logic, Jacobs goes on to declare that failures of city neighborhoods are, ultimately, failures of neighborhood governance, both formal and informal (Jacobs, 1961). This suggests urban change professionals must ensure not just public involvement in the planning and design process, but intergenerational ritual independent of professional consultants or government employees.

WORKS

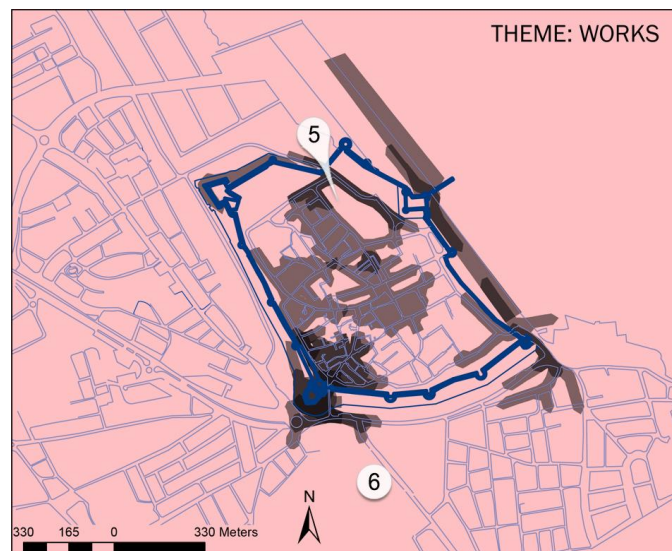


Figure 12. Map of work themed stories

The speakers identify three major works of mid-twentieth century Famagusta:

Then we can say that The Harbor, Namık Kemal High School and Türk Gücü were three things that were essential to the progress of Famagusta. These are the symbols of Famagusta (Recording P4, line 162).

The harbor figures prominently in the narrative infrastructure, with 20% of the mapped narratives located at or near the harbor. Türk Gücü football club and the considerable gardens and orchards behind the club house (area 5, Figure 12) encompass 14% of the narrative infrastructure. The Namık Kemal High School (area 6, Figure 12), being outside the walls, had no other nearby narratives to associate, but stories about the high school alone represent one in every twenty mapped stories.

Overall, the pattern of the works narratives describe a fringe-belt starting at the Land Gate, and proceeding north and east to the harbor. The resulting white-space is similar to the spatial extents of the sense of identity of the five tellers and their audience. This suggests that the residential, liturgical and daily business interests established along İstiklal Street and the southern border of the Walled City were built much earlier.

MEANING

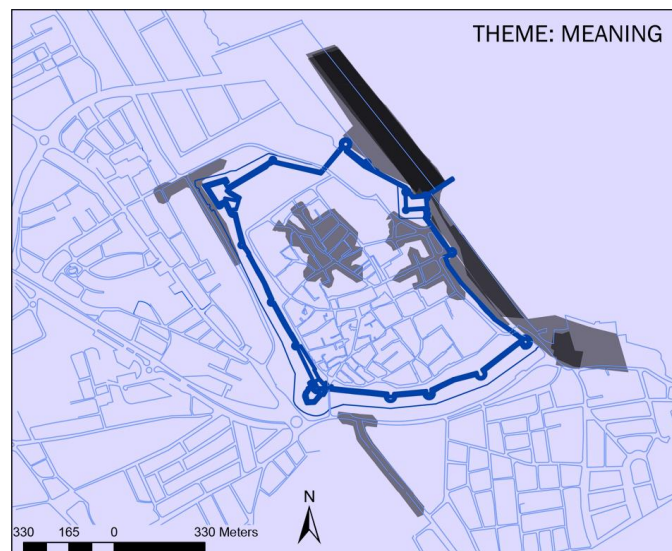


Figure 13. Map of meaning themed stories

While the strong cooccurrence (refer to Table 5) of meaningful stories with stories of action was anticipated by the theory of narrative infrastructure, its uncharacteristic dearth of works-related stories with meaning stories supports the supposition that there

is a lack of meaningful relationship between the subjects and the remaining historic fabric. In the initial years of the British colonial period,

Between 1880 and 1890, when the builders of Port Said went there to take stone blocks from the walls and ancient churches in order to build hotels and quays along the entrance of the Suez Canal [and later suffered] a series of embargoes for the Turkish residents of the city, with no building material and equipment required for construction allowed to enter the Walled City (Doratlı, 2011 quoting from Abbasoğlu's thesis of 2003).

This in turn suggests the reason for the continued disinvestment of the Walled City is the lack of a sense of the historic fabric's meaning.

As suggested in examination of the works, the meaning narratives are largely focused on school-life and the harbor. The overlap between the two activity centers of the harbor and school is supported within the narratives, suggesting that there is a dual role for students as "carriers" for the harbor industry:

So, I was just talking about the poverty and how we moved to villages. Let me tell you about something else as a detail: we used to call the workers as carriers; which we call them as dockers now. As far as I know, the word, 'carrier', comes from Ottomans. The people who were just running errands of others were called carriers and carriers would never take offense at us about how we address them. For instance, despite of the fact that duty was a place which offers a better paid job, the people who work there were called duty carriers...It wasn't something shameful. As a matter of fact, there was no one who wasn't a carrier in Famagusta; Everyone were carriers; either head of carriers or duty carrier (Recording P4, line 25).

The pursuit of higher education (per the narratives: strongly encouraged by family and the education administrators from both Turkey and England), the desire to learn about the wider world (as suggested by the daily arrival of foreign ships) is repeatedly suggested in the narratives:

Look, it was very expensive for people in Famagusta to graduate from middle school and go to study in Nicosia at Victoria or the boy's high school. Unfortunately, the people in Famagusta didn't have that kind of money. Afterward, our fathers spent all their money on their children to educate them, just because they hadn't had proper education themselves. This is very important. They were eager to learn and study. Not just the people of Famagusta but also the people in Cyprus were very ambitious when it came to education. The people in Cyprus would see the huge ships coming in from Europe. The harbor workers would see the people working on those ships, the technology, the

food. My father would see the young men doing their internships on these ships and he would admire the fact that people were constantly developing themselves in Europe. They were things that we didn't have then (Recording P4, line 166).

While this study showed the tellers strongly identifying with their schools and studies in the Walled City, by the chronology this happened only until high-school age of the tellers. Education is fundamentally a work: a process to create knowledge with lasting significance. The cultural and personal value placed on education may have resulted in *action* that called into question aspects of cultural *identity* as relates to the tellers' personal *identities*.

This appears compounded by the meaning map (Figure 13), which, beyond the port, only demonstrates stories of meaning around the schools. With the decline of the port, and the labor employment it offered, the youth of the Walled City may have redefined their domain to include the wider world where they could pursue higher education. (Note: the meaning map includes one additional meaning story unrelated to the port or the school, and that is about vandalism of the city gate.) More and more often the urban fabric has little meaning to the community.

ACTION

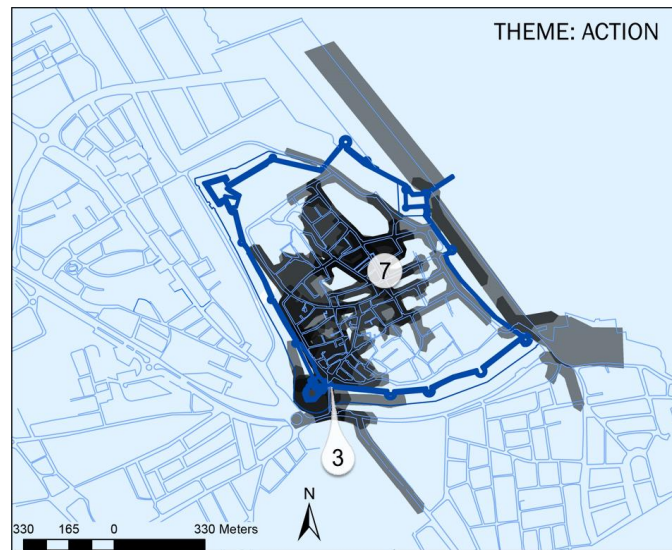


Figure 14. Map of action themed stories

The narratives of change are distributed largely across the study area, but the two loci are the area near the harbor labor union office (area 7, Figure 14) and the Land Gate. These two sites include the most stories about economic conflict (harbor) and domain contest (Land Gate, point 3, Figure 14). The narrative sense of political place appears to overshadow the Land Gate despite there being little sense of identity to protect. The opposite is true near the port, where an equal number stories of identity were shared as action.

By requiring the researcher to examine the theme of action, changes in the cultural values assigned to urban fabric are assumed and sought. Whether the morphology of the urban narrative and its fabric arises – from political action, economic changes, inter-generational reevaluation, in migration, out migration, or cultural revolution – changing values will be expressed in the action narratives of a community. The content of those narratives might be entirely themed "anti-change" but that in itself indicates that actors perceive a need to protect an identity that they perceived as being challenged.

Political and cultural action is critical of community identity. Action calls the actors to task on their presumptions of attachment to both personal ideals and community domain. Action can take the form of destructive graffiti contesting the domain of competing socio-economic interests in the same work/fabric. Action can be a zoning change request (or variance) – a request for reevaluation of the meaning already assigned to the land by presentation of a narrative that contests the land's identity. Action then, is ever-critical of assumptions of ownership.

Many of the tragic narratives of the human condition include expulsions from an idealized domain - metaphorical wombs or Garden of Eden – into the unknown and coarse fabrics of the world. The hero's journey (Campbell, 1949) includes the call to action precipitating a departure of the archetypal-hero from the village of his domain, into a wilderness where he is then challenged to evolve.

The limited sample of the Walled City case study includes only a single generation of retired university educated professionals. This likely restricted the potential for the mapping to discover patterns in the action theme. Future studies could correct for this by diversifying the cohort sample, as well as including actor/tellers with limited tenancy in the study area.

5.2 Existing Conditions Analysis

The speakers are all members of the cohort born into the World War or post-World War Walled City. The inter-war period between 1945 and 1974 appear to be generally agreed by the tellers to be a prosperous period for the Walled City. However, in the middle of this period (1963) the Turkish Cypriot community of the region withdrew into the Walled City:

In the events of 1963, you know, when we enclosed ourselves in Famagusta we couldn't leave, it was like we were imprisoned within the walls (Recording P5, line 23).

This also suggests the cohort associates a stigma with living – even being trapped – within the walls. While there are certainly a variety of other stories shared about life in the walled city, 1963 would correspond to mid-teenage years for this cohort – an age often associated with becoming an adult and seeking independence from childhood. Right at that time, the gates of the city were closed and this cohort’s local opportunities curtailed.

“Çocuklarımız nerede?!” - Where are our children?! (man in crowd, MASDER storytelling meeting May 5, 2018).

MASDER members describe a diaspora of Turkish Cypriots during and after the ethnic conflict period. With the combined factors pushing them away from life in the Walled City (e.g. adolescence and conflict) and pull factors for higher education and careers. The migrations and resulting population decrease seems inevitable.

The resulting decline in investment becomes a straight-line of reasoning based on a population decline of 85%+ combined with the growing influence of the Eastern Mediterranean University on the northern edge of Famagusta.

What disrupts personal or cultural identity is action and resulting change. During times of such cultural transition, the actors have tenuous domain over the fabric. Lacking domain they do not self-identify with that fabric, and they will not engage in action to help the commons, much less speak well of it, which perpetuates the blight narrative reinforcing cycle:

Meaning is based on experience – particularly bodily experience. Abstract words derive meaning through metaphorical mapping into concrete domains, which themselves derive meaning from everyday situated experience... cognition must be treated as a relation between the cognizer and its environment, concepts have gestalt qualities and depend on schematic mental models (Hampton, 1989, p.131).

Absent the bodily, laboring experience, the disassociation and disinvestment in the Walled City is likely to continue.

5.3 Application of Narrative Infrastructure for Land-use Policy

Given the lack of narrative infrastructure in the vicinity of Martinengo Bastion (area A, Figure 15 and Figure 18), it is reasonable to presume that the adjoining neighborhood and empty fields will be a future fringe development for the presumptive major industry in Famagusta: tourism. As the bastion has relatively poor connectivity to greater Famagusta but ideal access to historic Famagusta, future increases in short-term housing could be located in this area without excessive gentrification (provided historic considerations are taken into account).



Figure 15. South-east image of Martinengo Bastion
Famagusta, 2017 Area A, Figure 18

The abandoned date groves to the west of Cambulat Gate suggests (area B, Figure 17 and Figure 18) future development supportive of a sense of labor and physical entertainment to elaborate on the pre-existing labor narratives.



Figure 16. Existing public marina, area C, Figure 18 (author, 2018)



Figure 17. Abandoned date grove, area B, Figure 18 (author, 2018)

The marina to the east of Cambulat Gate (area C, Figure 16 and Figure 18) could similarly be redeveloped to improve the aesthetic of the existing mixed-use marina. Imperative to the sense of labor is the preservation of the limited fishing activities at the marina. Already a popular past-time in Famagusta near closed Varosha, this could be encouraged for recreational and subsistence use with a redesign that included stocking the area with fish.

5.4 Development with Identity

Future development, be it public or private, can use the narrative infrastructure to reflect the identities of the local agents before bringing the project forward for public opinion. An example of this could include the story from agent Mehmet about playing marbles but not with the Greeks:

The place where Watchmaker Niyazi used to have a shop was an empty field with a garden. We used to play marbles on that empty field... The Greek children wouldn't play with us. We were about the same age but they used to watch us but they wouldn't come and play marbles with us since they were affected by their families about Turks (Recording P4, line 104; story 50).

Here the urban design solution could include naming an establishment “Losing Our Marbles Together”. Taking the actual function of the establishment aside, the act of incorporating the story of Mehmet into the name of an establishment provides a tangible work (the new establishment near area D on Figure 18) with a name that holds meaning for the community. This action narrative encapsulated in doing something together in a specific place is the process of using action narrative to adjust identity to allowed for shared domain. The name references a story of segregation, while suggesting reconciliation between the Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots children, while going crazy together.

This approach takes a tragic story of children being separated by history, and converts it to a comedy through the work built to declare such segregation “insane”. While the original narrative holds personal relevance to only a few agents, the credibility of a the personal story suggests that there was a cultural tendency towards segregating the children during the conflict of the early 1960s. One credible story from the past that is symbolically undone by the actions in the present adds a new possible trajectory for bi-communal relations in the Altın Tabya Yolu neighborhood. This approach has been suggested by other proponents of Hanna Arendt:

By telling stories of social innovation, we potentially have a political impact on society; we can try – as citizens among citizens - to enable a collaborative construction of the public realm (Tassinari, Piredda, & Bertolotti, 2017, p.S3494).

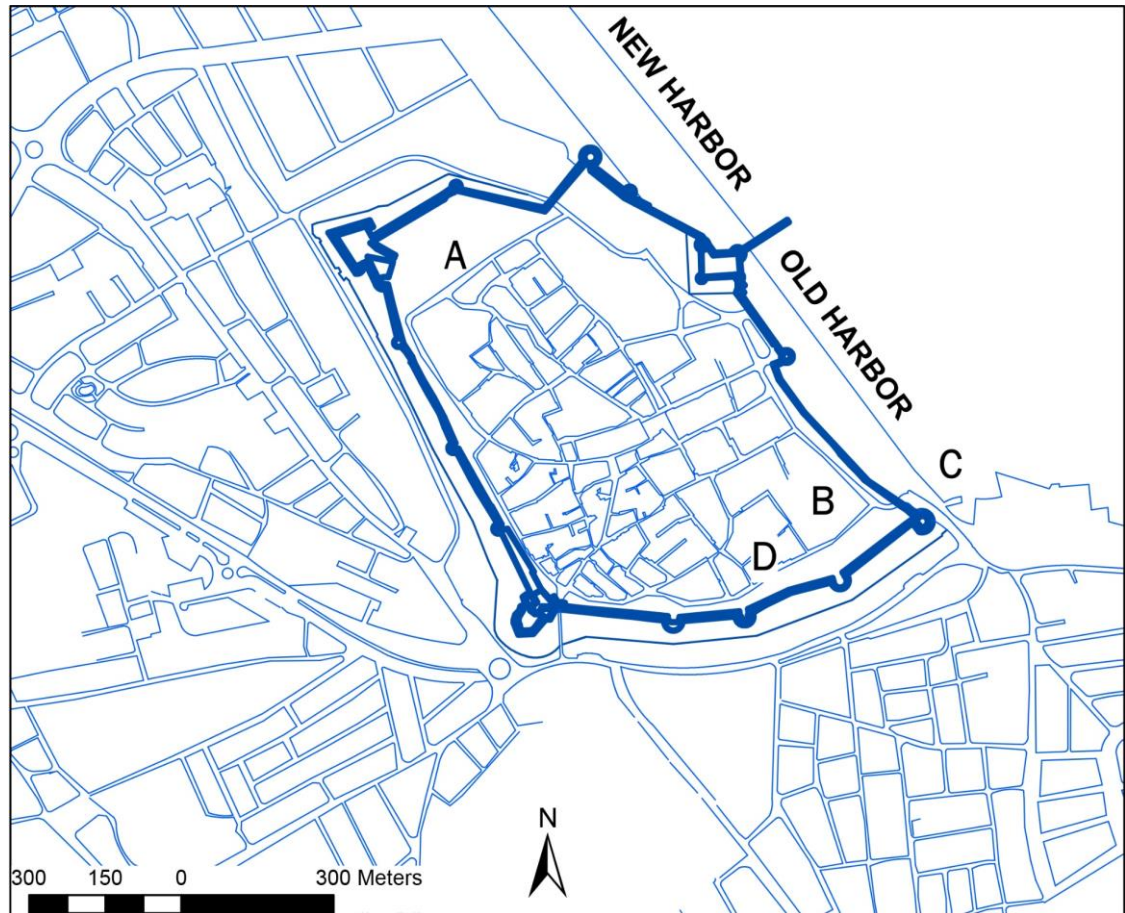


Figure 18. Discussion map of narrative infrastructure findings

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

This study has explored the influence of six different narrative themes to describe the public identification with the urban fabric of the Walled City. By providing a description of what a narrative is and how it can be mapped, it was possible to propose modifications to policy and land-use to align future development with the living histories of the community. This final chapter discusses the possible implications for the narrative infrastructure of the Walled City in light of its cultural and political challenges. How this theory and associated spatio-narrative analysis techniques could be improved upon is discussed in light of alternate applications in allied fields.

6.1 Possible Implications of Narratives

This study focused on finding actionable points of leverage to change the polis-narrative through the analysis and manipulation of the narrative infrastructure. It is a narrative theme analysis of urban interactions between the actors, their expressed identity that bounds their domain, and their narratives that drive informal land-use policy that shapes the urban fabric. The urban fabric provided the setting for actor-ritualized storytelling, and the resulting story themes strongly suggest a meta-narrative of meaningless works. Simultaneously, the themes suggest a remedy through laboring together in the Walled City to partake of fleeting pleasures.

The disassociation with the works appears to be an indicator of weak shared sense of meaning of the built fabric of the Walled City. It was built by a half-dozen cultures over centuries; overseen by the greatest empire of that day. Therefore, beyond the

schools and the port, the current generation has little sense of satisfaction in the upkeep of the city's works: they did not build it, they inherited the built fabric. If there is a crisis in the Walled City, it is the disinvestment and disassociation by the public. The narrative infrastructure of five tellers indicates a lack of labor commitment to the Walled City, leading to this crisis of meaning.

The depth and diversity of meaning of any urban fabric or artifact is likely governed by frequency of association, which is inversely proportional to the extent of the actor's domain. Put simply: people with vast domains appear less likely to develop intense emotional attachments to any single fabric beyond nostalgia. The actors are invested elsewhere.

While development and redevelopment are necessary for the viability of future generations, integrating development with the stories of the past grant a continuity to the urban fabric and relief from the nostalgia imposed on each aging actor of the polis. Though the urban fabric may be adapted and added onto, the continuity of story could grant a layer of meaning necessary to help overcome the typical actor's existential crisis when life itself seems without meaning. The continuity provides orientation from past to the future, helping to inform the decisions of the present.

The urban fabric appears in this present to be the result of accumulated narratives of needs and aspirations of its inhabitants. Going forward, the narrative infrastructure becomes a malleable frame-work which inspires new stories, new impetus for change to the urban fabric. From this supposition, the ultimate medium of the city is narration rather than concrete and steel.

Like the oral story, the city is simultaneously a work in progress and an artifact: it is unfinished and always succumbing to entropic forces. There is no ontological separation between the urban artifact from the processes that continuously demolish

and regenerate it. When this separation is possible, it is only because the city is a ruin – uninhabited. Some still tell stories of ruins, but not new stories.

Communities unable to identify with, and therefore, focus on the preservation of specific built or natural or resources could engage in regular rituals physically associated with those artifacts or resources. Such a process of acculturation is here described as identity-investment in the domain, with the resulting stories providing meaning to the built or natural fabric.

J.B. Jackson insists that a form of death must precede rebirth:

There has to be that interval of neglect, there has to be discontinuity' it is religiously and artistically essential. That is what I mean when I refer to the necessity for ruins: ruins provide the incentive for restoration and for a return to origins (Jackson, 1980, p.101).

The urban change professional is called upon to engage with identity-building and thereby establish meaningful domains, but this is not possible. It is the rituals of the agents that they practice to affirm their identity. Thence the city is imbued with meaning. Absent actor rituals, the city and all works are without meaning. Living people create new stories, and their domain are the settings for the stories of future generations. Today's unfinished urban fringe or abandoned intercity fabric is potentially the domain of future generations.

The members of MASDER are defying a narrative of disinvestment. They are gathering their narrative infrastructure, preserving it, and actively seeking partners to promote the stories of the Walled City. As Gross (1990) has suggested, it is required that the authentic traces of the past be preserved as aids to memory. Without those fabrics, memory is prone to fail (Schank, 1990). For the fabric to be a holder of stored memories, it must obey Aristotle's rule of *ethos* (Rhetoric: iii.16.8, Freese, 1929): it must:

Be preserved without being sanitized or commodified...we need to learn how to relate to the inanimate objects in the city fraternally rather than manipulatively.

As Benjamin would have put it, we have to find out how to assist things to language. This may be the only way they will be able to emit their own important signals, and not merely give us the messages we impose (Gross, 1990, p.19).

Between the extremes of actor desire and aversion, the professional seeks an equitable level of access to each domain without compromising the interests of future actors. With the identification of the actors involved and their rituals defined, it is possible to develop a three dimensional map of domains of present interest, past impact, and future consequence.

Such an informal approach, practiced many times throughout contested domains, could become an intentional approach to engendering a more integrated urban fabric. Given the considerable quantities of oral histories stored in archives around the world, narrative infrastructure could provide utility for those studies informing urban policy in those communities. Using Arendt's human condition model as a starting point, it is possible for professionals to facilitate action in the urban realm:

If one views design for social innovation practices through the lens of Arendt's line of reasoning, when we tell stories of social innovation we potentially contribute to opening up the public realm. Like the choir in ancient Greece, we designers may facilitate discussions and actions that empower single citizens to participate in the construction of the common realm (Tassinari, Piredda, & Bertolotti, 2017, p.S3493).

Many urban change professions already hold some degree of narrative awareness when working with local actors. Others, awash in their own jargon due to the necessity of skill specialization, rarely avail themselves of the narrative mode of communication. For these professionals, a narrative method may lend issues of urban change a new approachability. If urban change professionals see the built environment as a story – a very serious story that needs to be told with sincerity – then critical engagement with actors and elected officials may help overcome policy change resistance born purely of suspected legerdemain.

Yet some form must be established if the urban change professional is to begin. The *a priori* themes used in this analysis are a tool that allowed a common methodology across datasets. The development of *a posteriori* themes as the coding model would yield greater fidelity into the local cultural conditions. It was the intent of this research to be of lower-fidelity but with greater portability. By providing a human condition framework for the narrative infrastructure, it assumed a common scale of the human experience. Applied to any project neighborhood, the meanings of individual works or domains (for example) should be debated whatever the context. The narrative infrastructure framework only identifies stories meta-themes rather than culturally specific themes.

Whether to modify or re-affirm the meaning of built fabric, as an inherently qualitative methodology, narrative infrastructure relies on its *pathos* to inspire the recommended change in the polis's identity or fabrics. Used alone as it was in the Walled City, the subjective results of the analysis are debatable by any person employing reason. Consequently, the narrative infrastructure methodology is ill-suited to support or justify proposed policy originating from principles other than the local narratives. If, for example, a politician speaks to advance an agenda born of special interests and appends the narrative infrastructure findings to their argument, such would be a shallow attempt at manipulation. When detected it would undermine the *ethos* (credibility) of the argument and perhaps the politician.

Where the study of oral histories is largely oriented towards the past, and city planning towards the future, the narrative infrastructure is a method of channeling the informal knowledge of the past into the formal planning of the future.

There are three ways to improve the narrative infrastructure methodology:

1. Use multiple researchers coding the same narratives to cross-check the theme assignments. This will improve the accuracy of the coding and reduce the subjectivity.
2. Triangulate the narrative infrastructure analysis with other data such as surveys, facility condition assessments, local media analysis, and demographic analysis on large scale research projects. The sample was derived from existing data, so extensive narratological analysis was not useful to this study. Future studies should include development of guidelines for directing interviews that specifically illicit the narrative elements of plot, character, setting, and theme or moral. A city's surplus or deficiency of any one theme suggests opportunities or corrective actions in the other themes. Both direct and inferred data about narrative thematic prevalence needs to be verified with other sources to triangulate the validity of conclusions drawn from that data.
3. The application of a community's narrative infrastructure is typically action-oriented. Ethically, it is necessary to perform post-analysis conclusion-testing with individual interviews or focus-groups. Done iteratively, this process will further improve the analysis of cross-sectional studies. Validation to account for fabric change as well as oversee the inclusion of new narratives and upgrade the storage medium to contemporary technology will need to be performed annually thereafter by volunteers. Regular and systematic maintenance of a communities' narrative infrastructure insures it is ready at any time to be employed by urban change professionals, politicians, academic researchers, and the public.

The intent of documenting a community's narrative infrastructure is to begin and then continue to add narratives. This iterative approach allows for further integration of the stories and the built fabric. While such a dataset may be used for interpersonal studies, the findings become more ethnographic and less likely to be influencing the built form. The built form is less likely to inform the actions of the agents when it is over-focused on a few tellers, rather than integrating many.

The reason appears to be that the meso-level narratives are the most impacted by the built fabric. Micro-level narratives operate on time-scales that assume the surrounding fabric as the static domain, and the extents of the rituals in time are too brief to conflict with the shape of the works. As a result, the micro-narrative appears to conform to urban fabric where the meso-narrative has enough use by the agents to trigger a cycle of domain contest: questioning the state of the works to support the domain that encapsulates the identities. Such contests often result in action which sets meaningful policy that effects change in the works.

By helping to resolve domain contests, narrative infrastructure has the potential to develop narrative tools and methods useful in the practice of urban design and planning:

1. As an narrative-aggregating method developed with community participation.
2. To aid urban fabric continuity through guidance for new urban fabrics by public and private interests.
3. On an ongoing basis, provide a legacy narrative tool to balance short-term political narratives.

By focusing on developing community consensus and urban fabric continuity, the narrative infrastructure model may aid the urban design industry as a tool to craft

policy and new fabrics that benefit the most people. It is described as an “infrastructure” because its influence is subversive, pervasive, and persistent. Even undocumented, the narrative infrastructure is present in any association of actors in a defined space. When documented, it can facilitate stakeholder engagement, incremental city planning, master planning, and comprehensive planning.

6.2 Future Directions for Narrative Infrastructure and Spatial Narratology

What is not proven is the theory that designers or the community can design whole-cloth urban fabrics (also known as “green-field” development, or *tabula rasa*) to achieve an ideal urban form (Mazrui, 1999). Urban designers are inheritors of many tools from architecture and landscape architecture which grant the ability to bring forth inspirational images for new urban fabrics. When these tools do not leverage continuity, such new fabrics do not benefit from the preponderance of memories shared by the population. Those community memories encode abstract meaning to the fabrics, which are evident in community narratives and maps.

This cultural meaning is itself subjective and is subjectively derived in the narrative infrastructure framework. Because there is no independent *objective* city, this is a strength of the narrative infrastructure framework. If there is no living community to invest it with meaning, their identity, and their daily rituals, the only forces at work on a fabric are entropic. The salesmanship and boosterism of speculative real estate investment professionals often author fictional meanings, couched on a life free from toil and struggle, in the effort to magnetize actors to buy their urban fabrics.

This *tabula rasa* construction or urban renewal both suffer from a community narrative deficit. Narrative infrastructure describes what new works require to become domains of actors: identity and accreted narratives that build meaning for the actors

generation to generation. This is important for displaced actors who have lost their works and associated domains due to natural or anthropogenic disaster. Future studies could be made of migrants, refugees, and pioneers who brought their sense of identity with them from their origin, even going so far as to name their new city for the old city (e.g. New Amsterdam, New Jersey). This suggests modes that could be explored involving narratives from the lost domain as starting points for design of new works.

The localization of the narratives in the *tabula rasa* requires a greater analysis of the original overlay patterns of narratives of different themes (as opposed to overlays of narratives of the same themes). By developing a second order of coding for how the previous community narratives interacted spatially, it might be possible to establish land-use patterns that transition at a rate that mimics the source-community's thematic progression.

One possible avenue of inquiry could be actor satisfaction studies comparing two or more communities post-reconstruction after demolition by tornado. Some communities have used rational re-designs of their towns after such a disaster while other communities have insisted on rebuilding based on the previous works. In the first case, much of the narrative infrastructure is abandoned, while in the second it is re-fabricated. The degree of disassociation from the city sense of place and the mental health of long-term elderly residents would be two possible metrics such studies could measure.

As memory is spatially addressed (Radvansky & Copeland, 2006), keeping the physical reminders of memory in the present becomes an additional dimension worthy of study. Allowing for the current and future generations to realize opportunities for development and prosperity is in critical to continuation of a culture. Doing so at the expense of continuity with the past degrades the mental health of the elderly while

disorienting the youth. Childs's (2008) notion of an "urban story editor" as a challenge worthy of experimentation:

Urban designers can act like editors of magazines nurturing multiple storytellers, rather than, on the one hand, allowing a chaos of individual projects which fail to create strong larger forms such as great streets or squares, or on the other hand, seeking to produce order by assembling as much of the city as possible under the control of a single design agency telling one master narrative (Childs, 2008, p.181).

The danger of a "master narrative", as Christopher Alexander (1979) would caution, is the potential to alienate the citizens (and visitors). The individual actor or committee of actors cannot hope to develop the rich pattern of the urban semi-lattice (Alexander, 1966); it is simply too complicated and literally unending. To that point, a "finished" construction is without potential for growth or adaptation. Any biologic life incapable of growth or adaptation is food for other life – it is dead: "Too eager to please the moment, over-specificity crippled all future moments. It was the image of organic, not the reality. The credo "form follows function" was a beautiful lie. Form froze function" (Brand, 1991, p.157).

While the *a priori* coding of narrative infrastructure is rationally derived, it promotes a plurality of stories in opposition to the "master narrative". However, the *a priori* coding is not required to map narratives. This research suggests the six codes of narrative infrastructure and their interference with one another could be employed in the study of any urban context and potentially suggest new narratives for urban change professionals. Equipped with such codes, a urban change professional can examine any built context, policy, media, or ritual and delineate a generative or inhibiting interaction of these elements in the community.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Transcript P2 Ahmet

[PART I]

007 **[0:00:00] [Speaker: Key Informant]** ... for this reason our guest of honour today is Mr. Ahmet. We are going to listen to him. Last week master Mr. R R was with us. He shared some information with us. What was the information he shared with us? That we have lost many of the material and information that make up the history, fabric and values of Famagusta. How did we lose these? By sending many of the samples, that needed to remain within Famagusta, to Nicosia or to the archive in Girne we sent many valued heritage items out of Famagusta. Also, we lost others over time, by not taking care of them. This is what we previously discussed. We are going to summarize these issues.

008 Today, I will leave the floor to Ahmet. I believe that he is going to direct our discussion interactively. Thank you very much.

009

010 **[0:01:11] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]**] Let me also thank you for giving me this opportunity. There are many things we can talk about with regard to Famagusta. However, I am sure that each speaker will relate their experiences differently. Why? Because even when we relate stories we already know, as time goes by they start to evolve as if they were totally different events.

011 I was born in 1947 within the walled city.

012

013 **[0:01:57] [Speaker: Key Informant]** You were born in the walled city?

014

015 **[0:01:58] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]**] Yes.

016

017 **[0:02:00] [Speaker: Key Informant]** Where?

018

019 **[0:02:01] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]**] I was just about to say.

020

021 [Laughter]

022

023 **[0:02:03] [Speaker Mr. Ahmet]**] Galya's Bakery. You know Ahmet Yorgancıoğlu's house. You know, Boyalı Fatma (Colored/clourful Fatma). Ahmet and my father were tennants in Boyalı Fatma's House; Kunduracı Mehmet Yeşilbaş's house. I was born there. When I was one year old we

 MEANING~ #1 (7:7)

 WORK~ #3 (7:7)

 DOMAIN~ #128 (7:7)

 DOMAIN~ #5 (23:23)

 IDENTITY #129 (23:23)

 DOMAIN~ #7 (23:23)

bought some land in Yeni Izmir; the neighbourhood where the Alasya Primary School is now. We moved there. So, what I am going to say about Famagusta is going to be mostly about considering the walled city from an external point of view.

024 When I started primary school (back then Yenikapı hadn't yet been opened) there were two primary schools in Famagusta; **[Unintelligible]** Paşa Primary School and Gazi Primary School. I went to Gazi Primary School. So, how was I to go to Gazi Primary School. Of course, though Akkule street. I would leave from Yeni Izmir and walk by the side of the orange orchards. I don't know if any of you can remember but back then there were very deep ditches by the side of the orchards.

 DOMAIN~ #8 (24:24)

025
026 **[0:03:37] [Speaker: Key Informant]** Irrigation ditches.

027
028 **[0:03:38] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** Irrigation ditches. I would walk through those ditches and dodge the traffic. There was no real traffic then, but anyway. From there I would pass over onto Akkule and from there straight on to the Gazi Primary School.

 ACTION~ #11 (28:28)

029 The elders of of our neighbourhood later told us not to go from that route. From our neighbourhood, (from the beginning of Yeni Izmir) where the free port authority is now (back then it was a poor house) when you go in the lovers hill direction, 20-30 meters ahead of that ,there were steps going up from the ditch (they even had a door).

 MEANING~ #130 (28:

 DOMAIN~ #10 (29:29)

030
031 **[0:04:25] [Speaker: Man in the blue checkered shirt on the left]** It had an archway that collapsed.

032
033 **[0:04:26] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** Yes, yes. It had an arched doorway. We would go down through the grill and door (in the ditch) and from there we would continue onto Gazi Primary School. It was easier.

 WORK~ #12 (33:33)

 ACTION~ #131 (33:33)

 MEANING~ #14 (33:33)

034
035 **[0:04:39] [Speaker: Key Informant]** How did you come back through the grill?

 ACTION~ #15 (35:37)

036
037 **[0:04:41] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** The same way. As we came from the Gazi Primary School we'd go back down through the grill and then back down the steps into the ditch and the climb back up into the neighbourhood.

 ACTION~ #16 (37:37)

038
039 **[0:04:53] [Speaker: Key Informant]** How did you

access the grill?

040

041 **[0:04:56] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** From the door. There was an entrance below.

042

043 **[0:04:59] [Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet (right of screen)]** Was there one or two of those doors?


044

045 **[0:05:01] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** There's one.


046

047 **[0:05:02] [Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet (right of screen)]** I thought there were two.


048

049 **[0:05:03] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** There are two grills.  WORK~ #17 (49:49)

050

051 **[0:05:05] [Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet (right of screen)]** There are two doors you can climb out of the ditch from through grills.  WORK~ #18 (51:51)

052


053 **[0:05:11] [Speaker: Man in the blue checkered shirt on the left]** One of them looks out to the sea...  DOMAIN~ #20 (53:53)

054


055 **[0:05:12] [Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet (right of screen)]** One of them is on the sea side and one of them is on this side.

056

057 [crosstalk- checking map]

058 **[0:05:16] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** On the side where Süt Aga is.  DOMAIN~ #19 (58:58)

059

060 **[0:05:19] [Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet (right of screen)]** Yes. One of them is here [pointing to map] and the other is over there.  DOMAIN~ #21 (60:62)

061

062 **[0:05:20] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** There is one over there. Yes there is. That's the Süt Aga side. It should be here on one of these somewhere [checking document] Here it is. We would go through this door.

063

064 **[0:05:45] [Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet (right of screen)]** There is also one there, yes.

065

066

067 **[0:05:46] [Speaker: Ahmet]** Yes. There is also one there. [crosstalk]

068

069 **[0:05:54] [Speaker: Man in the blue checkered shirt on the left]** One looks to the south and one to the east.

070

071 [Crosstalk]

072

073 **[0:06:10] [Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet (right of screen)]** Also, now the Directorate of Ancient Monuments has closed it. Actually they welded it shut with iron so it won't open. I used that door when it was open. I also took pictures of it.

074

075 **[0:06:28] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** We didn't use the door looking to the sea. Why? Because our business was on the upper side. That's why we used this door [points at document]. There's a door here [lifts up map] and we would go through that and go to school. We would come back the same way.

076

One day we were returning from school and when we came to the door we realised it was closed. What were we going to do? How were we going to get home? There were these 5th and 6th year students (our elders) and they said that they would climb through the grills. They managed to get down. They were slightly bigger than us and these grills were 1.5-2 meters up. They managed to get down from there using the corners of the walls somehow and went home. They returned with some rope. They threw it down to us. One by one, we tied ourselves to the rope and they pulled us up through the grill and let us down on the other side.

 ACTION~ #22 (76:80)

077

078 **[0:07:52] [Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet (right of screen)]** So you managed to get home?

079

080 **[0:07:53] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** Yes. As I was descending (I was probably a bit scared), instead of saying, "Lower the rope" I shouted, "Give me rope, give me rope" and the rope broke. So I fell to the ground. Our friend was upset of course. I had nothing broken. Years later, I visited a doctor because I had some leg pain and he asked me if I had had any previous accidents. I replied that I had not. Then I remembered and I told him about my fall. He said there is a lump in your knee. I also noticed later that I might also have a problem with my shoulder because I find it difficult to move and I suspect there is some calcium build-up.

 MEANING~ #134 (80:

081

082 **[0:08:50] [Speaker: Man to the left of Mr. Ahmet (right of screen)]** Well there is also a case of old age so they probably cannot pin-point the real reason. He'll blame the fall for everything now. "He fell off the wall."

083

084 [laughter]

085
086 **[0:09:05] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** Yes, so this is the story of this double grill. They also used to say that there was a tunnel underneath this double grill. You can even see the tunnel from the ditch. This tunnel goes to the church that is there and even that it continues on all the way to the Mesarya plains. Water used to come from Değirmenlik through this tunnel. They said that **[Unintelligible name]** smuggled gold from there. However, they caught **[Unintelligible name]** although he smuggled the gold from there.

087
088 **[0:09:47] [Speaker: Key Informant]** There should be stories about it.

089
090 **[0:09:49] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** Yes. We hear those stories. The gold hasn't been found. They used to tell us back then that the gold was smuggled from here (the tunnel). Everybody says something. There are those who say that they were loaded on a boat from the Othello part of the castle. We know that Othello was the first tower constructed there. They were even using it as the port. There was an open part and it had a wall. We don't really know.

091
092
093 **[0:10:18] [Speaker: Key Informant]** But, if we are to revisit the story about the gold being smuggled from there (the tunnel), do you have a story about it?

094
095 **[0:10:31] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** No, I don't have one.

096
097 **[0:10:33] [Speaker: Mr. B]** brown jacket to the left of the screen] **[Unintelligible-mumbling]**

098
099 **[0:10:31] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** If you don't dig in order to find what is there, how are supposed to know? For example, we've all been to the Blue House before. It's said that the weapons smuggler who lived here escaped through a tunnel and as he made his escape he blew it up. Okay, so he blew it up. It's not that hard to find whats left behind there with the possibilities that today's technology offers. You go to where the tunnel is and open up the closed parts look for what you came for close it up again and leave. It's like the Candoğan Pasha legend.

100
101 **[0:12:36] [Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet (right of screen)]** I also heard something about what Mr. B said from somebody. If you notice, on this façade of the walls [points at map] on the part you

 WORK~ #24 (86:86)

 IDENTITY #133 (86:86)

 IDENTITY #26 (90:90)

 WORK~ #135 (90:90)

 IDENTITY #28 (99:99)

 WORK~ #29 (101:101)

Mr. Bakri mentioned (Mr. Yusuf knows about this he can help us with it) there are vertical openings. Inside those walls there is a tunnel that traverses the whole length. This also goes to the other side of it. I've been inside and seen it. There are these vertical openings so inside them...

102

103 [0:13:20] [Speaker: Mr. B brown jacket to the left of the screen] [Unintelligible-mumbling]

104

105 **[0:13:52] [Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet (right of screen)]** If you go from the top of the wall there are pipelike holes (not in the stone part but where the earth is) for defence or to lower things to the people fighting below or for whatever reason.

 WORK~ #30 (105:117)

106

107 **[0:14:22] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** They go from the bottom of the wall all the way down through the ditch.

108

109 **[0:14:24] [Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet (right of screen)]** These holes are in the earth mound part every 50-60 meters.

110

111 **[0:14:29] [Speaker: Man in red sweater on the left of the screen]** You mean the chimneys?

112

113 **[0:14:30] [Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet (right of screen)]** Yes, the chimneys. Yes.

114

115 **[0:14:31] [Speaker: Man in red sweater on the left of the screen]** There are many chimneys.

116

117 **[0:14:32] [Speaker: Man to the left of M. Ahmet (right of screen)]** This proves the existence of the tunnel Mr. B mentioned.

118

119 **[0:14:41] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** You know the grills I was telling you about. There is a depression where the road we used to use is.

120

121 **[0:14:51] [Speaker: Man in red sweater on the left of the screen] [Unintelligible-mumbling]** ...there is a hole here.

122

123 **[0:15:00] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** That's the hole I mean.

124

125 **[0:15:01] [Speaker: Man in red sweater on the left of the screen]** Isn't this hole (where you fell down) a passage between here and there?

126

127 **[0:15:10] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** No. It might
be an exit from within the castle to the ditch.

128

129 **[0:15:18] [Speaker: Man in red sweater on the left
of the screen]** So, underneath the ditch.

130

131 **[0:15:33] [Speaker: Mr. B brown jacket to the
left of the screen]** I don't think that's possible
because during the Ottoman era in 1571 **[Crosstalk-
Unintelligible]**

 DOMAIN~ #31 (131:143)

132

133 **[0:15:40] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** That's
wrong, that's wrong.

134

135 [Unintelligible]

136

137 **[0:15:50] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** Yes. It was
swampland and you couldn't go there. That's why it's
very natural that that tunnel is there.

138

139 **[0:15:56] [Speaker: Mr. B brown jacket to the left of the
screen]** [Unintelligible]

140

141 **[Crosstalk][Unintelligible]**

142

143 **[0:16:01] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** The earth in
the ditch was actually filled in later. They dug
through the rock and built it later. The earth there
was filled in afterwards. The reason that the trees
collapse today is because there is no earth left that
they can dig their roots in.

144

145 **[0:16:33] [Speaker: Man in red sweater on the left
of the screen]** The question is should the trees have
been planted or not?

 MEANING~ #32 (145:14)

146

147 **[0:16:37] [Speaker: Key Informant]** Maybe they
shouldn't have been planted.

148

149 **[0:16:39] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** They should
have planted smaller trees and bushes. You can't go
planted great big trees there.

150

151 **[0:16:44] [Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet
(right of screen)]** The Directory of Historical
Artifacts doesn't allow that at all. However, one time
we even offered a proposal that trees shouldn't be
planted on the wall side of the road passing through
the ditch but (if you notice the areas with more earth
are on the opposite side) that smaller trees and
bushes could be planted on the opposite side, with
the intention of creating a more pleasing

 ACTION~ #33 (151:151)

environment.

152

153 **[0:17:17] [Speaker: Man in red sweater on the left of the screen]** That may be so, but then the view of the walls will not be apparent. We like to see the walls.

154

155 **[0:17:24] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** Well they shouldn't be planted very close together.

156

157 **[0:17:26] [Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet (right of screen)]** No, not on the right side of the road but on the left side of it.

158

159 **[0:17:30] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** Not close together but sporadically to make it more colourful.

160

161 **[0:17:35] [Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet (right of screen)]** If you are going to make some walkable pathways there you will need shade.

162

163 [0:17:40] [Speaker: Woman in green] [Unintelligible]

164 **[Crosstalk][Unintelligible]**

165

166 **[0:17:51] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** Even the earth is not visible, the ground appears like a stone surface.

168 [0:17:55] [Speaker: Mr. B brown jacket to the left of the screen] [Unintelligible]

170 **[0:18:43] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** You know my peers and I performed some cleaning activities in the ditch. As we were performing this task (let me not say that they were mistakes that all of us made. As we walk around there we go in and out of the ditch we only see the area partially) of cleaning...

172

173 [0:19:08][Interruption]

174

175 **[0:19:22] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** ...it seemed that if the ditch could talk it would speak volumes. There were so many symbols on the stones. Not only just on the wall side but on the outer part of the ditch, even on the column stones. There were signatures and dates and much more. When you take a look in detail there are many amazing things you can see. For example, what we were just talking about if there was anything within the walls; this is hearsay. I don't

 WORK~ #34 (176:176)

mean the Mario Canal but also the legends we talk about.

177

178 [Part ends @ 20:01]

179

[PART II]

180

181

182

183 **[0:00:00] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** ...not on the left but on the right there is a hollow area that goes on to the sea. Some people say it goes on up to **[Unintelligible place name]**. We don't no if this is true or not, it's hearsay. Maybe it doesn't continue up to there, but it might.

184

185 [Crosstalk][Unintelligible][Camera adjustment]

186

187 **[0:00:21] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** Ok master, I'm not saying that, just that it is spoken of in this way. We don't know what is true. Our topic is about our legends and what is hearsay.

188

189 **[0:00:40] [Speaker: Man in red sweater on the left of the screen]** Who is responsible for the care of the shelters?

190

191 **[0:00:43] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** Civil Defence is responsible for those.

192

193 **[0:00:40] [Speaker: Man in red sweater on the left of the screen]** Civil Defence? Even if those shelters are not connected to each other there are many places where there are things connected to them, like the big reservoir.

194

195 [Crosstalk][Unintelligible]

196

197 **[0:01:32] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** Ok Mr. A , but I started from the point of Mr. R 's introduction. We also have legends and hearsay.

198

199 [0:01:38] [Speaker: Mr. B brown jacket to the left of the screen] [Unintelligible]

200

201 **[0:01:48] [Speaker: Newly arrived man (right of screen)]** I don't mean to be misunderstood. We are talking about where you leave the walled city through the outer gate over the bridge on the right, as you go towards Famagusta. Our friends are talking about the Black Door. The path turns and goes down into the ditch on the right.

202

 DOMAIN~ #35 (201:201)

203 [Crosstalk][Unintelligible]

204

205 **[0:02:18] [Speaker: Mr. B brown jacket to the left of the screen] [Unintelligible]**

206

207 **[0:02:55] [Speaker: Man in red sweater on the left of the screen]** If I remember correctly, as you enter, before we built the bridge into the city, there used to be a drawbridge wasn't there.

208

209 **[0:03:10] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** That was a little more over to this side.

210

211 **[0:03:12] [Speaker: Man in red sweater on the left of the screen]** But wasn't there one there also?

212

213 **[0:03:14] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** No.

214

215 **[0:03:15] [Speaker: Man in red sweater on the left of the screen]** There was never anything like that?

216

217 **[0:03:16] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** No.

218

219 **[0:03:17] [Speaker: Man in red sweater on the left of the screen]** So why are there grooves going up on either side?

220

221 **[0:03:19] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** It was made like that.

222

223 **[0:03:20] [Speaker: Man in red sweater on the left of the screen]** I thought there was one there too. It seemed like there used to be a mechanism there.

224

225 **[0:03:26] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** Take a look at the Cambulat Gate. The Cambulat Gate is not original either. The Cambulat Gate was built later. You can also see those markings there as well.

226

227 **[0:03:33] [Speaker: Man in red sweater on the left of the screen][Unintelligible]**

228

229 **[0:03:38] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** When the builders were constructing these areas they made those indentations to make it look like the original structure. On the left hand side of one of those entrances you can see one of the original gates, The Asmalı Gate. They tried to make it look like it. When you look at them at a glance, the tourists cannot differentiate between them. They think it's new. Yeni Kapı was built after the 60's. The inside of it is all plastered with concrete. They can tell the difference

 IDENTITY #37 (229:22)

 WORK~ #136 (229:22)

there. However, the three gates made at the harbour and the Canbulat gate were made so well that you might think they were the original Venetian or Lusignan structures.

230

231 [Crosstalk][Unintelligible]

232

233

234

235 **[0:04:43] [Speaker: Key Informant]** At this point, could you tell the story about Süt Akan (From where milk flows)?

236

237 **[0:04:57] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** Well, that story goes like this. The name of the gate there is Martinengo. Martinengo was a Venetian military officer who died while travelling to Cyprus and they gave the gate his name (the Martinengo Gate (Bastion)) to commemorate him. The stones there became discoloured after rain just like the stone in Denizli that got whiter and Süt Akan became a folk name among the people. I don't know the legend exactly but maybe; Master do you know about how the Süt Akan story came about?

 IDENTITY #39 (237:237)

238

239 **[0:05:41] [Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet (right of screen)]** You know what the story is? When it rains the water pour out, white in colour, as if there was a pipe.

 WORK~ #40 (239:239)

240

241 **[0:05:49] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** Yes, because of the calcium carbonate.

 WORK~ #41 (241:241)

242

243 **[0:05:52] [Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet (right of screen)]** It pours like this, in an arc as if it's coming from a pipe and the water is white so that is why they call it Süt Akan (From where milk flows).

 IDENTITY #42 (243:243)

244

245 **[0:06:14] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** There is a lot of calcium carbonate in the soil and the stone and when it rains it pours forth from there as a white liquid.

 WORK~ #43 (245:245)

246

247 **[0:06:26] [Speaker: Key Informant]** Let me share the story I heard.

248

249 **[0:06:27] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** Of course, go on.

250

251 **[0:06:28] [Speaker: Key Informant]** Which is this; it is said that if mothers who had just given birth and could not produce milk went to Süt Akan and

 IDENTITY #44 (251:251)

rubbed the water on their breasts they would start to produce milk. This is a legend.

252

253 [0:06:41] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet] Yes.

254

255 **[0:06:42] [Speaker: Key Informant]** So, if there is such a story we should make it a value for Famagusta. If it is true that there is such a legend.

256

257 [0:06:53] [Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet (right of screen)]

That story about the mothers; there use to be a fig tree at the Canbulat Gate and they would put some honey on the figs and put their hope in that.


 IDENTITY #45 (257:259)

258 **[0:07:07] [Speaker: Key Informant]** That wasn't for milk. That was for young women who did not have children. Anyway...

260 [Crosstalk][Unintelligible]

261

262 **[0:07:17] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** As these legends keep on being constantly told, they can change from Süt Akan to Canbulat and from Canbulat to Süt Akan.

 IDENTITY #46 (263:263)
Change in DOMAIN #46

264 [0:07:25] [Speaker: Mr. B brown jacket to the left of the screen]

265 [Unintelligible]

266 [Unintelligible]

267

268 **[0:08:03] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** In Europe they take you on a bus somewhere and then when you get to your destination there might be just a rock there and you get off and they start explaining about events that occurred there. They sell you that rock.

 ACTION~ #49 (269:269)

270 [Crosstalk][Unintelligible]

271

272 **[0:08:03] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** We have Porta del Mare that we say has a connection with Da Vinci. We have Othello that we say has the same characteristics as in the Othello play. We have a cathedral where the Lusignan kings had their coronations. However, we are not able to sell them.

 IDENTITY #47 (273:277)

274 **[0:08:43] [Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet (right of screen)]** The Greeks manage to sell them.

275

276 **[0:08:44] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** They do. We can't manage to sell them.

277

278

 MEANING~ #137 (273)

279 [0:08:46] [Speaker: Mr. B brown jacket to the left of the
screen] [Unintelligible]

280 [0:09:04] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet] Ok, but it
281 doesn't matter. Of course it's a nice thing if they are
going there. That's another matter. There are so many
values in Famagusta; it's battlements, it's churches,
our fig tree (Cümbez) or Othello and other things.
But nothing...

282 [0:09:22] [Speaker: Woman][Unintelligible]
283

284 [0:09:23] [Speaker: Man in the blue checkered
285 shirt on the right] These are all on being marketed..
When tourists arrive the tour guides or the travel
agents talk about these. There is no problem there.
What we aim to do - what is different are the stories.
What we are talking about here are "Süt Akan" or
what my master told us before about "Yalın Atan".
Stories like these. In my opinion these are the
different flavours of the whole ordeal. When
marketing the tourism menu these stories will
provide the many flavours. These meetings are for
this purpose.

 ACTION~ #50 (285:28)

 MEANING~ #138 (285)

286 [0:10:11] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet] After a
287 period of time they will all come to light.

288 [0:10:14] [Speaker: Man in red sweater on the left
289 of the screen] So Master,... excuse me.

290 [0:10:15] [Speaker: Woman][Unintelligible]
291

292 [0:10:21] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet] So when
293 relating the facts, of Canbulat for example, you can
add that there is also a legend attached to it. For
example, to breach the walls the Ottoman general
jumped into the cogwheels and his head flew off but
he caught it and put it under his arm and kept on
fighting. This is a legend, hearsay. It's like putting
ketchup or mayonnaise on something.

 DOMAIN~ #53 (293:2)

 MEANING~ #139 (293)

294 [0:10:48] [Speaker: Mr. B brown jacket to the left of the
295 screen] [Unintelligible]

296 [0:11:09] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet] There you
297 go. That's a legend right there.

298 [0:11:13] [Speaker: Mr. B brown jacket to the left of the
299 screen] No it's not [Unintelligible]

300 [0:11:16] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet] A legend is
301

hearsay. The grave is here.

302

303 [Crosstalk][Unintelligible]

304

305

306 **[0:11:56] [Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet (right of screen)] [Unintelligible] ... and the architect that did that was Osman Saner. After that was constructed - there was a fig tree there that had dried up, Hasan Iskeleli (Eşref's Uncle) and I planted a new fig tree in its place. It was around 1966. Together with Hasan Iskeleli we dug the earth and planted the fig tree. I even planted the fig tree that is just here. Ahmet Sedat brought that fig tree from Çağlayan village in Bursa. That produces a black fig.**

 ACTION~ #54 (306:30)

 MEANING~ #140 (306)

 LABOR~ #56 (306:306)

 WORK~ #141 (306:30)

307

308 **[0:12:51] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet] It's a special fig.**

309

310 **[0:12:52] [Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet (right of screen)] They named a big square in Çağlayan village after Ahmet Sedat and they invited his son. I went there. It used to be a village where you smell the dung for about a kilometer before you arrive. Now it is an affluent village in that area. Ahmet Sedat planted cherry trees and other fruits and exported them to Saudi Arabia.**

 IDENTITY #58 (310:310)

311

312 **[0:13:25] [Speaker: Key Informant] Who was that?**

313

314 **[0:13:26] [Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet (right of screen)] A Cypriot friend from Famagusta. He made friends there. When Ahmet Sedat was young he was a muezzin here. His Aunt and her husband didn't have children. His father was a horseshoer (blacksmith?). His aunt's husband taught Ahmet Sedat, his sister Mrs. Hava, Erdoğan Celal, Mrs. Havva's daughter, Emir and the rest of them how to read and write old Turkish. Because Ahmet Sedat had a nice voice he trained him as a muezzin. On Friday prayers and on the bayram prayers – you know where the muezzin is, it has a second level – that second level is where the muezzins would be on bayram. When we were in first year – in 1954 I was in the first year – we were obligated to go to the mosque on Fridays up until we were in the first year of high school. The closed area was for women. But the young girls would go up to that second level where the muezzins were. The muezzins would only go up there on bayrams. Usually the girls of Namık Kemal high school would**

 WORK~ #59 (314:314)

 DOMAIN~ #142 (314:)

 IDENTITY #61 (314:31)

go up there. Sedat would be on the lower level. We had people with very powerful voices. There was Öner efendi. Öner Efendi is Hüseyin Akil Hoca's uncle. There was Hüseyin Akil efendi. There was the imam, Ibrahim Sıtkı efendi. There was his son, Mustafa. He was also a muezzin. There were three muezzins. Ahmet Sedat would get among them as a young one. I was two years younger than Ahmet Sedat. From the third year of primary school onward we would go to the mosque.

 DOMAIN~ #143 (314:

315
316 **[0:16:20] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** From the time the Alasya primary school was built in Sakarya, we used to leave there and come here.

317
318 **[0:16:26] [Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet (right of screen)]** That was when we were in the third year of primary school. Izzet efendi was there as well. He had retired from the police force. That family isn't here anymore.

319
320 **[0:16:45] [Speaker: Key Informant]** There was a short thin man who was an imam.

321
322 **[0:16:59] [Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet (right of screen)]** That was later. That was Tek Bıyık Mehmet Efendi (Single Mustache Mehmet Efendi). He was a muezzin. He was Niyazi's father. We did an interview with him and it was published. He is one of the few that saw Namık Kemal. He would take vegetables and such to Namık Kemal. Namık Kemal would plant flowers at the right side of the entrance of the barracks and would give hşm flowers in return. In Namık Kemal's work that person is mentioned. I remember very well that – Hüseyin Akil Hoca graduated from – you know the II Mahmut Library next to the mosque in Lefkoşa? The II Mahmut Library educated muezzins and provided religious education. It wasn't a medrese (religious educational institution) it was just an education facility for people that wanted to have duties in the mosque. They took the people who fitted the requirements for this, like having a nice voice. You all remember Hüseyin Akil Hoca from Namık Kemal High School. You could tell him to read anything, a newspaper article for example, in the Seyyah Mode (Makam) or the like. He would read it in the Mode (Makam) of your choosing. I have two of his ezan recordings.

 DOMAIN~ #63 (322:322

323
324 **[0:18:53] [Speaker: Key Informant]** Do you have any of his Turkish Ezans.

326 **[0:18:54] [Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet (right of screen)]** No I don't. Do you know what was important about his ezans? - I dislike these ezans they have now – it's like they are giving concerts morning noon and night. They should observe the proper method. The morning ezan should be read in the Morning Mode (Makam) for example. Akil Hoca would read the morning ezan in the Morning Mode and the midday ezan in the Nihavend Mode.

327

328 [0:19:35] [Speaker: Mr. B brown jacket to the left of the screen] [Unintelligible]

329

330 **[0:19:52] [Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet (right of screen)]** That tree was there when we were children.

331

332 [0:19:53] [Speaker: Mr. B brown jacket to the left of the screen] [Unintelligible]

333

334

335 **[Part ends @ 20:01]**

336

337

[PART III]

338

339 **[0:00:00] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** ... those churches. The names of those merchants are probably now lost in time. Are there any that have been confirmed? There are probably very few. We can only know of those that have their names connected to this church and that.

340

341 [0:00:13] [Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet (right of screen)] [Unintelligible]

342

343 **[0:00:17] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** Ok. Maybe you can find one or two.

344

345 [0:00:19] [Speaker: Key Informant] [Unintelligible]

346

347 **[0:00:13] [Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet (right of screen)]** And his house – do you know the greek school there? - Hasan Bardaçöl's house is there. There is an arch there. That arch is the entrance to the house of the man that got St. Peter's church built.

348

349 [Part ends @ 00:49]

350

351

 DOMAIN~ #64 (34)

 DOMAIN~ #66 (34)

353

354 [PART IV]

355

356 [0:00:00] [Speaker: Mr. B brown jacket to the left of the screen] There use to be a graveyard. An Ottoman graveyard.

 DOMAIN~ #67 (356:367)

357

358 [0:00:05] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet] There used to be one at where the Othello restaurant is

359

360 [0:00:10][Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet (right of screen)] It's on the other side of the hole at Othello.

361

362 [Crosstalk][Unintelligible]

363

364 [0:00:19] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet] There are graveyards on both sides.

365

366 [0:00:22] [Speaker: Mr. B brown jacket to the left of the screen][Unintelligible]

367 [0:00:59] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet] That was an Ottoman graveyard. It wasn't a Christian graveyard, it was an Ottoman graveyard.

368

369 [0:01:04][Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet (right of screen)] It was an Ottoman graveyard.

370

371 [0:01:06] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet] It was an Ottoman graveyard.

372

373 [0:01:11][Speaker: Man to the left of Mr. Ahmet (right of screen)] Türk Gücü's football pitch, in front of the church, where the building is. When we where making the extention on the Türk Gücü building we discovered which years fires broke out due to the layering of the earth. When we were building the Türk Gücü football pitch – because that area was used as a grave for those who had died in battle – we found many belt buckles that the Venetians would wear. You should remember that when we were playing football there, it hadn't been converted into a pitch yet. There was a big mound of earth there. The mound of earth came down all the way into where the pitch is now. On the left side of where the hole that meets the sea is was a big mound of earth. It was when they removed the mound of earth where they discovered the rooms that they now use as changing rooms and for the referee. But that was much later.

 WORK~ #68 (373:373)

 DOMAIN~ #145 (373:373)

374

375 [0:02:26] [Speaker: Mr. B brown jacket to the left of the screen][Unintelligible][Crosstalk]

376

377 **[0:01:11][Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet (right of screen)]** Do you know what was found there at the walls. Look- Hasan Dama, my aunt's son – not the Hasan Dama that you know who is my cousin, but the one who is his uncle. Do you know the house of Sinan the dentist? When you go up from the house of Sinan the dentist there is a big hole there and when you walk from there towards Akkule there are embrasures. At the very first embrasure you come to we were chasing a gecko. The gecko ran behind some plaster in the wall. He broke off the plaster with a rock. Lying there was a pouch full of gold.

378

379 **[0:03:45] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** Wow. I'm going to start following geckos from now on.

380

381 **[0:03:50][Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet (right of screen)]** We discovered a pouch full of gold. So, what is this? Similarly, in 1974, the Greeks would hide their valuables around Varosha intending to get them after they returned. It is said that these items are buried or hidden using a certain cypher like they used in ancient Egypt. As I said one of these was the pouch we found. There was nothing much left of the pouch but the thin pieces of gold were there alright. A handful of them.

382

383 **[0:04:49] [Speaker: Man in the blue checkered shirt on the right]** Should we market this as well?

384

385 [Crosstalk][Unintelligible]

386

387 **[0:05:15][Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet (right of screen)]** Now, back then I was a child so I wasn't aware of the value of the gold we had found. I saw the gold but I didn't know the date it was made or where it came from. I wasn't of an age to be able to appraise it.

388

389 **[0:04:49] [Speaker: Man in the blue checkered shirt on the right]** When exactly was this?

390

391 **[0:05:15][Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet (right of screen)]** In the 1940s. 1946-1947.

392

393 **[0:03:33] [Speaker: Man in red sweater on the left of the screen]** Where can we find the sources for this information.

394

395 **[0:04:49] [Speaker: Man in the blue checkered shirt on the right]** There aren't any.

396

397

[0:05:15][Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet (right of screen)] There are. Many of those books are missing. However, I can guess who smuggled those books. It would be very wrong to name names here. They smuggled those books away. Mogabgab had a very large library. You know Mustafa, the sports shop? It used to be a warehouse for books. It was Mogabgab's book warehouse. It was full of books. In his apartment above he had a library. I spent a lot of time going through that library and everything in it. We spoke of this before. However, let me tell you something quite striking. There is a very well known master from Lefke, Halit Fedai. If you invite Halit Fedai ask him about this. I was with Halit Fedai once, at a book promotion event in Nicosia. He told me that in the courtyard at the right side of the entrance to Akkule, at the spot going up there is a longish round stone and on the stone the names of Antonio Bragadino and his officers are carved. At the very bottom there is a sentence that says, "We will return". He told me that the last time he visited he could not see that stone. He asked me to look into it to see where the stone had got to. It's been around a year since he said this to me. Of course, I didn't know that there was such a stone there although I was aware there there were stones in that place.

 DOMAIN~ #147 (397:

 ACTION~ #78 (397:39

 DOMAIN~ #148 (397:

 ACTION~ #80 (397:39

 DOMAIN~ #149 (397:

 ACTION~ #82 (397:397)

398

399

[0:08:28][Speaker: Mr. Ahmet] You saw it but you didn't notice it. You know how you look at something but you don't really see it?

400

401

[0:08:30][Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet (right of screen)] It's like I come here and you see that there are these four pictures (paintings) and then one day when you come and you see that one of these paintings are missing you notice the difference. With regard to that stone, I am aware that it was there. I remembered the silhouette when he told me. Now the stone is really not there anymore.

 WORK~ #83 (401:401)

402

403

[0:08:58][Speaker: Man in red sweater on the left of the screen] Master, excuse me, where is it exactly?

404

405

[0:09:04][Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet (right of screen)] It was on the flat part underneath the outside ramp next to it, on the right. I remember that it was adjacent to the ramp. There was a stone there but I did not know that it was that kind of a stone. Mr. Halit told me about it. I wasn't able to find

 WORK~ #84 (405:405

 ACTION~ #150 (405:4

it but I found another stone. You know the place that we used as an underground hospital during the war? On the right side next to the wall there is a stone as long as this table with an engraved cross on it.

 DOMAIN~ #86 (405:405)

406

407 **[0:10:11] [Speaker: Man in the blue checkered shirt on the right]** Could it have been that stone. Maybe it had been moved there?

 DOMAIN~ #87 (407:409)

408

409 **[0:10:17][Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet (right of screen)]** No. That stone has always been there. It has a circular top and has a very beautiful cross hand carved into it. There are no writings of any sort. It wasn't the stone I was looking for.

410

411 [0:10:33] [Speaker: Mr. B brown jacket to the left of the screen][Unintelligible]

412

413 **[0:10:38][Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet (right of screen)]** When you go and see it you will be able to make more sense of it. But it wasn't the stone I was looking for because it was almost adjacent to the walls. But it was hand carved and the cross had been carefully engraved.

414

415 **[0:10:57] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** So, if I was to go back to the issues I mentioned about the ditch; in relation to what my master has just said, some of the characteristics we saw when we were cleaning the ditch – you see these things as you casually pass by but you are not really aware of the actual details. As we were working on cleaning up the ditch we saw what was hidden there. There is a lot of history there.

416

417 [0:11:26] [Speaker: Man in the blue checkered **shirt on the right]** Ok master, but how beneficial can our work be when we uncover these things that are not added to the state's inventory? A while ago you mentioned the metal gate at the entrance of Famagusta. Every passer by snaps a piece off it. So everything we uncover is destined to be destroyed the next day. My master just told us about the stone. Its not there anymore.

 ACTION~ #88 (417:41)

 WORK~ #151 (417:41)

418

419 [0:11:53] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet] Should we not speak about these things?

 MEANING~ #90 (419:42)

420

421 **[0:11:55] [Speaker: Man in the blue checkered shirt on the right]** Its not that we should not talk about these things. We need to account for these. The state should keep all this in check. Only then can you market them.

422

423 **[0:12:07] [Speaker: Man in red sweater on the left of the screen]** Let me ask you another question. We said we couldn't find any sources. There is a marble column-like structure on the double grill. It has a diameter of about roughly 40cm.

 WORK~ #91 (423:425)

424

425 **[0:12:22] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** It goes up through the middle of the thing.

426

427 **[0:12:23] [Speaker: Man in red sweater on the left of the screen]** What is this?

 ACTION~ #92 (427:437)

428

429 **[0:12:25][Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet (right of screen)]** I don't know. I don't have any information on that.

430

431 **[0:12:26] [Speaker: Man in red sweater on the left of the screen]** Could it have been a device for lifting the horse carriages up?

432

433 **[0:12:36] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** Maybe it was for pulling the cannons up.

434

435 **[0:12:38][Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet (right of screen)]** Maybe. I don't have information about that.

436

437 **[0:12:42] [Speaker: Man in the blue checkered shirt on the right]** When we start to write the stories we can assign a function to it.

438

439 **[0:12:46][Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet (right of screen)]** Let me tell you something about the Kara Kapısı (Black Gate/Land Gate). It's not really a story but something that actually took place regarding the Kara Kapısı. When you come into Famagusta, on the right side there is a gate. There use to be writing on it that said "Kara Kapı" (Black Gate) not "Kara Kapısı" (Land Gate /Gate of Land). You go down from there. I've been in there. You then go right. It's part of the defences opening up to the ditch. It's around this high from the ditch. The flag bearer Master Yüksel – many flag bearer had come but he was the only flag bearer who was a staff colonel. He was the flag bearer that established the system there and organized it properly – at that time there was dispute regarding intelligence. There was a young man called Tarzan -the other night I found a picture of him on someones page and I kept it for myself – he later died in Belgium. Master Yüksel made a deal with him. This young man was accused of spying for

 DOMAIN~ #93 (439:4)

 WORK~ #152 (439:43)
 DOMAIN~ #95 (439:4)

 ACTION~ #153 (439:4)
 WORK~ #153 (439:44)

the Greeks. However, this was not true.

440

441 **[0:14:25]** **[Speaker: Mr. Ahmet**] It was
actually the opposite.

442

443 **[0:14:26]****[Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet**
(right of screen)] Yes. This boy was accused. They
tied Tarzan's hands and feet in chains and hung a sign
on his chest that said "This person is a traitor to his
country". Tarzan let all of this happen. He was then
carted around Famagusta with a police escort as a
traitor.

444

445 **[0:14:58]****[Crosstalk]****[Unintelligible]****[Disconnected dialogue]**

446 **[0:17:38]****[Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet**
447 **(right of screen)]** Let's get back to Tarzan. So they
took Tarzan around in this way. As our side
expected, the Greeks did have many spies here. They
even had a spy in our police force. I brought that man
to the authorities because I was the company
commander of the Foundation Apartments division
near Namik Kemal Highschool. This spy came with
his weapon and surrendered to us. When he came to
us he said that they were going to kill him. He had
his weapon with him. I was the company commander
of that area and he surrendered to me. We took away
his weapon and escorted him to the Famagusta
police. They kept him there. Afterwards they made
him the coffee maker for the police. He also married
a woman. He remained there for years. However, two
weeks prior to the first operation he disappeared.
During the second operation, as we were going
towards Derinya there was a little skirmish where
one man from the Greeks and one of our men got
shot. The man fell face forward into a pool (fountain)
and there he stayed. When we turned him over we
saw that it was the coffee maker for the police. He
named himself Fikri. He became Turkish, he became
a muslim. He was a handsome young man.

448 **[Part ends @ 20:01]**

449

[PART V]

450

451 **[0:00:00]****[Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet**
452 **(right of screen)]** ...that young man was from Mersin
453 but he had come to Cyprus a long time ago and had
settled. He was going to get married. So about
Tarzan, I'm talking about 1966. Tarzan was brought
up to that Kara Kapısı and was thrown off from the

 DOMAIN~ #97 (447:4)

 ACTION~ #154 (447:4)

 ACTION~ #99 (453:453)

gate with his hands and feet tied in chains. They tried to make it look like he tried to run from the police. He went to the Greek police in order to take refuge. This was a few weeks after he was paraded around town. The Greek police accepted him. They kept him away from the Turks. From that moment on he started to send information to us. The saboteurs would use the information he sent. The headquarters for the saboteur team was what is now used as changing rooms for Türk Gücü. In order to become a saboteur you needed to have physical prowess, you needed to be strong, you needed to be agile. Not everybody could be a saboteur. Therefore, most of the members of the saboteur team were the football players in Türk Gücü. They already had physical training and were strong.

454

455 [0:02:24] [Speaker: Mr. B brown jacket to the left of the screen][Unintelligible]

456

457 **[Crosstalk]**

458

459 **[0:03:36] [Speaker: Man in the blue checkered shirt on the right]** There was a request from the south where they wanted to hold a commemoration like that but we did not allow them to.

 MEANING~ #100 (459:4)

460

461 [Crosstalk] [0:03:53][People Leaving] [Unintelligible]

462 **[0:05:36][Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet**

463 **(right of screen)]** Digenes is a hero of legend. A

464 Syrian hero or general kidnaps the daughter of an

465 important Byzantium family. They get married and

466 have a child. This male child become stronger than

467 his father. This is a legend. They name him Digenes

meaning that he was born from two genes; a Syrian

arab father and a Byzantium mother. Of course the

father is muslim and the mother is Byzantium. They

later go to Byzantium and they convert to

Christianity. The arabs attack anatolia, Istanbul and

then Byzantium. During these attacks Digenes

displays terrific heroism against the arabs. When the

Greeks relate this they promote Christianity against

Islam. At the same time Digenes was Grivas' code

name. I read about this from Greek sources but there

is a part I do not understand very well. If I can find

someone who knows Greek better than I do I'll read it

and they can translate it for me. The Beşparmak

 IDENTITY #101 (467:4)

 ACTION~ #155 (467:4)

 MEANING~ #103 (467:4)

 ACTION~ #156 (467:4)

468 Mountains are also mentioned. It talks about Anatolia
469 but there is a part where they travel over the Toros
Mountains and then the Beşparmak Mountains are
470 mentioned and then it seems that they go back again.
471 Those parts are unclear to me.

[0:07:54] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet] Doesn't it
mention the Beşparmak Mountains as Pendo
Daktilo?

472
473 **[0:07:57][Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet
(right of screen)]** It mentions them as Penda Daktila.
474 Pende is 5 but when it's written as penda it becomes
475 plural. Penda daktila.
476

477 [0:08:09][Speaker: Woman in green (right of
screen)][Unintelligible]

[Crosstalk][Greek Grammar]

**[0:08:29][Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet
(right of screen)]** It mentions that they went there
and the Toros Mountains. Because it was in Greek I
read it but I couldn't really understand that part. As
478 Grivas came over from there maybe they are making
479 a Cyprus connection with the Beşparmak Mountains,
I'm not really sure. That's it. But the analysis of the
480 inclusion of the "two beards" seems to be Grivas and
481 Makarios.

[0:09:07] [Speaker: Key Informant] It could be
482 both beards and genes.
483

**[0:09:10][Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet
(right of screen)]** The gene referral is the fact they
come from two different places.

484
485 **[0:09:15] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** Ok. Grivas
comes from Greece but he carries Turkish genes.
There you have two separate genes. [laughter] There
is legend like that about Makarios.

**[0:09:30][Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet
(right of screen)]** Evrim's(?) father, - you know the
petrol station that used to be in Famagusta - Ali Dayı
(Uncle Ali). He and Makarios are from the same
village but because Makarios's mother died when he
was at an early age and because they were the same
age Uncle Ali's mother would breastfeed him too. It
is also known that when Makarios was President he
would invite Uncle Ali to the presidential palace and
treat him like a brother. That's why he was able to get
permission to open up a petrol station in Famagusta.

 DOMAIN~ #105 (485:

 ACTION~ #157 (485:4

 MEANING~ #107 (485:4

486

487 **[0:10:16] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** Do you
 remeber the big fire in Karpaz in 1974 up where the
 petrol tanks were. We were there. We were terrified.
 Can you imagine the petrol tanks.

488

489 **[0:10:36][Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet
 (right of screen)]** All of those permissions given to
 Uncle Ali within the walls back then was because of
 the fact he and Makarios were milk siblings. They
 are from the village of Panaiya.

490

491 **[0:10:49] [Speaker: Key Informant]** As we are
 coming to the end of our conversation there are
 things I would like to mention about the small
 building we are in. It has been used for many
 different things. It was talked about last week. As far
 as we know it served as a scouts club, it served as an
 information center now is its used by MASDER. In
 previous times did it have any other specific uses?

492

493 **[0:11:35][Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet
 (right of screen)]** I remeber that there used to be a
 hearse in that corner there. The inside of this place
 was full of cobwebs and spiders. There is a room
 there in the corner Mogabgab used to use that as a
 warehouse. If you notice the windows have these
 plaster cast profiles around them. He use to use it as a
 warehouse to store those casts or to keep the stones
 that would later be used for restoration work.

494

495 **[0:12:28] [Speaker: Man in the blue checkered
 shirt on the right]** Stuff used to fix up the Mosque.

496

497 **[0:12:30][Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet
 (right of screen)]** Stuff used to fix up the Mosque
 regarding its architecture. Some of it was stored in
 here too. But, from my childhood, I remeber these
 doors, that hearse, the spiders and cobwebs. It would
 smell because the air was stale. That's what I
 remeber.

498

499 **[0:12:51] [Speaker: Key Informant]** It was most
 tidy when it was an information center.

500

501 **[0:12:55][Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet
 (right of screen)]** I worked here when it was an
 information center.

502

503 **[0:12:57] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** It was also
 very nice when it was a scouts club. Nice and clean.

504 [0:13:02] [Speaker: Key Informant] Again, as far
505 as we know there were thre activities held here
also. Then there was a library here.

506 [0:13:14][Speaker: Man to the left of Ahmet
507 (right of screen)] Hasan the ironworker removed all
the metal. It was filthy. It was full of old metal. All
the military companies came and made a great effort
to clean this place up. It took them a month. It was
the rat and snake pit of Famagusta. When Master
Yüksel, the second flag bearer, was here, on the New
Year that tied 1964 to 1965, we were making an
effort to establish a social structure. We had started
to organize things. Master Yüksel separated the
civilian and military authorities from eachother.
Civilian and military courts were established. For
example, I was a military judge. [0:14:17]
[Unintelligible][0:14:48] All the companies from
there came for over a month. There were timber
warehouses here behind the factory. After that
factory moved to Boğaz that became a timber
warehouse. Burhan Nalbantoğlu was the comander-
in-chief. The timber in those warehouses was used to
make the base of the Buğday Mosque. Osman Saner
was the architect. He has also done other things in
Famagusta. Burhan Nalbantoğlu got the temporary
hospital made. The hospital was made with the
timber from those warehouses with the help of the
soldiers in the Buğday mosque. A fine arts
association was formed – The Art Lovers
Associaciton. Doctor Özkan was the first director
there. He left afterwards. Hasan Iskeleli worked the
hardest. Eşref's uncle, Hasan Kutay, Eşref Çetinel
and I. There were five of us in the board of directors.
We were given authority. We cleaned the place up.
Burhan Nalbantoğlu was supervising us as he was the
commander-in-chief. Osman Saner was with us too,
as our architect. As a result we got it done. And on
New Year's eve we organized a ball there.

508 [0:16:56] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet] And I
509 played bass in the Art Lovers Association band.

510 [0:17:03] [Speaker: Key Informant] I remember
511 that there was also a saxaphone, a tumpet...

512 [0:17:07] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet] ...a clarinet,
513 an accordion. Vechi Yağcı played the trumpet; Nihat
Yolcusu played the clarinet; Hüseyin Yağcı, may he
rest in peace, played the alto saxaphone; Mete
Kamiler played the saxaphone; Ersen Akbay played

the accordion; there were others, but in my time Tokay Firem played the drums; Zafer Osman played the rhythm guitar; Aykan Celal Sadi played bass guitar; Ahmet Behçet did vocals. I wasn't there on that New Year. Let me tell you how this all came together. Doğan, Zeki, Necati and Fatih Karagöz. Zeki and Necati wanted to form a band in the Namık Kemal Highschool. In 1964 we had fled to Yeni Boğaziçi and we were staying in one of Mr. Necati's houses temporarily. We stayed in that house for a while. My father had a nice mandolin. My brother Doğan was very interested in music. We made frets on it and he started to play it like a guitar. Zeki came along and said, "Doğan, we want to form a band, would you like to play the guitar with us?" he said, "I don't know how to play the guitar." he said, "I've been listening to you and your playing quite well!". The houses were adjoining. My brother said "I only play the mandolin like this because we made frets for it.". He said "Ok we have a bass player and we need to find a bass guitar.". I went and bought a bass guitar from Varosha...

514

515

516 [Part ends @ 20:00]

517

518

519

520

521

522

Appendix B: Transcript P3 Ahmet

[PART I]

007 [0:00:00] [Speaker: Key Informant] Welcome once again. The Famagusta Walled City Association, MASDER has been conducting these Famagusta Stories for about three months now and this is our last gathering before the summer season and we are going to close with our elder Ahmet bey who has honoured us by being here. We will then give a break to these conversation meetings for the summer and resume towards the end of September. We still have many friends and elders we must listen to. These are valuable pieces of knowledge and valuable views. There are people we must commemorate. I would like to thank you very much for contributing to these valuable conversations. Without further ado I would like to leave the floor to our elder Ahmet bey who we have already had the chance to talk with a little and he already knows what we expect of him. Thank you.

008

009 [0:01:27] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet] Now, would you like me to talk about the more modern era or would you like me to talk about the things we would hear of back in the day from our friends when the British established the port. The British back then received the most help from the Turks. The British didn't want the Turks to be involved with the port. Back then all the trade was done using Turkish ships. Anyway I should start ...

010

011 [0:02:15] [Speaker: Key Informant] You can start anyway you wish.

012

013 [0:02:18] [Speaker: Male Voice] You can start from as far back as you can remeber Ahmet.

014

015 [0:02:21] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet] The port started operating and a sailor named Captain Brosser was managing it. All his assistants were Turkish. So half the port went like that. The other half continued to run via an Italian company. The port extended to the Canbulat Gate and a pier was built etc. The British merchant ships had started to change. They had stopped using the wooden sailing vessels. The British mostly used steam powered ships. When I started the ships were still using coal for fuel. Guinea and Ghana and other British ships ran on coal.

 IDENTITY #1 (15:15)

 DOMAIN~ #54 (15:15)

016
017 **[0:03:23] [Speaker: Male Voice]** Fuadiye.
018
019 **[0:03:24] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** Fuadiye has
been around until recently.
020
021 **[0:03:28] [Speaker: Key Informant]** Fuadiye
belongs to the Turks?
022
023 **[0:03:29] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** No. Fuadiye
belonged to the British.
024
025 **[0:03:31] [Speaker: Key Informant]** How come?
Fuadiye seems like it's... oh Egyptian, right.
026
027 **[0:03:29] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** It was an
Egyptian ship but it was carrying British mail. It
would arrive here every week.
028
029 **[0:03:43] [Speaker: Mr. T]** Fuadiye, and what was
the other you said?
030
031 **[0:03:47] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** No. As
trade was developing I realised that the British ships
I remember from 1952 like the Guinea and the Ghana
and the Arabian Prince after 1974 were replaced by
amazing ships like the Maltese Breeze, the Cyprian
Prince, the Scottish Prince etc. These were much
better ships. So they took care that the people
working in the port did their jobs properly. There was
no theft or crime of any sort. Most of the people
working at the port were Turkish. The British then
chose a lot of these men to become boatmen. What
was his name, uncle Ali Eyüp and uncle Rıza –
Started the Custom Port Association and got
everybody organized. The work still continued under
very difficult conditions.











032
033 **[0:05:47] [Speaker: Mr. T]** Weren't there any
Greeks at all?
034
035 **[0:05:50] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** Greeks? No,
there were none at all. Everyone was Turkish. You
can see from the photograph.
036
037 **[0:05:55] [Speaker: Mr. T]** This is a photograph of
back then?
038
039 **[0:03:58] [Speaker: Male Voice]** No. That's very
old. You have the dates mixed up.
040
041 **[0:06:08] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** In 1952 a

 LABOR~ #3 (31:31)

 IDENTITY #55 (31:31)

 ACTION~ #5 (31:31)

 IDENTITY #6 (41:41)

- group of 25 people were employed and I was the youngest among them. I remember a ship came. We carried wheat for three days and three nights to the warehouses over there. The carriages constantly worked. The horse carts. A one way trip earned them 2 shillings. All of the workers were from the Turkish villages. They didn't involve any Greeks. This went on throughout 1954 and 1955 until EOKA came out and then everything started to modernize.
- 042 One time Captain Camben called us over. He said, "Times have changed, technology has changed. We now have forklifts and similar equipment." we said, "Good". But now it meant that there were going to be less workers. When the first forklift arrived they put Salih Gökçek into it. It was easy to lift things with it. You'd scoop and lift up two of something and then scoop again and lift up two more. Salih was very enthusiastic about it. Five months later two more arrived. The portage fees started to rise. Day by day things started to change. The Greeks started increasing.
- 043 Because there was going to be a port in Larnaka a chap named Captain Losidis(?) bamboozled them all. He was the Port Authority.
- 044
- 045 **[0:10:21] [Speaker: Male Voice]** The Port and the Customs was one institution. They separated them later, didn't they Ahmet?
- 046
- 047 **[0:10:24] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** He really fooled Cavid. Cavid was involved in everything. He was very hardworking. The militant EOKA members got involved. Then there were 40 of us and 40 of them. They
- 048 Yes, you can ask me things and I'll tell you what I remember.
- 049
- 050 **[0:11:13] [Speaker: Male Voice]** So at the beginning when the port was first established was it all Turks involved in the construction and labour?
- 051
- 052 **[0:11:20] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** Yes. The Greeks came along later.
- 053
- 054 **[0:11:30] [Speaker: Key Informant]** Did this happen after 1960?
- 055
- 056 **[0:11:34] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** In 1960, when the Republic was established the Greeks started getting more privileges and they moved in.
- 057
- 058 **[0:11:48] [Speaker: Key Informant]** There was
-  LABOR~ #7 (41:41)
 -  IDENTITY #56 (41:41)
 -  MEANING~ #9 (41:41)
 -  ACTION~ #57 (41:42)
 -  MEANING~ #11 (42:4)
 -  LABOR~ #58 (42:42)
 -  ACTION~ #13 (42:43)
 -  DOMAIN~ #14 (50:56)
 -  Contested domain #14 (
 -  WORK~ #15 (58:60)

the port's initial situation and then there is the ports
later situation, the one we now call the new port,
where the hole has been removed. Could you tell us
about both of these?

059

060 **[0:12:05] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** When the
new port was going to be made, they were going to
call it Port Services, England wanted a certain
amount for this. The Americans wanted something
too. Many companies wanted a piece. They gave it to
a company called Port Services for 1 million dollars.
A Polish company.

061

062 **[Unintelligible]**

063

064 **[0:12:56] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** The
engineers were going to check the foundations, the
British and a young man from Port Services. Şekerci
(Sugar or the Sweet shop owner) Ahmet went and
provided oxygen for them the old way (pumping it
down to them). He left the pump to grab a cigarette
of his friend. When they pulled the young man back
up blood was gushing out of his ears. He was dead.
Poor chap, he was still young.

 ACTION~ #16 (64:64)

065

066 **[0:13:38] [Speaker: Key Informant]** How long did
it take to construct the new port?

 WORK~ #17 (66:68)

067

068 **[0:13:41] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** Around 1-
1.5 years. They worked in a very disciplined manner.
They went and selected special rocks for the wave
breakers.

069

070 **[Unintelligible][About the rocks]**

071

072 **[0:15:34] [Speaker: Key Informant]** In the time
when the old version of the port used to have a hole
there were two parallel rock formations. We used to
call them the first rocks and the second rocks. When
you were 5-6 years old you would only swim up to
the first rocks and then when you got older you'd
continue onto the second rocks. Where these rocks
broken up in order for them to be this way or where
they filled? I'm curious about this.

 DOMAIN~ #18 (72:72)

 ACTION~ #59 (72:72)

 MEANING~ #20 (72:74)

073

074 **[0:16:11] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** Those
stones in the port were placed there in the Venetian
times so that Turkish ships couldn't approach.

075

076 **[0:16:21] [Speaker: Key Informant]** They're
artificial?

077


078 [0:16:22] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet] They're artificial. All those rocks were placed in Venetian times.



079
080 [0:16:30] [Speaker: Key Informant] They always looked natural to me because of how they are covered.

081
082 [0:16:34] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet] No, they're not natural.

083
084 [0:16:37] [Speaker: Male Voice] If I may? When this Free Port situation was about to commence, Ahmet the American, started to collect signatures for a petition against the port. "They'll build the port and we'll lose our sea". I signed it. He received a lot of criticism though. They told him that the port would lead to prosperity. Year later I realised that this man was an environmentalist. This man saw the damage that was going to be done years before anyone else realised it. He had lived in America and came back here. People didn't like him because he had views like this. If they had built the port in the other direction it would have been much better. That man rebelled against it and wasn't able to voice his opinion.

 ACTION~ #21 (84:84)

 MEANING~ #60 (84:84)
 MEANING~ #61 (84:84)

 IDENTITY #24 (84:84)
 Meaning at odds with I

085
086 [0:18:10] [Speaker: Key Informant] In a previous conversation I had with Mr. Ahmet we didn't talk of extending the port towards the hole or towards the island but actually what if it extended towards straight out to sea. It seems more logical to me.

 ACTION~ #25 (86:86)

087
088 [0:18:34] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet] The Limassol port is like that. When Makarios heard the offers for the port – England wanted so much, the Americans and so forth – the Port Service offered the lowest price and see? But using modern technology they are digging up the rocks and increasing the depth. It's becoming better.

 MEANING~ #26 (88:88)

089
090 [0:19:11][Speaker: Male Voice] About the young chap you mentioned who died while diving. There used to be sponge-divers in Famagusta. Do you remember Salih?

 LABOR~ #27 (90:94)

091
092 [0:19:23] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet] I remember Salih.

093
094 [0:19:24][Speaker: Male Voice] They would go sponge-diving. They'd come from Greece as well. A Greek family lived in our neighbourhood in from of

 DOMAIN~ #62 (94:94)

the girls school. A woman named Maria lived there and her husband was called Pano. They had a small child. One day we heard that Pano had died.

095

096 **[0:20:01] [End Part]**

097

098

099

[PART II]

100

101 **[0:00:00][Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** The British steam ships started around 1955 when EOKA first appeared. Many more modern ships started arriving.

102

103 **[0:00:41][Speaker: Mr. T]** Did passenger ships also arrive?

104

105 **[0:00:45][Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** The first passenger ships were the Pegasus... the Greek boats Felix and Almelia.

106

107 **[0:00:51] [Speaker: Male Voice]** They would come from Austraila too. All types of ships would come.

108

109 **[Unintelligible][Crosstalk]**

110

111 **[0:01:15][Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** When the new port was completed and the big cargo ships started arriving, you know those that carried meat and other goods, they started using cranes. Kamil would load and unload those big containers. [Turning to his left] Your late father would go with this other guy at night and fish for mullet. The type bigger than grey mullet.

112

113 **[0:02:11] [Speaker: Male Voice]** So, Mr Ahmet, when they were still using coal, there was a railway system that came into the port. Where you there at that time? What did they do on that line? What did they transport?

114

115 **[0:02:31][Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** Yes. It ran upto 1950-51.

116

117 **[0:02:37] [Speaker: Key Informant]** There was a railway until '51? What was being transported and where did they come from?

118

119 **[0:02:45] [Speaker: Male Voice]** Where did they pass through and where did they go to? We keep seeing pictures of this.

120

121 **[0:02:45] [Speaker: Other Male Voice]** Shall I

 WORK~ #29 (99:107)

 WORK~ #30 (111:111)

 LABOR~ #31 (111:111)

 WORK~ #32 (113:121)

respond Ismail? There was an empty space adjacent to the tax office, the train would set out from the train station through there and then pass by the construction office and then by the tax office again – there is a footpath there – you know the roundabout by the port that's there now? There's a door there that's closed now. It would go through there and all the way down the docks to load up.

122

123 [0:03:27] [Speaker: Key Informant] Didn't the rails go into the water at all? I remember seeing some photographs showing this.

124

125 [0:03:29] [Speaker: Other Male Voice] No. That must have been when the port was being constructed. I remember the port operations where the train was being loaded. I even remember the Arab workers would come to the late Fehmi with big cans - Fehmi was a mechanic - and he would give them hot water from the train's boiler. The Arabs would then go and use the water to wash themselves on the boat.

126

127 [0:04:02][Woman's Voice][Unintelligible]

128

129 [0:04:16][Speaker: Mr. Ahmet] They only left one of them. It's in front of the old police station.

130

131 [0:04:24][Woman's Voice][Unintelligible]

132

133 [0:04:29][Speaker: Mr. Ahmet] I remember it being removed in '50-'51. They used the ships to cart it off as scrap.

134

135 [0:04:47] [Speaker: Male Voice] It would get to Nicosia in 3 hours.

136

137 [0:04:56] [Speaker: Key Informant] What kind of products did we export back then?

138

139 [0:05:01][Speaker: Mr. Ahmet] The products we exported back then were oranges. We used cases and it was very hard to process them.

140

141 [0:05:20] [Speaker: Male Voice] I used to work there in inspection if you remember. We would work with the cases.

142

143 [0:05:44][Speaker: Mr. Ahmet] [Unintelligible]... don't talk to me about the far east.

144

145 [0:06:01] [Speaker: Male Voice] There was a steam powered crane (winch) on the rails. There are

 Works supporting la

 WORK~ #33

(125:1



LABOR~ #63 (125:1

 WORK~ #36 (137:141)

photographs that show it.

146

147 **[0:06:11][Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** Oh, yes, yes,
yes, yes.

148

149 **[Unintelligible][Crosstalk]**

150

151 **[0:06:11][Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** You
remember some nice things. Those three ships would
bring cargo and passengers. One of them would come
every week.

152

153 **[0:09:37] [Speaker: Key Informant]** Which
countries would the passengers come from?

154

155 **[0:09:43][Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** These three
ships would circle round the Mediterranean and stop
at Famagusta, Mersin and Pile and then go around
again. One of these ships would arrive every week.

156

157 **[0:10:06] [Speaker: Key Informant]** So they
would make a round trip of the Eastern
Mediterranean then?

158

159 **[0:10:19] [Speaker: Male Voice]** There was wheat
back then. It would go around and then arrive at
Famagusta and if you had a 10 ton load it would take
it. After those liners stopped our living expenses
increased because they only sent charters after that.
The previous ships had first class cabins.

160

161 **[0:10:48][Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** Yes. The
Cyprian Prince was very nice.

162

163 **[0:10:55][Speaker: Key Informant]** Didn't any
cruise ships come to the Famagusta port?

164

165 **[0:11:00][Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** That's what I
was thinking of. There were certain projects
regarding these ships in the Mediterranean – you
didn't need a lot of money for them to dock. You just
needed a big enough dock for the ship to stop and let
its passengers off and then allow them to board again
and set sail in a reasonably short amount of time.
They were considering it but they were more open to
Greece as the cruise ships had started to increase in
the Mediterranean. None came to Cyprus.

166

167 **[0:11:48] [Speaker: Key Informant]** Did a cruise
ship ever enter the Famagusta port?

168

169 **[0:11:52][Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** Cruise ships

 ACTION~ #37 (151:16)

 MEANING~ #64 (165:

never came but...

170

171 **[0:11:55] [End Part]**

172

173

174

[PART III]

175

176 **[Unintelligible][Crosstalk]**

177

178 **[0:00:16] [Speaker: Key Informant]** So why are the “length irons” used?

 WORK~ #39 (178:184)

179

180 **[0:00:18][Speaker: Man with glasses, blue t-shirt]**
They were do do with manouver capability. The vehicle's power is evident. The area for the vehicle is evident. So the suitable manouverable region for the ship is 225m.

181


182 **[0:00:32] [Speaker: Key Informant]** You're saying it has nothing to do with tonnage?

183

184 **[0:00:34][Speaker: Man with glasses, blue t-shirt]**
It has nothing to do with tonnage. 225m is a limit. You can make it 230m. However, our draft is 9.15m.

185

186 **[0:00:55] [Speaker: Male Voice]** Let me say another thing captain. When we started to do this type of work, Ahmet can back me up on this, ice cold water would run from the taps, am I right? When these idiots that ran the port left there was no running hot water at all. The port was at a level of 35m and they lowered it to 28m. There was 150 tons of work and they decreased it to 75 tons. After that there was nothing left. They only lined their own pockets. Am I right Ahmet?

 ACTION~ #40 (186:186)

187

188

189 **[Unintelligible][Crosstalk]**

190

191 **[0:01:54] [Speaker: Man on the left of Mr. Ahmet]**
Another thing I noticed about the Famagusta port – let me ask this as the captain is here, I'm interested in this because of my father -

 IDENTITY #41 (190:192)

192

193 **[0:02:08] [Speaker: Male Voice]** Your father met every ship, God bless him...

 ACTION~ #42 (193:19)

[0:02:14] [Speaker: Man on the left of Mr. Ahmet]
I know, just a minute – when any ship entered the port they would always turn it around and take it to the docks like that. My father said that this was done for safety reasons. If a fire or any such problem occurred the ship was able to leave this way. Was it like this in all ports or was it because the Famagusta

 MEANING~ #65 (193:

port was narrow and there was little room to manouver?

194

195 **[0:02:38][Speaker: Man with glasses, blue t-shirt]** I don't know about that but the reason is that it makes it easier for the ships to leave the port on departure because of the lack of space.

196

197 **[0:02:56][Speaker: Man on the left of Mr. Ahmet]** This came up because – Mr. Ahmet will remember this well – a Spanish ship caught fire in front of Othello. It was carrying waste cloth...

198

199 **[0:03:09][Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** Yes. The Benicassim.

200

201 **[0:03:12][Speaker: Man on the left of Mr. Ahmet]** ...and there was paint on the ship so there were explosions. Pieces of burning cloth rained down into Famagusta. They had difficulty getting it out from there because the front of the ship was pointing towards land. I was very young then so I only remember it a little bit. It was after that that the discussion of the ships being turned around when they arrived into port came about.

202

203 **[0:03:52][Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** When the Benicassim started burning the sulphur on board caught fire and exploded. Eventually it was put out. They were required to pay for damages. It waited for 4-5 days and then the ship took off and left.

204

205 **[0:04:24][Speaker: Male Voice]** Ahmet, tell us about the ships with the Arabs.

206

207 **[0:04:26][Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** They'd come with ships made of timber.

208

209 **[Unintelligible]**

210

211 **[0:04:56][Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** The Maria Uzu came in too close and got beached. A Yugoslavian ship came to pull her out but it also got beached.

212

213 **[Unintelligible]**

214

215 **[0:05:17][Speaker: Male Voice]** Who was that, Branco? He took the goods off the ship.

216

217 **[0:05:21][Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** Branco claimed the ship.

 ACTION~ #66 (197:20)

 MEANING~ #45 (201:
 villain #45 (201:201)

 villain #48 (203:203)

 MEANING~ #67 (20

 ACTION~ #49 (211:221)

218
219 **[0:05:24]** **[Speaker: Male Voice]** He became rich
off that didn't he.

220
221 **[0:05:26]****[Speaker: Mr. Ahmet**] Yes.

222
223 **[0:05:28]** **[Speaker: Male Voice]** That soap dealer
ship came to Famagusta. Ahmet knows that ship.

224
225 **[0:05:35]****[Speaker: Mr. Ahmet**] Who's ship?

226
227 **[0:05:36]** **[Speaker: Male Voice]** That soap dealer
ship.

228
229 **[0:05:40]****[Speaker: Mr. Ahmet**] That wasn't a
ship. It was a small fishing trawler.

230
231 **[0:05:45]** **[Speaker: Male Voice]** No. The one they
kept tied up.

232
233 **[0:05:47]****[Speaker: Mr. Ahmet**] Yes, it was a
small fishing trawler.

234
235 **[0:05:50]** **[Speaker: Male Voice]** It was around
1000-1500 tons. Anyway, it remained tied up there for
2 or 3 years. It was around 50m away from the gate,
you'll remember. Then they came and went, this and
that happened and suddenly the ship disappeared
from the port.

236
237 **[Unintelligible]****[Crosstalk]**

238
239 **[0:06:37]****[Speaker: Mr. Ahmet**] Mustafa,
your father would use the winch on that old ship
(another one) in the port and he'd spend his days
improving it. In the end they moved it and they fixed
it up as a different model. Now that winch is in that
marina the Jews own.

240
241 **[0:07:14]** **[Speaker: Male Voice]** Which winch is
that?

242
243 **[0:07:16]****[Speaker: Mr. Ahmet**] It was an old
winch and your father always went to it. It was a
hand powered winch.

244
245 **[0:07:25]** **[Speaker: Man on the left of Mr. Ahmet]**
You mention the winch. There was one that was part
of the Famagusta silhouette. What did they call it?
Machina

246
247 **[0:07:32]****[Speaker: Mr. Ahmet**] That's

 ACTION~ #50 (227:235)

 DOMAIN~ #51 (239:239)

 ACTION~ #52 (243:253)

another one.

248

249 **[0:07:34] [Speaker: Male Voice]** That's 150 tons.

250

251 **[0:07:35] [Speaker: Man on the left of Mr. Ahmet]**
What's its history?

252

253 **[0:07:39][Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** When the
Italians started fighting in the Suez Canal, the second
year the British brought it into together with its Italian
operator. Do you remember Nazareth the Armenian?
He would get the loads from Egypt and take them to
Boğaz. The operator was Italian. Afterwards
Nazareth did it, Ahmet did it...

254

255 **[0:08:47] [Speaker: Male Voice]** So did Mehmet
Ali.

256

257 **[0:08:49][Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** Mehmet Ali?

258

259 **[0:08:50] [Speaker: Male Voice]** Mehmet Ali from
Iskele, the tall guy.

260

261 **[0:08:52][Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** No he didn't.
He was a true seaman.

262

263 **[Unintelligible][Crosstalk]**

264

265 **[0:09:50][Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** Yes you are
right. There were so many stones here that the people
were fed up of them. The British would pay 1 kuruş
or 1 money for each stone according to their size and
load them to send to the Suez Canal. What's the name
of that bank? All the stones were carried to the place
where Bank Reis was. - What, where was your house?

266

267 **[Unintelligible][Crosstalk]**

268

269 **[0:11:18][Speaker: Mr. Ahmet]** Your wife
was born in my house.

270

271 **[0:11:23] [Speaker: Male Voice]** My wife was born
in your house. She's an original Famagusta local. I
wouldn't have married her if she wasn't.

272 **[0:11:29] [Speaker: Key Informant]** Is that so?

273

274 **[Unintelligible][Crosstalk][Who is from which
family and something about the Bahai movement
that Mr. T is expert on and that he will talk
about]**

275

276 **[0:13:57] [End Part]**

 ACTION~ #53 (265:265)

Appendix C: Transcript P4 Kerem

Part 01

007 [0:00:00] [Speaker: Mr. Kerem]: ...you will be telling the future generations about present Famagusta. What can I tell about the Famagusta back in my day? Well, all I can tell you is that Famagusta I know was right after World War II. I was born in 1940; I don't remember the War of course, yet I was able to witness the end of it. Those were the days of poverty, ignorance and shabbiness in Famagusta. [Unintelligible] ...and we moved to villages, it was misery, for sure. Famagusta were always the place for experiencing poverty inside the walls. Famagusta that I know was around that time. We moved to the villages with our families including women and children... German planes would bomb the harbour occasionally and leave; These things are known, these are the facts that have been mentioned here and there. Famagusta that we lived in back in the day was exactly like this. Later, there was a period after World War II, which was around the time we attended to Gazi Primary School. To be honest, we got a good education there. Despite the poverty or the oppressions of English, Famagusta became an extremely rich town regarding its culture. There were plenty of cultural activities which brought cultural richness to the town as a complete opposite to the poverty of Famagusta that I have mentioned before. Theatres... People would act in plays and as far as I remember, a few educated people would come from Nicosia High School with Mr. Suphi or a Primary School Principal would come such as Mr. Eşref . There are some more before all these.

 IDENTITY #1 (7:7)

 ACTION~ #2 (7:7)

 DOMAIN~ #4 (7:7)

 WORK~ #122 (7:7)

 IDENTITY #5 (7:7)

008
009 [0:02:15] [Speaker: The Man next to Mr. Kerem]: This Mr. Eşref you have mentioned... Who is he? He is your...?

010
011 [0:02:17] [Speaker: Mr. Kerem]: Manyera. Mr. Eşref is one of the members of Manyera. [Unintelligible]. They were vigilant; they were brought up in Pergama.

 IDENTITY #7 (11:11)

012
013 [0:02:48] [Speaker: Mr. Kerem] [Greetings] Oh hi, how are you? [Unintelligible]. I'm fine.

014
015 [0:02:54] [Speaker: The Man comes into the room]: I am so sorry, I interrupted you.

016
017 **[0:02:55] [Speaker: The Man next to Mr. Kerem**
]: Please, don't worry. Mr. Eşref has directly led in to
the subject.

018
019 **[laughter]**

020
021 **[0:03:05] [Speaker: Mr. Kerem**]: I have been
mentioning Famagusta that I know, Famagusta back
in my day which was around the time of World War
II. (To the guy came into the room) You are not so
young either. You should remember.

022
023 **[laughter]**

024
025 **[0:03:22] [Speaker: Mr. Kerem**]: So, I was
just talking about the poverty and how we moved to
villages. Let me tell you about something else as a
detail, we used to call the workers as carriers; which
we call them as dockers now. As far as I know, the
word, 'carrier', comes from Ottomans. The people
who were just running errands of others were called
carriers and carriers would never take offence at us
about how we address them. For instance, despite of
the fact that duty was a place which offers a better
paid job, the people who work there were called duty
carriers... It wasn't something shameful. As a matter
of fact, there was no one who wasn't a carrier in
Famagusta; Everyone were carriers; either head of
carriers or duty carrier.

 IDENTITY #124 (25:25)

 LABOR~ #9 (25:25)

026
027 **[0:04:18] [Speaker: The Man across Mr. Kerem**
]: The youth of Famagusta were all carriers once. I
mean the previous generation...

 IDENTITY #10 (27:29)

028
029 **[0:04:23] [Speaker: Mr. Kerem**]: Of course.
We were working as carriers when we were in Namık
Kemal High School, back in our middle school days.

030
031 **[0:04:27] [Speaker: Mr. Kerem**]: I just
remembered something while I was mentioning the
primary school days of ours. Around that period,
thanks to the people who I mentioned here, a cultural
activity occurred. You should have all these plays; I
had given the plays which remained from my father
to Ramiz, who passed away, but I couldn't get them
back. They were performing the plays such as
Gülnehal, Homeland or Silistria from Namık Kemal.

 IDENTITY #11 (31:31)

032
033 **[Unintelligible dialogue]**

034
035 **[0:05:18] [Speaker: Mr. Kerem**]: The

 DOMAIN~ #14 (35:

schools that Englishmen had built, such as Pertev Paşa Primary School, had a folding screen in the middle of them. They had two or three classrooms. More rooms might have been added later but originally there were just two or three classrooms with a folding screen in the middle of them. Once they were opened, they would become studios and theatre halls. For instance, Pertev Paşa Primary School had been used as a theatre hall for many years. What were the actors performing in the hall, you may ask? They were performing Othello. **[Unintelligible]**. The actors would be all covered with soot since there were no other materials for make-up. I remember that I had attended to one of the plays with my father beside me, yet I cried because I got scared after seeing Arab's face through the play. I don't remember anything else. Pertev Paşa incident.

036

037 **[laughter]**

038

039 **[0:06:37] [Speaker: Mr. Kerem]:** I think I was in primary school. Primary School. It was Ms. Nahide's School. Mrs. Nahide was a retired teacher back then and having learnt how to read and write already, the students of Mrs. Nahide's School would attend the Primary School. There used to be no progressive methods of reading and writing, but people were ambitious. For instance, my father was a carrier, most of the people were ignorant in Famagusta who have no knowledge of literacy but they were also take places in plays and act. All the people of Famagusta had attended to these cultural attractions without even knowing that they were contributing to the cultural richness. They wouldn't know that they were attending to a cultural attraction. My father told me that a marching band would be formed.

040

041 **[0:08:32] [Speaker: The Man across Mr. Kerem]:** One of them would play accordion...the other would...

042

043 **[0:08:33] [Speaker: Mr. Kerem]:** Instruments such as flute, accordion, and the others, yes and the members of the band had no idea about musical notes so they would write the notes onto the holes of the musical instruments. The people we call ignorant would know the Old Ottoman Turkish. At least my father would know it.

044

045 **[0:08:57] [Speaker: The Man across Mr. Kerem**

 IDENTITY #16 (35:3)

 ACTION~ #15 (35:35)

 IDENTITY #17 (41:47)

] Because they were all descended from Ottomans.

046



047 **[0:08:58] [Speaker: Mr. Kerem]** Yes, because they were all descended from Ottomans. Of course, my father's father was a hafiz. That's why they could read and write in Old Ottoman Turkish and Arabic.

048

049 **[0:09:20] [Speaker: The Man across Mr. Kerem]** What is the difference between Old Ottoman Turkish and Arabic? Is the alphabet different?

 WORK~ #18 (49:51)

050 **[0:09:30] [Speaker: Mr. Kerem]** It is written in Arabic alphabet, but read as Turkish. For instance, you can write Greek in Turkish or English in Turkish, right? It's the same. As I said, back in the day, when it was around 1946 1947, the folding screen in the middle would be opened and plays would be staged there. They were usually the plays which most likely come from Turkey and they were often modified as a mixture of a musical and a drama from Shakespeare or the others.

 WORK~ #19 (51:51)
 4:127 <Facilitates> #1

 IDENTITY #127 (51:51)
 <Facilitates> 4:19 #127

052 **[0:10:51] [Speaker: The Man across Mr. Kerem]** These plays used to be the entertainment of people.

02

054

055



056 **[0:00:00] [Speaker: Mr. Kerem]:** The most progressive town amongst all was Baf . Baf was extremely elite. There is something that I still don't understand. I still think about and try to understand the harmony between the people who has attended to school and the people who hasn't. Of course, there were some grandees. For instance, in Famagusta, there were Mr. Zeki and his family, Mr. Mahmut and his family, Mr. Galip and his family and Adiloğulları. Adiloğulları. They were grandees. They wouldn't socialize with the people that much. They become aghas later.

059 **[0:00:59] [Speaker: One of the Men inside the room]:** Even their coffeehouse was Turkish Hearth.

060

061

062 **[0:01:03] [Speaker: Mr. Kerem]:** They even had Turkish Hearth done for themselves. It was in 1924 and it is named as "Isik Yurdu". You can see its name there above.

 WORK~ #21 (60:62)
 <expands> 4:22 #21 (60

063

064 **[0:01:16] [Speaker: One of the Men inside the room]:** It was exactly where the Department of Antiques was.

 DOMAIN~ #22 (64:70)
 4:21 <expands> #22 (

065

066 **[0:01:19] [Speaker: Mr. Kerem]:** Of course. It was built by Vakiflar. Mr Mahmut,Mr. Galip...

067

068 **[0:01:24] [Speaker: One of the Men inside the room]:** And Mr. Niyazi... {Unintelligible} It is at around the place where the Mansion Hotel is now. And there was Mrs. Ayşe.

069

070 **[0:01:37] [Speaker: Mr. Kerem]:** Yes, and there was Mr. Ziya. They had this place done for themselves to separate themselves from the common people. However, the common people would always be with them. Especially in recent years they found no one to talk to and they moved their houses to somewhere else. For instance, firstly they moved it below Turkish Hearth since they can sit outside during the summer and later in front of Namık Kemal's. This is the Famagusta that I remember from Pertev Pasa Primary School. Let me tell you something else. As you know, I had already mentioned about our teachers. Today, there are just a few trees left in Pertev Pasa. Unfortunately, the tree that I had planted dried up later. But the trees that my friends had planted are still there.

 DOMAIN~ #23 (70:70)

 ACTION~ #24 (70:70)
 <supports> 4:25 #24

 DOMAIN~ #25 (70:70)
 4:24 <supports> #25



071

072 **[0:02:56] [Speaker: One of the Men inside the room]:** Which year was it?

073

074 **[0:02:58] [Speaker: Mr. Kerem]:** It was in 1947. So, what was it? Planting trees was a tradition which we need it today not just in Famagusta but all over Cyprus and all around the world. We had courses on agriculture. Everyone would bring their vase and a seed planted inside of it. The students would take care of their plants and the teacher would grade them regarding their way of taking care of their flowers. Nowadays just try to give a hoe on the hands of a child, tell them to hoe the ground and step back to observe. They have no clue about it. They don't know what flower is. Ask the children of today the difference between cypress and pine. Or just ask them what eucalyptus is. They don't know. Unfortunately, aside from Famagusta, these matters have been separated from our educational system nowadays. But these matters are important. I do not deny the fact that being familiar with using a computer and having a certain knowledge on

 ACTION~ #26 (74:74)
 4:126 <explains> #26

 MEANING~ #126 (74:
 <explains> 4:26 #126

 ACTION~ #28 (74:74)

technology are essential but the life is not just about computers. As you can observe nowadays, population of villages is decreased. No one would like to go to villages and take care of fields and no one wants to farm. People say that they are university graduates and no one would like to deal with them. On the contrary, Famagusta was all about gardens, both in and out of the city. When you climb onto the walls you could see orange gardens. There had been pomegranate gardens but I couldn't see them myself so I don't remember. I've just seen the photos of them.

 MEANING~ #128 (74:

 IDENTITY #30 (74:74)

 4:129 <contradicts> #

 DOMAIN~ #129 (74:7

 <contradicts> 4:30 #1

075

076 **[0:05:35] [Speaker: One of the Men inside the room]:** There weren't any gardens inside the walls.

077

078 **[0:05:37] [Speaker: Mr. Kerem]:** There were also some gardens inside the walls which were behind Famagusta Turk Gucu and around here. The pool and waterways remain still. Date palm gardens today are left from those times. They would bring variety of date palms back in the day and these date palm trees are still here. There weren't many houses in Famagusta. After the harbour was built, the population in Famagusta started to increase as a result of the migration from the people coming from villages around. But it has never been above 2000 people. Perhaps after recent events it might be around 5000-5,500 now. But still no, there cannot be 5000 people. Famagusta's population was always low comparing to the others. Probably there will be few people during the elections. [Unintelligible] Probably very few. There are 100-120 people for each voting box, considering the voting age.

 WORK~ #32 (78:78

 DOMAIN~ #34 (78:

079

080 **[0:07:00] [Speaker: One of the Men inside the room]:** Which school was established first? Pertev Pasa or Gazi Primary School?

081

082 **[0:07:14] [Speaker: Mr. Kerem]:** Gazi was established in 1924 but both schools were together. For instance, we studied one or two years in Pertev Pasa.

083

084 **[0:07:28] [Speaker: One of the Men inside the room]:** We studied a certain amount of time in Pertev Pasa and then we were transferred to Gazi.

085

086 **[0:07:34] [Speaker: Mr. Kerem]:** I don't know.

087



088 **[0:07:36] [Speaker: The Men inside the room]:**

Fourth, fifth and sixth graders were sent to Gazi. I also studied a couple of years in Pertev Pasa. Do you remember Ms. Nesrin and Mr. Faruk?

089

090

[0:08:00] [Speaker: Mr. Kerem]: Ismet Beziroğlu was in Gazi when I was studying at sixth grade. He came into the classroom once and told us that we were going to Egypt. We were so happy. Afterwards he left the classroom and came back with a map of Egypt. This is exactly being a good teacher. As a teacher, you need to get the attention of your students. You need to motivate children. Our people who were educated would know that. It is a fact that people of Cyprus have suffered from the lack of education, yet people who had the opportunity to get a proper education would progress in a great aspect. Moreover, our education system was not so bad. Well, of course back in those days, Englishmen wasn't respectful and understanding when it comes to Turks; they were more understanding towards Greek. However, the education system of English and their contribution to this system cannot be ignored. Do you know that we had all kinds of school objects back then, such as coloured pencils, paints and more? Even now, there are no materials as there used to be in schools.

 ACTION~ #35 (90:90)
 4:131 <explains> #35

 MEANING~ #131 (90:

 WORK~ #37 (90:90)

 IDENTITY #132 (90:90

 WORK~ #39 (90:90)



 ACTION~ #133 (90:90

091

092

[0:10:25] [Speaker: One of the Men inside the room]: Let me tell you that back in those days we were attending Friday praying in mosques as well, just like today. We used to go to mosque every week. I learnt some of the prayings when I was in Primary School.







 DOMAIN~ #41 (92:92)
 4:134 <Facilitates> #4



 IDENTITY #134 (92:92)
 <Facilitates> 4:41 #13

093



094

[0:10:49] [Speaker: Kerem]: Famagusta harbour. Famagusta harbour was one of the most important arenas of Turkish people in Cyprus regarding the political process. All the oppositions, struggles and complains against Greek Cypriot State were formed around the harbour. Some labour unions were already formed and when it was a privilege to work in Famagusta harbour, we, as Turks, were all bounded by Greeks and their agencies in harbour. These agencies, which have their own employees, would organize the workforce and working areas. The workers would try to be close to them so that they could find a proper job in the boats in the harbour. The unemployment was at its peak during that period. AKEL influenced the employment in Famagusta harbour. In 1948 or 1954, I couldn't recall the year, it was the first time when both Turks and Greeks were together in Famagusta and later, the

 WORK~ #135 (94:94)
 <Facilitates> 4:44 #13
 ACTION~ #44 (94:94)
 4:46 <climax> #44 (94
 4:135 <Facilitates> #4
 4:136 <explains> #44

 DOMAIN~ #46 (94:94)
 <climax> 4:44 #46 (94:9

Greeks went to Hacı Emmi Cinema and discussed the distribution of working, resting and sleeping hours during the day as eight hours each. They made Turks sign the agreement. Well, what was the agreement you may ask? It was ENOSIS which caused a big trouble later. It was an agreement which was prepared for ENOSIS, about the union. Our struggle with Greeks was never-ending. Yes, there were Greeks in Famagusta but I cannot say that we live together. Dinçer knows this better because his neighbourhood was all Greek.

 MEANING~ #136 (94:94)
 <explains> 4:44 #136 (9)

095

096 **[0:14:18] [Speaker: the Men inside the room]:**
[Unintelligible] In our neighbourhood there were five Greek families.

 DOMAIN~ #47 (96:100)

097

098 **[0:14:24] [Speaker: Kerem]:** Through Altuntapya street until this door, there were all Greek houses...

099

100 **[0:14:36] [Speaker: the Men inside the room]:**
Yes, and there were Greek shops all around.

101

102 **[Unintelligible]**

103

104 **[0:14:52] [Speaker: Kerem]:** The place where Watchmaker Niyazi used to have a shop was an empty field with a garden. We used to play marbles on that empty field.

 DOMAIN~ #48 (104:106)

105

106 **[0:15:26] [Speaker: One of the Men inside the room]:** I think there was a house there. What happened to that house? Does anyone live there now? I think it's empty.

107

[Unintelligible]

108

109 **[0:16:26] [Speaker: Kerem]:** The Greek children wouldn't play with us. We were about the same age but they used to watch us but they wouldn't come and play marbles with us since they were affected by their families about Turks.

 ACTION~ #49 (109:109)

110

[Unintelligible]

112

113 **[0:17:25] [Speaker: One of the Men inside the room]:** There used to be a Greek School in Famagusta. It was for the Greek who has lived in Famagusta.

 ACTION~ #50 (113:11)

114

115 **[0:17:41] [Speaker: Kerem]:** Yes, it was established in 1957. But it could just teach for a year. After EOKA's attacks started, all Greeks ran away

 MEANING~ #137 (115)

from Famagusta and that school was closed.
[Unintelligible] That school was used as a court and library. When I was a principal in Canbulat, I told that we should have the school but they didn't accept.

 WORK~ #52 (115:115)

 ACTION~ #138 (115:1)

116

117 [Unintelligible]

118

119 [0:18:55] [Speaker: Kerem]: I also analyse Famagusta in its historical chronology with a political aspect. For instance, I separate the periods as the Famagusta back in 1940s, the time when I was born; 1958 Famagusta, the time that Greek attacks started; 1960s Famagusta, the years that Turkish Cypriot State was established; 1963 when the new attacks of Greeks started with Bloody Christmas; 1967s, the period of ceasefire after Geçitkale event and then the year 1974.

120

03

121

122

123 [0:00:00] [Speaker: One of the Men inside the room]: ... They had a pool in it. All three families would go through those gardens. I mean the orange gardens which have been mentioned before... They were huge. They were all sold in pieces later.

 DOMAIN~ #139 (123:)

 ACTION~ #56 (123:12)

124

125 [0:00:26] [Speaker: Kerem]: When Kutlu asked me to tell some more about Famagusta, I remember that Famagusta had two gates after the invasion. I read it in Excerpta Cypria that back in times of Venice, Famagusta was just a military base which had 6000-7000 soldiers. It had two gates, one of them was the Famagusta Gate, and the other was the Lion Gate. Namik Kemal mentions in his book that it had a beautiful sea and he mentions that he would frequently go by the sea. The people would pass through Othello, there used to be a gate there. There was no hole before. I remember that I used to pass through Othello on the back of my father since the door was usually closed. Namik Kemal also mentions that there was no harbour back in the period. Englishmen built the harbour. Gayıps who come from Arab states and do transformation would come to the beach. Namik Kemal and the others would pass through Othello. Later Englishmen opened Canbulat Gate and opened three more here. Italy protested these actions of English.

 WORK~ #57 (125:125)

 DOMAIN~ #58 (125:1)

 WORK~ #140 (125:12)

 DOMAIN~ #60 (125:1)

 WORK~ #141 (125:12)

 DOMAIN~ #62 (125:1)

 WORK~ #63 (125:125)

 <explains> 4:65 #63 (


















 ACTION~ #64 (125:12)

126

127 [0:03:14] [Speaker: The Man next to Kerem]: Yes, I think that's because English damaged the places when they opened the sea gate here and the other gates there.

 MEANING~ #65 (127:12)

 4:63 <explains> #65 (12

128		
129	[0:03:23] [Speaker: The Man across Mr. Kerem]: Ever since I could remember, there was the Hole there. I don't know how you could pass through except the Hole.	 DOMAIN~ #66 (129:129)
130		
131	[0:03:36] [Speaker: Kerem]: They even opened two gates there. We would crawl before, later they were enlarged. One side was for women and the other was for men.	 WORK~ #67 (131:131)  <Facilitates> 4:68 #67 (1  IDENTITY #68 (131:131)  4:67 <Facilitates> #68 (1  4:69 <contradicts> #68
132		
133	[0:03:49] [Speaker: Kerem]: But also, there were some women who would come to the men's side.	 ACTION~ #69 (133:133)  <contradicts> 4:68 #69
134		
135	[Unintelligible]	
136		
137		
138	[0:05:06] [Speaker: Kerem]: There is something else that should be pointed out here. Namik Kemal High School was a great opportunity for Famagusta in all aspects, all thanks to Niyazi Manyera. Back in the day, Turkey wanted to have an agreement on a cultural aspect with the leadership of the governors here. Two High Schools accepted this cultural education agreement between Turkey and Cyprus. One of them was Baf High School and the other was Famagusta High School. They got those names of theirs later since they were just middle schools before. The students would go to Nicosia or Victoria to attend high school before that. When Namik Kemal High School was first established, some students got transferred from Victoria to Famagusta.	 WORK~ #70 (138:138)  4:142 <Facilitates> #7  ACTION~ #142 (138:1  <Facilitates> 4:70 #14  <justifies> 4:72 #142
139		
140	[0:06:58] [Speaker: Kerem]: By sending their best teachers, musicians and artists Turkey helped a foreign country*, Cyprus, culturally for the first time and that was the importance of Namik Kemal High School. The truth is, the things we learnt was on university level. For example, there was a man, who is a violinist and Ahmet Atlan Saygun's classmate named Katri Çetin. Turkey sent him to Cyprus.	 MEANING~ #72 (140:14  4:142 <justifies> #72 (14
141		
142	But aside from these, there were also some military issues.	
143		
144	[Unintelligible]	
145		
146	[0:08:44] [Speaker: Kerem]: There are lot of things to tell about Namik Kemal High School. For	 DOMAIN~ #74 (146:1  IDENTITY #143 (146:1

instance, Namık Kemal High School was the first school which formed a marching band. ... Marching band instruments would come from Czech Republic (Czechia). Our teacher Zeki Taner distributed the instruments among us. They asked me which instrument I would like to have. I chose the most fabulous one; a saxophone. But I got the alto saxophone. That is why I am emphasising that it is a very important school. After that, the plays of Shakespeare and Moliere took place in, Namık Kemal High School annually and it became a tradition. For instance, we, as students, staged one or two plays of Shakespeare. These are very important considering the progress of Famagusta. People of Famagusta and the High School became more familiar to each other.

WORK~ #75 (146:146)

ACTION~ #144 (146:1)

MEANING~ #77 (146:

IDENTITY #145 (146:1)

147

148 **[0:11:07] [Speaker: The Man across the room]:** I was younger back then and there was a play of Turgut Özakman called “Ocak” and I remember that I had a part in that play.

IDENTITY #79 (148:152)

149

150 **[0:11:20] [Speaker: Kerem]:** I staged “Ocak”. I used to act in that play. You used to play too as far as I remember.

151

152 **[0:11:38] [Speaker: Kerem]:** I used to act in the plays which İskeleli stages. Then İskeleli left, we established Art-Lovers Association, then I started to stage the plays. At first, we were separate with Kotak. They had a different group with Osman Soner. There was a fair competition going on in Famagusta about theatre. For example, Kotaks, Türk Gücü and we were different groups.

153

154 **[0:12:15] [Speaker: The Man next to Mr. Kerem]:** What is your relation to İskeleli?

155

156 **[0:12:17] [Speaker: Kerem]:** He is my uncle.

157

158 **[Unintelligible]**

159

160 **[0:12:43] [Speaker: Kerem]:** Suphi Rıza’s brother Fadıl Rıza was one of the most essential people to Famagusta. He contributed a lot in Famagusta. He was the first person who improved the idea of opposition without having a political party. He is the one who first established a football club in Famagusta. They established it in Hasan Raif’s Shop. Their balls were made of amiant, they would get bigger when it rained. Of course, there was poverty. I don’t remember the balls made of amiant, I

ACTION~ #80 (160:

DOMAIN~ #81 (16

WORK~ #146 (160:

was told about it later. They had balls made of buff later. He is also the one who published a book about antiques in Famagusta. You should have his book. I used to have that book but I don't know what happened to it now. When my uncle first established Turk Gucu, it was important to Famagusta. Later Namik Kemal High School was established, it became essential to Famagusta. It was always one progress after the other.

 WORK~ #83 (160:160)

 WORK~ #84 (160:160)

 WORK~ #85 (160:160)


161

162 **[0:15:16] [Speaker: The Man across the room]:**

Then we can say that The Harbour, Namik Kemal High School and Türk Gücü were three things that were essential to the progress of Famagusta. These are the symbols of Famagusta.

 The three symbols o

 WORK~ #86 (162:1


 4:147 <explains> #8

163

164 **[0:15:43] [Speaker: Key Informant]:** This is the first time I heard about the opposition of Mr. Fadıl Rıza. What happened next? I am very curious now.

165

166 **[0:16:07] [Speaker: Kerem]:** Look, it was very expensive for people in Famagusta to graduate from middle school and go to study in Nicosia at Vittoria or the boy's Lycee. Unfortunately, the people in Famagusta didn't have that kind of money. Afterwards, our fathers spent all their money on their children to educate them, just because they hadn't had a proper education themselves. This is very important. They were eager to learn and study. Not just the people of Famagusta but also the people in Cyprus were very ambitious when it came to education. The people in Cyprus would see the huge ships coming in from Europe. The harbour workers would see the people working on those ships, the technology, the food. My father would see the young men doing their internships on these ships and he would admire the fact that people were constantly developing themselves in Europe. They were things that we didn't have then. After 1974, Famagusta changed a lot. The old Famagusta inside the walls remains within the boundaries of what I talk about nostalgically now and that's all. After 1974 the reality of Famagusta is something that we are all aware of ; with its depots, the increase of the population, the unplanned development. Do people live due to the city or do cities live due the people? I'm not sure. I have always liked being from Famagusta.

 ACTION~ #88 (166:16

 4:90 <expands> #88 (

 MEANING~ #148 (166

 <justifies> 4:90 #148

 ACTION~ #90 (166:16

 <expands> 4:88 #90 (

 4:148 <justifies> #90

 IDENTITY #91 (166:16

 WORK~ #92 (166:166

 DOMAIN~ #149 (166:

 ACTION~ #94 (166:16

 4:150 <explains> #94

 MEANING~ #150 (166

 <explains> 4:94 #150

Unfortunately, I don't like the Famagusta of after 1974. It is now very barren and cruse. When I first moved to Nicosia I found people I could talk and discuss things with and I found an environment where I could learn new things. All the elite and the

people who ran things had gathered there. Famagusta now is not like it used to be.

167

168 **[0:19:25] [Speaker: The Man across the room]:**

what are the contributions of Irfan Nadir to Famagusta? What do you think?

169

170 **[0:19:27] [Speaker: Kerem]:** Irfan Nadir was one of the most important people who took a different approach on trade, which is something even the Greeks hadn't done before.

 ACTION~ #96 (170:170)

171

172

173

04

174

175 **[0:00:00] [Speaker: Kerem]:** That is why I remember it. It was the first time.

176

177 **[Unintelligible]**

178

179

05

180 **[0:00:21] [Speaker: Kerem]:** Look, Irfan Nadir came from Paphos, that's true. He used to work in the mine in Çamlıköy as my father did. They brought Asitilen when they came here. When Asil Nadir came here, he was a baby. He was born in 1941, I was born in 1940. They were in a Maronite house. We used to live in Hanay. I was born there. Do you know where the Maronite house is? Do you know where Halil's Shop was? There was a Maronite woman. Those were her houses. Irfan Nadir used to live on the ground floor and we lived on the top floor. **[Unintelligible]**

 DOMAIN~ #97 (180:180)

181

182 **[0:04:31] [Speaker: Kerem]:** Then we went to Mr. Hüseyin's house in Akkule Neighbourhood. There were two extremely rich people regarding their possessions in Famagusta: One was Mr Hüseyin and the other was another Mr. Hüseyin who was a grocer. All the houses and bakery shops in Famagusta were owned by Mr. Hüseyin the grocer. Not because he had a lot of money but because he had assets. The bakeries and all the houses in Akkule belonged to him.

 DOMAIN~ #98 (182:1)

 WORK~ #151 (182:18)

183

184 **[Unintelligible]**

185

186 Irfan Nadir was very ambitious. He came here before you did. He had a house in Baykal. He also used to run a grocery store. It was across from the English Cemetery. Look, I used to go to that house in Baykal to visit Asil Nadir. He was one of my best friends.

 DOMAIN~ #152 (186:

Then he went to Istanbul to study economics. He used to own a red car. Hasan Cavit used to own a Volkswagen. Then he passed away. He was one of our classmates. Also, Özyay Hasan later became one of the most famous violinists in Turkey.

[Unintelligible]

187



188 [0:10:02] [Speaker: Kerem]: Irfan Nadir used to gamble a lot. He was also earning a lot but he couldn't help himself and he lost most of his earnings gambling. As you know he was the one who brought buses, he was the first person who opened the laundrette, the Alasya cake shop and so on. But he couldn't help himself so he went to London after the Turkish Republic was founded. Asil Nadir went to Turkey to study and Ayşegül was attending Robert College. Asil Nadir gave private music lessons to Erol Büyükburc. Ayşegül and Asil met in Istanbul. After his father went to London, Asil also went there after his father. He owned his own business there. He had this problem with his nose. He had an operation from his nose and it looked like Elvis Presley's nose. He was one of my best friends. Irfan Nadir used to give us tickets and we would go to the cinema every week. He used to phone them and book places for us. Me, Hasan Cavit, Özyay and Asil would go. But Irfan Nadir would never pay for us, we would always pay his money back. But we were all good friends. Asil would have liked me to join him when he came back to Namık Kemal but I didn't go.

 IDENTITY #102 (188:1)

 ACTION~ #153 (188:1)

 LABOR~ #154 (188:188)

 DOMAIN~ #105 (188:18)

 MEANING~ #106 (188:1)
 4:108 <expands> #106 (

189




190 [0:13:19] [Speaker: The Man next to Mr. Kerem]: Why? You weren't estranged from him, were you?

191

192 [0:13:22] [Speaker: Kerem]: Ok, let me tell you a final story. When Asil came, he called us first. Dinçer was very excited and told me that Asil was waiting for us in Palm Beach. When we went there, there was a huge crowd behind Asil Nadir. Everyone was there. We hugged each other. We had a table by the sea and we sat down. Those were the final days of school. We started to order some food and drinks. While we were ordering, I looked at the people who were waiting for him and asked about those people. He said, "screw those rascals!" mentioning the people around him. Later, another person approached us to inform him about his flight, but again, he said "Screw it!". To conclude, I could have been with Asil Nadir, but he could have told me to piss off too. Well, I heard later that he kind of said it. Ersin Katar told me this. Once he had said "I offered him a

 ACTION~ #107 (192:192)
 <explains> 4:108 #107 (

position as manager but the rascal didn't accept!".
He's a good friend, very good friend. Well, of course
successful businessmen are not easy-going. They
always need to consider their own benefits.

 MEANING~ #108 (192:1
 <expands> 4:106 #108 (
 4:107 <explains> #108 (

193

194 **[0:16:28] [Speaker: The Man next to Mr. Kerem
]:** Are you two still friends?

195

196 **[0:16:30] [Speaker: Kerem]:** Well, I haven't
seen him or heard from him for a long time. But of
course, we grew up together.

197

198 **[0:16:35] [Speaker: The Man across the room]:** If
you had accepted the position he offered your
friendship might have been over.

199

200 **[0:16:45] [Speaker: Mr. Kerem]:** He fired
lots of managers. The last one he fired was Süleyman
Ergüçlü.

201

202 **[0:16:55] [Speaker: The Man Across the Room]:**
Let me add something Mr. Eşref. Bilge was my
classmate.

203

204 **[0:16:56] [Speaker: Mr. Kerem]:** I don't
really know Bilge. She's younger.

205

206 **[0:16:59] [Speaker: The Man across the Room]:**
Meral was the oldest one, and Bilge is my classmate.
The last time he came he threw Bilge and Fehmi out
or Cyprus as well. I know them so I am certain about
this. Bilge and her husband have no relation with
Cyprus now.

207

208 **[0:17:34] [Speaker: Mr. Kerem]:** I know.

209

210 **[0:17:36] [Speaker: The Man across the Room]:**
You know of this. However, he wanted Reşat, Akar
to become partners. Bilge used to mention this. After
they threw her out they came and threw her sister out
also.

211

212 **[0:17:50] [Speaker: Mr. Kerem]:** When
Bilge joined he made many changes. Because his
wife was involved.

213

214 **[0:17:58] [Speaker: The Man across the Room]:**
Yes, he brought his wife in, the Iranian, and said that
she was in charge. His student from EMU. She could
be his daughter or his grandchild.

215

216 **[0:18:04] [Speaker: Mr. Kerem]:** I don't

think she's Iranian. She might be Lebanese. She used to be his secretary.

217

218 **[0:18:08] [Speaker: The Man across the Room]:** His secretary. She could have been his grandchild.

219

220 **[0:18:11] [Speaker: Mr. Kerem]:** In short, these are our friends. We grew up together in Famagusta. However, we didn't get to see Asil Nadir on the holidays. Asil Nadir would go and rent bicycles and other things. He had a motorbike. He was the first person to come to school on a motorbike. You know those vespas? But smaller. We would take it and take off. He would come looking for it.

221

222 **[0:18:45] [Speaker: the Woman in the room]:** It might be a bit off topic but could you say something about the lion in Famagusta?

 WORK~ #109 (222:22)

223

224 **[0:18:54] [Speaker: Kerem]:** I've written about it a lot. The people would do spells. It is related in various ways. I never witnessed it but I used to hear about people talking and laughing about it. It is said that they would perform spells and then they had to pass by the lion; the witches, the women. They would reach the lion and take some earth or throw some earth there or whatever they might be doing. Such a legend exists.

 IDENTITY #155 (224:2)

225

226 **[0:19:33] [Speaker: Key Informant]:** What was this sorcery used for. To do something to somebody?

 MEANING~ #111 (226:2)

227

228 **[0:19:37] [Speaker: Kerem]:** Of course. To lift or to place a curse on someone.

229

230 **[Crosstalk]**

231

232 **[0:19:37] [Speaker: Kerem]:** Excuse me, let me just say something else. They are being very unfair to Famagusta. I say it also but it is wrong "A tavern, a whorehouse and a coffee house.". No, it's not like that at all.

 IDENTITY #112 (232:232)

233

234

235

236

06

237 **[0:00:00] [Speaker: Kerem]:** I had one or two printed but I didn't sell them. I didn't like the way they are printed. I have chests full of books.



238

239 **[0:00:11] [Speaker: Mr. T]:** So you write

don't you?

240

241 **[0:00:15] [Speaker: Kerem]:** I am a writer
and a journalist. I have been writing newspaper
articles for 45 years. I am one of the oldest writers.

 IDENTITY #113 (241:2)
 WORK~ #156 (241:24)
IDENTITY #115 (241:24)

242

243 **[0:00:31] [Speaker: Mr. T]:** Why aren't you
gathering your articles?

244

245 **[0:00:34] [Speaker: Kerem]:** Well, I am lazy
about it. I just write my articles and get it over with.
What did Aziz Nesin used to say? "The best articles
are the ones which are thrown away after they are
read". I agree. A lot of the time, I feel ashamed while
I am writing, especially about these political issues
since I have nothing new to write and keep writing
the same things repeatedly. But thanks to the new
administrations, there are really many different
subjects to write about. But politics hasn't really
changed. We still write about the same things when it
comes to politics.

 ACTION~ #116 (245:245)

246

247 **[0:01:24] [Speaker: Mr. T]:** Yes, but I have been
attending these events for the last few of weeks...

248 **[0:01:26] [Speaker: Kerem]:** Where are you
249 from?

250 **[0:01:28] [Speaker: Mr. T]:** I am from Fagamusta.

251

[0:01:30] [Speaker: Mr. R]: His surname is Ahmet.
252 Of the Ahmet family.

253

[0:01:34] [Speaker: Kerem]: Oh you are of
254 the Ahmet family. Mr. T. Of course...

255

[0:01:40] [Speaker: Mr. R]: Of course, in this light
256 you can only see his silhouette.

257

[0:01:43] [Speaker: Kerem]: Mr. T is an
258 academic. I know Mr. T well.

259

[Crosstalk]

260

261 **[0:02:00] [Speaker: Mr. T]:** Let me tell you
262 something, please don't take this as a compliment as
263 you have shared your knowledge and analysed the
history chronologically. One of the reasons I am here
myself, is to be able to record some of the significant
periods of the history of Fagamusta. Therefore, the

periods that you have mentioned are interest to me also. You said you like to analyse political issues, if you remember, towards the end of 1940s, who were the people who were the elite strata of the city, those who made Famagusta Famagusta, you mentioned them a few times. Unfortunately, there is less information about those people than we realise. For instance, you have some assertions about Mugagak in your articles, so it might be good to perform a comprehensive research...

264

265 **[0:03:02] [Speaker: Mr. Kerem]:** I didn't like Mugagak. Not just me but also the people of Famagusta. Why? Because he wanted to take everything out from here, leaving just antiques and churches. But antiques and old houses are more valuable when they have people living inside them. For instance, I always think of the old Ankara Castle but when I go to the Ankara Castle these days it is more lively and improved because they renovated it and there are many people still there. Also, they keep telling me about Rhodesi they tell me about Malta. The situation is the same. That's what I meant.

 ACTION~ #117 (265:2)

 MEANING~ #157 (265)

266

267 **[0:03:48] [Speaker: Mr. T]:** Yes, but not many things are known about Mugagak. You do know. We need to record all them.

268

269 **[0:03:59] [Speaker: Mr. Kerem]:** Mugagak used to have his hair cut in Sitki's Barbershop. I was a child back then. In our neighbourhood. He would always wear a fedora. Once I saw him after he had had his haircut. He got up and put his hat on. At first, he wore it correctly. Then he took it off and wore it backwards. I thought about it later. Why did he do that? You know that certain scientists are always preoccupied with other things and their minds are always elsewhere? They say that Einstein would write equations all over the milkman's cart. He wanted to represent himself as a great scientist. Tourists would come here and think, "What an eccentric man?". You'd think his bicycle would collapse any minute. Of course, his knowledge on the history of Fagamusta was indisputable and his ambition was to keeping Fagamusta as it was. That's why he couldn't get along with anyone in Famagusta because he wanted to preserve the city just the way it was and these effort would have displaced everybody from their homes. No one liked him. These things were not possible.

 DOMAIN~ #119 (269:26)

 ACTION~ #120 (269:2)

 MEANING~ #158 (269)

270

271 **[Crosstalk]**

272
273 **[0:05:43] [Speaker: Voice from the other side of the room]:** He would deliver small glasses to the English and as he was taking these he would give us colouring books, colouring pencils rulers...
274
275 **[0:05:55] [Speaker: Man to the left of the screen from Mr. Kerem]:** Was he a missionary, did he belong to a special group?
276
277 **[0:05:55] [Speaker: Mr. Kerem]:** He was Assyrian. However, the English had certain people who would do that.
278
279 **[Crosstalk]**
280
281
282
283
284
285
286
287
288
289

Appendix D: Transcript P5 Sevel

[PART I]

007 **[0:00:00] [Speaker: Key Informant]** As I mentioned in previous conversations, as MASDER, we come together for our Famagusta Stories conversations on Saturdays between 10:30am and 12:00pm. What is our purpose? Our purpose is to draw attention to the walled city of Famagusta so when tourists are being given historical tours of the city the guides can relate the stories being told here as well. Where did we start? We started from the Canbulat story. The story of bravery, the lion's story, the Sea story, Sütakan, Yağakan, the double grill at Martinengo then up to Akkule and why Akkule got its name. We listened to all of these stories. We also noticed that we started to talk about certain characters residing in Famagusta; "that person did this" etc. We generalized all of this and maybe we can manage to compile stories about Famagusta from all of this. In this sense we are free to talk about anything. But although we are free to talk about anything we have something in common today; welcome daughters of the humus maker. Even though he daughters of the humus maker Sr. S have that in common they are a dear family who raised two well known practitioners of the nursing profession. Mrs. Sevel still works as a head nurse. I have had lots of interactions with them and as a result I know you quite well. We are all very eager to listen to the stories you are going to tell us. I do not want to take up too much time so after having explained the aim of these discussions I would like to leave the floor to you and any of you can start the conversation in any way you like.

 MEANING~ #1 (7:7)

008

009 **[0:02:44] [Speaker: Mrs. Sevel]** Let me start.

010

011 **[0:02:45] [Speaker: Key Informant]** Please do.

012

013 **[0:02:47] [Speaker: Mrs. Sevel]** There are people that may not know me. My name is Sevel , This is my elder sister Ms. S, then my other elder sister Mrs. S, this is Miss S and finally M. S . We are five sisters and we also have an elder brother, Mr. S

014 When we came to Famagusta I was 6 months old. I was born in Nicosia but my family came to

Famagusta and settled when I was 6 months old. Since then I have always been in Famagusta. My mother's family is from Pyla and Piperestorona and my father's family came from Lebanon.

 IDENTITY #2 (14:18)

015

016 [0:03:35] [Speaker: Mr. S. a] From Palestine.

017

018 [0:03:36] [Speaker: Mrs. Sevel] Ok, Palestine. But my father's grandfather was an Ottoman from Istanbul. He was a sailor, a captain. He was transporting goods with his ship to Palestine and then he married a woman there and settled down. We have such family roots. When we first came to Famagusta we lived in a house they called "The houses of Cemal the Fisherman".

 LABOR~ #72 (18:18)

 DOMAIN~ #4 (18:18)

019

020 [0:04:18] [Speaker: Key Informant] The house that was a middle school.

 DOMAIN~ #5 (20:22)

021

022 [0:04:20] [Speaker: Mrs. Sevel] Previously at one point it was an – Armenian School? - a Greek School. We lived there for a short time. Maybe two, two and a half years. Then we moved to a house made by the municipality in the Elmas Tabya street and lived there for many years. Until 1987. We lived there until 1987 and then we were assigned state council housing and moved. I think all of you know my father. Humus. He had a language problem. In his own country he had orange groves and had his own business. He also did form-work. He wasn't able to do form-work here because of his language problem. Because he wasn't used to being employed by someone, which I think was hard for him, he started his own business making humus. From time to time with the help of my mother's great cooking he used the shop as a restaurant serving lunch for a short while. My father had his shop in many different places in Famagusta. It was in the Namık Kemal square at one point, on the left side of the İşbank, where D&B is now. At one point it was on the upper side of the Istiklal avenue. He had it in front of the Türk Bankası, next to the Türk Bankası. It was in front of the corner of your place. Next to Sıtkı the Barber. It was barber Sıtkı's and then barber Yusuf's. At one point it was next to Mehmet Day's shop, the button maker. He had his restaurant in different places. He would prepare his humus at 4:00-4:30 in the morning for the workers at the harbour. The harbour workers would go to him and have humus soup before going to work. He would then open it in the evenings. Once we started primary school, all of my siblings and I would go and help my father until

 DOMAIN~ #6 (22:22)

 MEANING~ #73 (22:2)

 LABOR~ #8 (22:22)

 DOMAIN~ #74 (22:22)

 LABOR~ #10 (22:22)

we finished primary school. All of us took our turn to help our father.

023 My father had interesting neighbours in the places he had his business. We had good relationships with all of them. In the events of 1963, you know, when we enclosed ourselves in Famagusta we couldn't leave, it was like we were imprisoned within the walls; I was a student in middle school. From what I remember from the time of the British...

024

025 **[0:08:23] [Part Ends]**

026

027 **[PART II]**

028

029 **[0:00:00] [Speaker: Mrs. Sevel]** ...it would be so crowded that in order not to lose our father, we would wait at the gate of the mosque and when my father came out from prayer we would kiss his hand and then we would go and buy buns that they would sell durind Eid and then we would all go home to have breakfast. After having breakfast we would get our Eid money and go back out to the square. There would be a fair on and we would spend our money there. It used to be a lovely fair that was lots of fun. They had those games that where like billiards... what were they called?

030

031 **[Unintelligible, Crosstalk]**

032

033 **[0:00:50] [Speaker: Mrs. Sevel]** ...you'd pull a lever and it would release a ball bearing. They had ballons and sweets. You'd shoot the ball bearing and win something. Those types of things. There was a great variety of things and that made it nice.

034

035 **[Unintelligible, Crosstalk]**

036

037 **[0:01:30] [Speaker: Mrs. Sevel]** When the 1974 military intervention happened I wasn't here. I was in Nicosia. So in this regard, I have many more Nicosia stories. I was working in Nicosia in those days so I wasn't here. My elder sister was in Larnaka. The other two were in London. Only M. S. was with our family. She knows about how they entered through the grills. Anything else?

038

039 **[0:02:08] [Speaker: Ms. S]** I know something about the British period. There were some highschool students. Back then high school students were much older than we were, we were just children but they were still young of age. I remember they would climb onto the desks and walk accross them.

 IDENTITY #75 (22:23)

 DOMAIN~ #12 (23:23)

 ACTION~ #13 (29:29)

 IDENTITY #76 (29:29)

 DOMAIN~ #77 (29:29)

 IDENTITY #17 (29:33)

 IDENTITY #18 (39:39)

They would call on us to take part in marches (processions). We were little back so we'd go. Everyone would be shouting "Division or death!". The British would take a spot at the Famagusta Gate and wouldn't let people leave and they would throw tear gas at us. I remember that we would run home with tears streaming from our eyes. I'll never forget that. I also remember that after 1963 - you remember the two Greek Cypriots who entered through the port gate - back then I had a classmate; Mr. Selçuk the police commander. His daughter was my classmate back then. I was in their house. Whenever anything happened he would always come and tell us anyway because we lived within the walled city. So I was there and her father received a phone call that something had happened. He said, "Come on quickly girls, we are going to go to the walled city." So we went. Nobody was actually allowed within the walls but because he was a police commander we were able to get inside and I saw those two Greeks lying on the ground. I'll never forget it. On the floor at the entrance of the Famagusta Gate.

 ACTION~ #20 (39:43)

040

041 **[Unintelligible, Crosstalk]**

042

043 **[0:03:40] [Speaker: Male Voice]** I think they were actually four people. They got two of them and the other two got away. Was it Ayla? - Mr. Selçuk's daughter.

044

045 **[0:03:53] [Speaker: Ms. S]** Meral.

046

047 **[0:03:54] [Speaker: Male Voice]** Did he have any other daughters?

048

049 **[0:03:55] [Speaker: Ms. S]** Süside ...

050

051 **[Unintelligible, Crosstalk]**

052

053 **[0:04:06] [Speaker: Mrs. Sevel]** I know that the British soldiers would patrol up and down our streets and force everybody back into their homes. One time my elder brother was outside and they took him away. My father went after him and got him back. These types of things also happened.

 ACTION~ #21 (53:53)

054

055 **[0:04:38] [Speaker: Ms. S]** I also remeber another thing from the British period. I was in the first year of primary school and we also went to school on Saturdays. The old police buildings were commissariats back then - those buildings that are in front of the old hospital. They would make us form

 ACTION~ #25 (55:5

 IDENTITY #22 (55:5

 DOMAIN~ #23 (55:

lines and take us there. We would sing “God save the queen” and they would hoist the flags. I’ll never forget that. In the British period Turks were actually quite oppressed.

056

057 **[0:05:10] [Speaker: Male Voice]** What language did you sing it in?

058

059 **[0:05:16] [Speaker: Ms. S]** Yes. We would sing “God save the queen” in Turkish and the British flag would be hoisted. We would do this on Saturdays.

060

061 **[Continuous crosstalk about singing God save the queen on Saturdays in primary school]**

062

063 **[0:05:36] [Speaker: Mrs. Sevel]** ...on the Queen's birthday they would give out mugs.

064

065 **[Continuous crosstalk about singing God save the queen on Saturdays in primary school]**

066

067 **[0:06:56] [Speaker: Key Informant]** Let me ask you this, friends. Your father displayed an interesting example of entrepreneurship. He already had a profession, something he new how to do but he decided to do something else and it caught on...

068

069 **[Unintelligible, Crosstalk]**

070

071 **[0:07:32] [Speaker: Male Voice from the back]** May I ask you something? What was the reason that Mr. Sayit left his profession, how did it happen?

072

073 **[0:07:42] [Speaker: Altogether]** He left it because he became unwell.

074

075 **[0:07:45] [Speaker: Mrs. Sevel]** Actually my fathers malady was related to his profession. The constant crushing and boiling of the chickpeas and breathing in the fumes caused problems in his lungs. That's why. When was it? My father passed in 1978 but he only stopped working 2-3 years prior to his death. He would sometimes close the shop and work periodically.

076

077 **[0:08:17] [Speaker: Male Voice]** He was open until '76, wasn't he?

078

079 **[0:08:19] [Speaker: Ms. S]** Until '76.

080

081 **[0:08:21] [Speaker: Male Voice] [Unintelligible]**



IDENTITY #24 (57:5)



DOMAIN~ #26 (71:73)




MEANING~ #27 (75:75)

082
083 **[0:08:43] [Speaker: Ms. S]**Some people would bring their own pots and take the soup home with them.

084
085 **[0:08:49] [Speaker: Male Voice]** I was very little when you came to Famagusta. Your father set his shop up in '68. He was our neighbour.


086
087 **[Unintelligible, Crosstalk]**

088
089 **[0:09:25] [Speaker: Mrs. Miss S]** ... I'll never forget how Mrs. Fatma's husband would boil octopus and the smell would spread all over the neighbourhood.  DOMAIN~ #29 (89:89)



090
091 **[Unintelligible, Crosstalk]**

092
093 **[0:09:41] [Speaker: Key Informant]** Did your mother help your father?

094
095 Yes. A lot.


096
097 **[0:09:48] [Speaker: Mrs. Sevel]** My mother would go and help him at night.  LABOR~ #30 (97:99)

098
099 **[0:09:51] [Speaker: Miss S]** The chickpeas would be prepared and boiled at home. Then my father would take them with him in a big pot. Everything was done at the house. He'd put everything in a wheelbarrow and take them with him.

100
101 **[0:10:12] [Speaker: Male Voice]** Let me ask something. I remember that when he was working there Mrs. Sevda was there too. **[Unintelligible, Crosstalk] [0:10:28]** There is another thing I remember. We were young men then. We had started to drink. What I'm curious is this – and correct me if I'm wrong, your father didn't have alcohol in his shop.  IDENTITY #78 (101:10)  DOMAIN~ #32 (101:1)

102
103 **[0:10:48] [Speaker: Altogether]** No, he didn't.

104
105 **[0:10:49] [Speaker: Male Voice]** But I know that someone would come there drinking alcohol. Would they get it from the tavern or buy wine from the other shop and then come over?

106
107 **[0:11:10] [Speaker: Altogether]** No, from the tavern. They would come and buy the humus and then go to the taven next door. Orders would come from there as well.  DOMAIN~ #33 (107:107)

108

- 109 **[0:11:16] [Speaker: Male Voice]** It was interesting
how the shopkeepers would work with each other.
- 110
- 111 **[0:11:21] [Speaker: Altogether]** They had a lot of
respect for each other.
- 112
- 113 **[0:11:25] [Speaker: Male Voice]** You could buy
your humus from their shop and then your kebab
from accross the road and then something else from
another place and sit down and enjoy it. No
shopkeeper would bother the others regarding
business.
- 114 **[0:11:16] [Speaker: Male Voice]** Ok. But Master
Sayit didn't allow alcohol in his shop.
- 115
- 116 **[Unintelligible, Crosstalk]**
- 117
- 118 **[0:11:48] [Speaker: Mrs. Miss]** But my father
would enjoy a small cognac from time to time.
- 119
- 120 **[Unintelligible, Crosstalk]**
- 121
- 122 **[0:11:59] [Speaker: Mrs. M. S.]** It was all about
the respect the shopkeepers had for eachother. No,
my father dis drink. He didn't overdo it but he did
drink when there was friendly conversation.
- 123
- 124 **[0:12:18] [Speaker: Miss S]** He'd smoke a
hookah too.
- 125
- 126 **[0:12:28] [Speaker: Mrs. Sevel]** The moment we
saw my father coming home when he came around
the corner we would light the small coals and put
them in a can. He would come in and prepare his
tobacco and place the burning coals on the hookah.
You'd put the coals in a can so that they would get
hot and they would burn there before you used them.
When they became white hot he would place them on
the hookah.
- 127
- 128 **[Unintelligible, Crosstalk]**
- 129
- 130 **[0:13:35] [Speaker: Mrs. Sevel]** He was actually a
very honest person. He would never take extra
money from anybody. He considered it a sin. He was
always honest. He also never allowed his employees
to bamboozle the customers either. Once a male
employee took money from a customer then said that
the customer had left without paying. My father told
him to go and ask for the maoney from the customer.
He went after the customer and walked right up to
him. When he got really close he took the money out

 MEANING~ #34 (109:11)

 IDENTITY #35 (113:118)

 IDENTITY #36 (122:124)

 IDENTITY #38 (126:12)

 IDENTITY #39 (130:130)

of his own pocket and came back to the shop. When he gave the money to my father my father fired him on the spot. Even if the customer overpaid him 1 or 2 pennies he would return the excess.

131

132 **[0:14:57] [Speaker: Male Voice]** In the old days everyone was honest.

133

134 **[0:15:03] [Speaker: M. S.]** People were more genuine and open...

135

136 **[Unintelligible, Crosstalk]**

137

138 **[0:15:09] [Speaker: M. S.]** ...of course there were dishonest people but not very many. However, as the population of Cyprus grew this changed.

139

140 **[0:15:21] [Speaker: Male Voice]** There is something else I would like to find out about the fact that a lot of families in Cyprus and Palestine have joined by marriage. Master Sayid is a specific case but many families in Cyprus are like this. I know this because there are members in my family who have married with Palestinians. There are many people I know like this. I would like to talk about how this came to be.

141 **[0:16:12] [Speaker: Mrs. Sevel]** My grandmother
142 (my mother's mother) was widowed very young. She was made a widow when she was 21 years old with three children. My grandfather worked in the mines in Lefke. A heavy object fell on his leg and broke and severed it. The amputated the leg but it became gangrenous and he died very young. Thus my grandmother became a widow. She had three children, my aunt, who was older than my mother and my uncle, who was younger than my mother. She had an estate and was sufficiently well off but she couldn't manage it so she transferred it to her sibling. Her siblings family spent it all. She had to work after that so she went to Nicosia. She didn't get married again. She was a cook in the Turkish embassy. At that time people came from Palestine and Lebanon and married girls here and took them back with them. At one point my grandmother must have been going through a hard time because she married off both my aunt and my mother.

143 **[0:18:06] [Speaker: Mrs. Miss]** We don't know if
144 she received any money for this. Some sources say that the girls were sold to the Arabs.

145

 MEANING~ #40 (132:13)

 ACTION~ #42 (142:14)

146 **[0:18:14] [Speaker: M. S.]** If she had received money nothing in her life really changed. She kept working in Nicosia.

147

148 **[Unintelligible, Crosstalk]**

149

150 **[0:19:08] [Speaker: Ms. S]** My grandmother was a cook at the Turkish embassy. There was one ambassdor that was sent to Jerusalem. He liked my grandmother so much that she sat and ate with them at the same table. He took her with him. When she was there she went to my mother's house. Of my mother's possessions there was only a wardrobe left. They had orange groves but as they develop the same way as we do here most of the orange trees had been cut down.

151

152 **[0:20:00] [Part Ends]**

153

154 **[PART III]**

155

156 **[0:00:07] [Speaker: Miss S]** My brother was born in '41. He was born over there (Palestine). There is another thing prior to that. My mother had two children that died.

157

158 **[0:00:17] [Speaker: Ms. S]** Before my father married her, she was taken away by someone else. She had two children from that marriage.

159

160 **[0:00:26] [Speaker: Miss S]** Since she came here in '49 my mother stayed there for 10 years.

161

162 **[0:00:17] [Speaker: Ms. S]** My mother's husband died and my father also had had a wife who had died. My father's aunt liked my mother very much and told her that they would not just send her away so easily. So my parents got married. The two girls from my mother's previous marriage had fallen ill and died.

163

164 **[0:00:56] [Speaker: Mrs. Sevel]** When the war started in '48 between the Jews and the Arabs they decided to come here and wait until the situation improved to go back. As a result they were never able to go back.

165

166 **[Unintelligible, Crosstalk]**

167

168 **[0:01:46] [Speaker: Male Voice]** Those rumours of the girls being sold to Arabs. I think that's wrong.

169

170 [0:01:57] [Speaker: Altogether] We don't know if
money changed hands. We never found out.

171

172 [Unintelligible, Crosstalk]

173

174 [0:02:34] [Speaker: Male Voice] It was most
probably a dowry payment.

175

176 [0:02:37] [Speaker: Miss S] Most probably.

177 [Unintelligible, Crosstalk]

178

179 [0:03:23] [Part Ends]

180

[PART IV]

181

182

183

184

185 [0:00:16] [Speaker: M. S.] There is a real
difference between the one made in a mixer and the
one made by hand...

 LABOR~ #50 (185:185)

186

187 [Unintelligible, Crosstalk]

188

189 [0:00:28] [Speaker: Male Voice] You remember the
bowl don't you. The aluminium bowl and pommel?

 WORK~ #51 (189:193)

190

191 [0:00:34] [Speaker: M. S.] It wasn't
aluminium. It was copper.

192

193 [0:00:38] [Speaker Miss S] It was quite heavy.

194

195 [Unintelligible, Crosstalk]

196

196 [0:00:45] [Speaker: Miss S] It wasn't possible
to make sliced bread. You had to make the village
bread there. Slices of bread would be sold with the
soup.

 LABOR~ #52 (197:201)

198

199 [Unintelligible, Crosstalk]

200

200 [0:01:52] [Speaker: M. S.] So should we
start with the ingredients? Of course you need garlic...

201

202 [0:01:54] [Speaker: Miss S] Mr. Okan, this is
203 all in the book. I wrote down the recipe.

 IDENTITY #53 (203:203)

204

204 [0:02:02] [Speaker: Mrs. M. S.] You need to soak
205 the humus overnight. That's essential. The chickpeas
need to be soaked and they need to absorb the water
well so they can cook properly and so that you can
grind them easily later. If they are crunchy it won't be

 LABOR~ #54 (205:209)

tasty. They are then boiled very well. When you're making soup you have to keep the fire going consistently. It has to be hot and you must use a lot of water. We would use that water constantly. The bread would be cut into croutons. You put them on a plate and soak them with some of the chickpea water together with some lemon and salt. Afterwards you serve the slightly watery humus over it. It's that simple. It wasn't a complicated process.

206

207 **[Unintelligible, Crosstalk]**

208

209 **[0:03:07] [Speaker: M. S.]** You crush the garlic and the salt well. Then you add the chickpeas together with the tahini and lemon. You crush them as well. As I said, that's it. There's nothing else you need to do. You can add cured dried meat and parsley parsley if you like. You can fry the meat and add it to the soup. We would serve it with toasted bread and a little bit of olive oil.

210

211 **[Unintelligible, Crosstalk]**

212

213 **[0:04:33] [Speaker: Mrs. Sevel]** When you turn in from the street next to your house there was a bakery there. No it wasn't Derviş's bakery. Derviş's bakery was further ahead. Even before Fetih. It was in the little street where Irfan the sweet maker's father was. The bakery was there.

 DOMAIN~ #55 (213:213)

214

215 **[Unintelligible, Crosstalk]**

216

217 **[0:05:45] [Speaker: Mrs. Sevel]** ...we would get our bread from there. The bread was hot so our hands got burnt. The baker would put my father's bread in a [Unintelligible] and bring them to us.

 IDENTITY #56 (217:217)

218

219 **[0:05:54] [Speaker: Ms. S]** We wouldn't venture further than that road where the shoe shops were.

 DOMAIN~ #57 (219:219)

220

221 **[Unintelligible, Crosstalk]**

222

223 **[0:07:24] [Speaker: Mrs. Sevel]** I don't know if you know this but all the shopkeepers kept their doors open. Even if they were going to go to the mosque. They would leave a chair at an angle at the entrance of the shop and go about their business. The same would be done in people's houses.

 IDENTITY #58 (223:225)

224

225 **[0:07:52] [Speaker: Key Informant]** They told us about the chairs like this; if the chair was place in a

certain way it meant that the shopkeeper was resting inside and that they did not want to be disturbed. Also if there was a writing place outside like, "I'll be back in 5 minutes" and if they were at the mosque the five minutes would mean the five minutes would start after the call to prayer.

226

227 [Unintelligible, Crosstalk]

228

229 [0:08:28] [Speaker: Male Voice] It was like a village. There were only 2000 people. 7000 voters. Everybody knew each other. Back then we only had two thieves. Whenever anything was stolen the police would go and get them.

 DOMAIN~ #59 (229:229)

230

231 [Unintelligible, Crosstalk]

232

233 [0:09:18] [Speaker: Male Voice] When did he (Sr. S) die?

234

235 [0:09:19] [Speaker: Altogether] '78.

236

237 [0:09:21] [Speaker: Male Voice] I was 18 years old. I don't really remember. I don't remember a specific instance involving him.

238

239 [0:09:40] [Speaker: Mr. T] The are my neighbours actually. We were in different streets back then but we still count as neighbours. Do you remember anything about the neighbourhood. It was a lovely neighbourhood. The old town hall building was there. The first council housing was around there. Do you remember any of the neighbours?

 DOMAIN~ #60 (239:2)

 WORK~ #79 (239:239)

240

241 [0:10:14] [Speaker: Miss S] The late Tulin lived there, again, our classmate. Gecko Kemal's daughter. They lived directly across the street from us. Mrs. Fatma had 5 girls and 1 son and my mother had 5 girls and 1 son and we were all peers. Fokin was there also.

 DOMAIN~ #80 (241:2)

 LABOR~ #63 (241:245)

242

243 [0:10:41] [Speaker: Male Voice] They had 4 sons and 1 daughter didn't they?

244

245 [0:10:42] [Speaker: Miss S] 5 girls and 1 boy. You remember the late Tünay? Oh Fokin had 1 daughter; Emine. There was Başı the Kebab shop owner.

246

247 [Unintelligible, Crosstalk]

248

249 [0:11:24] [Speaker: Mrs. Sevel] Ok. Safiye's

family lived there. Her mother and her elder sisters.
Her sisters all got married and went to Australia and
England. Only Safiye stayed.

250

251 **[Unintelligible, Crosstalk] [talking about other
people that may or may not have lived in that
neighbourhood]**

252

253 **[0:13:11] [Part Ends]**

254

255

[PART V]

256

257 **[0:00:00] [Speaker: Key Informant]** Were there
Turkish and Greek representatives in the
municipality?

 ACTION~ #64 (257:261)

258

259 **[0:00:05] [Speaker: Mr. T]** We
separated in '57. It was a joint operation up to then.

260

261 **[0:00:13] [Speaker: Ms. S]** It was a Greek
municipality. I mean the mayor was Greek.

262

263 **[0:00:13] [Speaker: Woman's voice]** That's why
they said it was a Greek town hall.

 MEANING~ #65 (263:26)

264

265 **[Unintelligible, Crosstalk]**

266

267 **[0:00:27] [Speaker: Mr. T]** There were
constant complaints in the press that Varosha was
prioritised and that we didn't care about the center of
Famagusta and we didn't provide enough service.

 ACTION~ #66 (267:267)

268

269 **[0:00:38] [Speaker: Mrs. Ms. S]** I think that
after that the first Turkish Mayor was Manyera,
wasn't he?

270

271 **[0:00:49] [Speaker: Mrs. Sevel]** No. First it was
Mr. Naim.

272

273 **[0:00:54] [Speaker: Mr. T]** Manyera
was the director of [Unintelligible] government
institution.[Unintelligible]

274

275 **[Unintelligible, Crosstalk]**

276

277 **[0:02:22] [Part Ends]**

278

279

[PART VI]

280

281 **[0:00:00] [Speaker: Ms. S]** There was
Gani.

 DOMAIN~ #67 (281:285)

282

283 [0:00:04] [Speaker: Male voice] Gani is still alive.
284
285 [0:00:08] [Speaker: Mrs. Sevel] He had a lovely
shop selling porcelain in front of my father's place.
Further down Tahir had a grocery. [Unintelligible,
Crosstalk] There was uncle Fadil. You know him.
He was a neighbour to our shop. There was also a
bicycle shop.
286
287 [0:01:13] [Speaker: Male voice] Where was your
shop?
288
289 [0:01:16] [Speaker: Mrs. Sevel] As I said, my
father moved his shop to different locations.
290
291 [0:01:21] [Speaker: Male voice] Where was this
shop you are speaking about?
292 [0:01:23] [Speaker: Mrs. Sevel] This one was the
one he opened next to the barbers.
293
294 [Unintelligible]
295
296 [0:01:37] [Speaker: Ms. S] ... yes bring it. I
would like that very much.
297
298 [0:01:39] [Speaker: Mrs. Sevel] What?
299
300 [0:01:40] [Speaker: Ms. S] The owner of
the bicycle shop's son was a classmate of ours,
Alkan. He then left for England. He returned
apparently. Is he in Nicosia?
301
302 [Unintelligible, Crosstalk]
303
304 [0:01:57][Speaker: M. S.] ... there was Foki.
There was uncle Mehmet the carpenter.
305
306 [0:02:06][Speaker: Male voice] Do you remeber my
father?
307
308 [0:02:07][Speaker: M. S.] Of course, I
remember. But you came later on, didn't you? In '68?
It seems like it was before that.
309
310 [0:02:19][Speaker: Male voice] We opened up in
'68. It was even on the 29th March, on my trouser
day.
311
312 [0:02:28][Speaker: Mrs. Sevel] No, I don't
remember because I graduated from highschool in
'67. When I left for university I lost contact a bit.
And then I started working in Nicosia.

 IDENTITY #68 (310:310)

313

314 [Unintelligible, Crosstalk]

315

316 [0:03:13][Speaker: Mrs. Sevel] There were also Ice-cream shops. There was uncle Ahmet. There was uncle Mustafa. One of them sold rose ice-cream and the other milk and curd. I just remembered them.

 DOMAIN~ #69 (316:318)

317

318 [0:03:34][Speaker: Ms. S] Uncle Ali the youghurt maker.

319

320 [Unintelligible, Crosstalk]

321

322 [0:03:50][Speaker: Key Informant] Friends, just a moment. I'd like to ask a question. There was a certain way of inviting people to memorial services (mawlid). Could you tell us about that?

323

324 [0:03:34][Speaker: Mr. S. a] There was an older woman called Münüfe. She would go from door to door for weddings and memorial services. She would speak very fast and say such and such's daughter is doing so and so in this location.

 IDENTITY #70 (324:32)

325

326 [0:04:25][Speaker: Mrs. Sevel] She would send the regards of different people. Such and such sends their regards, so and so sends their regards. For example, she would say, "So and so has a wedding or memorial service on Thursday at such and such a time, you are welcome.". She was Sıtkı the Barber's mother.

 LABOR~ #71 (326:330)

327

328 [0:04:44] [Speaker: Male voice] Did she get paid to do this?

329

330 [0:04:46][Speaker: Mrs. Sevel] Yes. She would go around announcing these things.

331 [0:04:59] [Part Ends]

332

[PART VII]

333

334

335 [0:00:00][They repeat their names. All begin with "S"]

336

337 [Unintelligible, Crosstalk]

338

339 [0:00:29][Speaker: M. S.] ... they gave me two names K. and M. S. . M. S. to match their (my sister's) names and K. was my grandmother's name. They are both official.

340

341 [0:00:42] [Speaker: Male voice] Your brother's

name starts with an “S” also. He is Mr. S. .

342

343 **[0:00:46][Speaker: Mr. S.]** My father is Seyit
and my mother is Şöhret. All our names start with
“S”.

344

345 **[Unintelligible, Crosstalk]**

346

347 **[0:01:17][Speaker: Mrs. Sevel]** Thank you very
much for having us.

348

349 **[0:01:23][Speaker: Key Informant]** We also thank
you very much. You have honoured us. As a
tradition we always have a group photograph taken.
So let us all move over here. You say coffee but the
coffee arrived late so...

350

351 **[0:01:51] [Speaker: Male voice]** Kutlu, let's take the
photo with the coffee.

352

353 **[0:01:54][Speaker: Key Informant]** Ok let's take
our coffee but we'll do the photo also. Let's move
over here.

354

355 **[0:02:14] [Part Ends]**

Appendix E: Transcript P6 Özgür

- 3 [0:00:00] [Speaker: Dr. Özgür] ...then he thought about what could be the profession that suited him best and he decided to get into trade. He reasoned that he had barley and wheat and buy this and that from here and there with the money he had or with loans and put the goods in the shop and sell them. So that's how the story of Feed Dealer Kasým started.
- 4 My father had a close friend, uncle Atif. Some of you might know him. He is from Vadili and he lived within walled city in Famagusta. He couldn't leave because they had shot at him in the village. My father said, "Akif, let's open this shop together." Uncle Akif said, "Özgür, you have a lot of children and I'm well off financially, I still earn from the village. You manage the shop on your own." So my father started the shop on his own. Let me tell you about the feed product as I'm already talking about this anecdote. What did he have available, what did he sell, what did he buy, where did he buy it from? Well, we have already said that he brought the barley and wheat from the village. Back then there was a Greek factory in Varosha that did [mahmulya] called Provida. It was before you turn towards the Turkish Maarif College where there is a semi-roundabout. Half of it is on our side and the other half of it is in the restricted zone. When you turned right from that roundabout you would reach Provida. Provida produced animal feed and sold it and distributors like my father would buy from them.
- 5 What did it produce? For example, cow feed. They were bigger than usual. There was also chicken feed and that was smaller. The feed they produced for the chicks was similar to flour. Some people would buy these products by the kilo and others would buy the product in sacks. It was sold both ways. In those days people in Famagusta had a need for meat and chicken products. It wasn't easy. People got by on 30 Cyprus Pounds, that was the average salary. At one point everybody started to keep chicks in their house. They would mature in around 2 months. The chicks would come from the Agricultural College farm in Beyarmudu. There was an old man named Mustafako, he would bring them to my father because my father had to live within the walls for four years. He was only able to live the walled city after '68. Why? Due

 LABOR~ #1 (4:4)

 LABOR~ #73 (5:5)

 DOMAIN~ #3 (5:5)
 WORK~ #4 (5:5)

to that incident. If he left he could have been caught again. They brought many things to him like this. He would sell the animal feed and the chicks and everyone would buy the chicks 25 or 50 at a time and keep them in their houses. They would satisfy their need for chicken and meat in this way. My father made had a two-way income like this. He would sell the chicks and then he would sell the feed.

MEANING~ #71 (5:5)

LABOR~ #5 (5:5)

- 6 What else would Özgür Ađa do? He would buy Burçak, Vigo and Haveta from the producers because the breeders would use them as a good source of protein. They call these products “feed” in Turkey. I heard somewhere that they had Haveta in Turkey also. He would obtain them. If he acquired them for 7 kurush he would sell them for 8 kurush. He bought the barley from control. The government then established the control in Varosha. There was no inflation back then so he didn't have large profit margins. Money had a set value.

LABOR~ #72 (6:6)

LABOR~ #74 (6:7)

- 7 Later my father expanded from being a shopkeeper to trading. He traded animal feed. There was a certain feed we call “cotton bitta” made from the seed of the cotton plant. He started dealing that in sacks. Afterwards, there was a man called Cemal Madi, you know, he used to have a store on the port road. He was an entrepreneur that would import anything and keep it in his store. When you entered the store it wasn't attractive or anything but he understood trading and import-export. Anyway, he found “cotton bitta” even though he wasn't connected to the animal production business and it was hard for him to sell it. He contacted my father and gave all of the 7 tons of it to him for a small profit. My father was worried at first. My father, like me, always liked to play it safe. He didn't like adventures in trading or anything else. After selling it he got a little more confident and started to think about how he could do this again. Now the late Necati Kaya – the father of our Oktay and Hüseyin Kaya – was dealing in the metal business and knew arabic. My father went to him as they were friends and asked him how they could do this animal feed trading. My father didn't have a trading and paperwork background of course. Mr. Necati told him that he would handle the correspondence for him. So he did that and we got our first 50 ton load from Beirut, Lebanon. These goods were brought from Lebanon with the help of a man called Kandu who was a muslim Arab and he would receive his money

LABOR~ #9 (7:7)

IDENTITY #10 (7:7)

ACTION~ #11 (7:7)

LABOR~ #75 (7:7)

in an account in the Turk Bank here and he would withdraw it and then go and load the goods into old rickety 50-100 ton ships and arrive in the Famagusta port in 3 days. After the goods arrived my father would take them from customs and sell them and then he would deposit the necessary amount into the Turk Bank.

 WORK~ #13 (7:7)

- 8 Even though my father was careful he experienced two interesting incidents that made him panic a little. One of these was when one of the ships sank. My father was notified that his ship had sunk off the coast of Derinya. It was around '68-'69. So the Turk Bank said that they would cover his losses. So the load was ordered again and a ship was dispatched for this. This was one of the most interesting things that happened to him during his trading experience. The other was that a mouth disease was going around the animals in those years. The Greek government, well Cypriot government back then stopped all the animal feed coming from the Mediterranean arc; Syria, Israel, Lebanon, Egypt including Turkey. So our ship that had just set out had to return. The shipment had been paid for because when the ship set out we had announced its departure. Those who deal with trading will know that once this announcement is made your money is withdrawn from the bank. So the shipment had been abandoned and we didn't know what to do because we couldn't obtain the goods to sell them and my father was at a loss. The late Kaya came to our aid. They went together to Beirut and found the merchant and he said that he could not purchase the goods because he would not be able to profit from them but that he would do them a favour because they had been doing business together for so long. So he gave them a warehouse. And they stored the goods in the warehouse. When the ban lifted 3 or four months later they brought the shipment back. So my father had two trading mishaps like that.

 ACTION~ #76 (7:8)

 ACTION~ #15 (8:8)

 WORK~ #16 (8:8)

- 9 In later years feed trader Kasým would import salt. He would bring salt from the salt lake in Larnaka (which we called Iskele back then) and there were Turkish porters at the salt lake that would put the salt into sacks for my father to bring back with him. We had a grinder and we would grind this salt for use in the making of hellim and olives. It was too coarse to use as table salt. He also provided charcoal for the kebab restaurants. The charcoal would arrive from the villages and he would distribute it. He did this until

 LABOR~ #17 (9:9)

 WORK~ #18 (9:9)

1974. Now I would like to show you the photos.
We've been talking quite a bit.

10 [Photo 1] This is my father towards the end of the 60's.

11 [Photo 2] This is my father when he was still young. The person next to him is Ismet Tayfur. He's my mother's uncle's son on her mother's side. Ismet Tayfur is Çavuş (sargent) Ismail's son. Çavuş Ismail is my mother's uncle. They probably took this photo at Yenikapý. I added this to the phto's of my childhood.

12 [Photo 3] The family photo. I'm the little one. I have 8 siblings. 5 girls and 4 boys. In '58 my father went for military training to Antalya. One day the commander lined everybody up and everyone was to say where they were from and so forth. When it was my father's turn and he mentioned that he had nine children the commander shouted at him "You've already done enough. What are you doing here?".

13 I want to move onto our shopkeeper neighbors. I've been going on about us, it's not really fair.

14 So back then Kasým's shop was in front of the mosque next to where D&B is now I think. There was a coffee shop in front of it owned by uncle Behiç who I will now tell you about. Uncle Behiç's coffee shop was a very important place for me because I would go there and drink water and see everyone. Uncle Behiç is from Kuruođlan. When you looked at him he seemed stern but he had a very good heart and was a good person. He would primarily run the coffee house but he also produced coffee, a brand called Behiç Emirali coffee. There were only three places that made coffee back then; uncle Behiç's, Hasan Said's father's Göçmen coffee house and later Ahmet Baþman had a place in front of the Bandabuliya. I don't remember any others. Uncle Behiç would roast his coffee at home but he would grind it in the shop. The coffee house would have a great smell of coffee. I would help my father in the shop but when there was nothing to do I would hang out over there. I'd watch the backgammon and checkers games being played. One time I interrupted a game without permission. There was an old man called uncle Murat, a dark fellow. He turned to me and said, "Look at me

 LABOR~ #19 (12:12)

 WORK~ #77 (14:14)

 DOMAIN~ #21 (14:14)

 IDENTITY #22 (14:14)

 LABOR~ #78 (14:14)

 LABOR~ #24 (14:14)

 DOMAIN~ #25 (14:14)

 IDENTITY #79 (14:14)

 ACTION~ #27 (14:14)

Kasým's son. When I don't do anything for 24 hour I at least get enough done that's about your size!". After that I never interrupted any games.

15 Uncle Behiç would buy thin paper and fold it to make his coffee packages. He would use an oval stamp to place his trademark on them. These came in different sizes. He would seal them with staples. Uncle Behiç had a round fridge where he'd put the sodas and water and then he'd place block ice on top that he would break down. The sodas back then were in bottles and both the sodas and the water would get cold. He'd serve water with each coffee of course. Later on uncle Behiç started to buy a lot of ice and sell it to other people. Because I used to help him sometimes he took me along with him to the ice factory to buy ice once. The ice factory was behind where the co-op sells their juices now. So we went there and bought 5-10 pieces of ice. When he brought them back he would cut them into quarter pieces and half pieces to sell them. People would also take them home with them. There were a couple of people who smoked hookas also. Uncle Halil and uncle Ahmet. I remember them smoking very clearly.

 LABOR~ #28 (15:15)

 WORK~ #80 (15:15)

 LABOR~ #31 (15:15)

 IDENTITY #81 (15:16)

16 All the shops were in a row. If we are to start from the square there was the Canbulat radio and below it was Standard's coffee house; Standard Uncle Hüseyin. You know Standard Hüseyin. He was called that because his car was a Standard. Next to his coffee house he had a grocery store. He was busy in the coffee house so his wife would tend to the grocery store. I always remember her behind the counter, well dressed and well kempt. Next to them was Tinker uncle Kemal. - They're all passed now. There is nothing left of these people. You are doing a great thing here. Hopefully we will get to do a more comprehensive effort next year. We need to record all of this. When does a person die? A person dies the last time anyone remembers them. So we've talked about my father today so my father lives on. But one day will come when Mr. Kasým will not be remembered and that day will be the day he dies. This is a way to keep our people alive. - Tinker Kemal would work on the bases. In 1958-'59 most of our artisans worked on the bases. When they didn't have work on the bases they worked in their shops. Tinker Kemal worked i two different ways. I watched him a lot and he never was bothered about me watching him. He would either build something from scratch

 WORK~ #32 (16:16)

 WORK~ #33 (16:16)

 IDENTITY #82 (16:16)

 MEANING~ #35 (16:16)

 WORK~ #36 (16:16)

 IDENTITY #83 (16:16)

 WORK~ #84 (16:16)

but cutting and shaping the tin into a cylindrical form to make a tankard. He would build other items obviously; buckets and things. He would also modify oil barrels and other objects made out of tin which was easier. These he would sell for cheaper prices. Next to him was Barber Mustafa. Barber Mustafa's shop was a very important meeting place. Hasan the Barber was his apprentice. He's still alive and he has his own place. I was a child around 10 back then. Most of the 25 year olds in Famagusta would meet up at Mustafa's shop. They would have their coffee, get a haircut and have conversations. We would get our hair cut there too. He had an electrical hair cutter (shaver). This might seem funny to you. Back then those cutters were mostly manual. He had hydraulic chairs. It was a very modern set up for those days. Next to him, as we now approach my father's shop was Salih's textile shop. Salih was adopted because his father was never able to have any children. Salih later moved to Nicosia, he didn't stay here that long. Salih left in '67-'68. After he left Mustafa Latifođlu came from Lapta and opened a lumber shop. He had an apprentice who was my age, the late Ali Kemal Lord. He died in London. Then next to that Gazi had a hummus shop. And finally there was my father's shop. After '74 the feed business stopped and it became a grocery. The animal feed shop did better business than the grocery store. On the other side of my father's shop uncle Kadri had a place. He's the dentist Fehmi Tuncer's uncle on his mother's side. He had a grocery store that he later moved to the port road. After that shop there was a Palestinian who had a hummus shop and also made soup, uncle Sayit. Then after he vacated uncle Halil opened a Television shop and he remained there for years. He had an apprentice called Erman Sever who is in Australia now, he taught me how to play backgammon.

 DOMAIN~ #39 (16:16)

 IDENTITY #40 (16:1

 WORK~ #41 (16:16)

 DOMAIN~ #42 (16:16)

 LABOR~ #85 (16:16)

 DOMAIN~ #44 (16:16)

 IDENTITY #45 (16:16)

17 [Unintelligible][Crosstalk]

18 After 1974 that shop was taken over by Mr. Sadyk, who was a Bahai from Turkey. He made cassette tapes. The last shop of the row was Carpenter Kemals showroom where he displayed furniture. I think I've gone on too much about the shops. I think we should maybe talk about the neighbours who lived around the area.

19 Our house was on the barracks (Kýpla) road. The barracks road started from the Venetian barracks and

 DOMAIN~ #46 (19:19)

continued past the fountain due north. So you pass the Cafer Pasha Baths, the Gazi Primary School and you keep going even past the bakery. On the right there's a small house and my brother lived there with my two sisters as students. My other brother and I moved in with him and later on my mother and father moved in also. There was a living room below that my father used as a bedroom and above the boys slept in a room on one side and the girls slept in a room on the other side. So we lived there in sort of cramped conditions. Back then families sacrificed a lot for each other and supported each other very much. I'll give you an example. Çavuş İsmail, who's my mother's uncle, took my elder brother in and my brother spent all of his educational life with them. He had 10 children and took my brother in too. We also took a child in from the village called Özer. Özer stayed with us for a year. Back then people were more giving. I don't know if people would do that now.

 WORK~ #86 (19:19)

 MEANING~ #48 (19:1)

 IDENTITY #87 (19:19)

- 20 Right in front of our house was uncle Hasan Kürpat; the late Akýn's father, Çetin Kürpat's father. He was a police officer, he had a single star back then. His wife was a teacher. There was a kindergarden there. She worked there for a while. Her youngest daughter, Sevim, is the assistant rector in İefke now. Vecihe, Esin and Melahat were the other daughters. They all live abroad now, except for Sevim. Next to them was the house of Fenerciođullary. Yýldýray, Saldýray, Sevinç, Zeki and their youngest Hulusi. Only Saldýray and Hulusi are alive now. Zeki had a medical condition regarding his legs. The only television was in Hasan Kürpat's house. We all watched television there. They would help Zeki over because his legs were in a cast. Next to the house of Fenerciođullary was Mrs. Rukiye's house.

 WORK~ #50 (20:20)

 DOMAIN~ #51 (20:20)

 IDENTITY #52 (20:20)

- 21 [00:39:39] What was your mother's name?

- 22 [00:39:40] My mother's name was Derviþe. She used to work before coming to Famagusta but after she arrived here she would put her bag on her arm and go around visiting the people she liked. One day I asked her about how she went visiting all these people without previously giving notice – we didn't make appointments back then – she said, “Son, there are many doors and I knock on them, if someone's home I'll go in if nobody is home I'll move onto the next one. There are many people we know. Don't worry

 IDENTITY #53 (22:22)

 DOMAIN~ #54 (22:22)

about it.”

- 23 So the late Suna was the classmate of my late elder sister Türkay. Mrs. Suna was very clever and my sister wasn't so bad also. They were best of friends but they had this friendly competitive thing between them. Mehmet Niyazi was also very clever. They were all very clever. Next to them was the uncle Ahmet the Kebab maker.
- 24 [Unintelligible][Crosstalk]
- 25 [00:41:52] Most importantly, in front of them was uncle Mustakya's house. Why was he important? Because he was part of the history of Famagusta. None of these people are left anymore. Master Havva left us a little early. She was a very respectable person and looked after herself very well. Remember we said that Hasan Kürpat had the only television? Well uncle Mustakya had the only telephone in the neighbourhood in his house. My sister would call us from Nicosia and my mother and I would run to uncle Mustakya's house to talk to my sister. Because my sister couldn't come to see us from Nicosia and we couldn't go and visit her either. Those years were problematic as you know. So we kept in contact with uncle Mustakya telephone.
- 26 [00:43:03] You couldn't call directly in those days. You had to call the central and you also had to know Greek. You then had to ask to be connected to the number you were trying to call and only then would they connect you. Then you would have to wait for 15 minutes to half an hour before you could talk to whoever you were trying to call.
- 27 [00:43:24] Yes, as we have limited time I would like to move onto the photographs. MASDER didn't give me enough time.
- 28 [Unintelligible][Crosstalk]
- 29 [Talk Starts here]
- 30 [00:44:07] [Speaker: Key Informant] While talking about the Canbulat, Lion's Head and Sütakan we realized that we had started to talk about the characters around Famagusta. So we are not just talking about the stories that were born from the historical texture and how people interacted with it but also the characters themselves and the streets.

 WORK~ #55 (25:25)

 IDENTITY #88 (25:25)

 MEANING~ #57 (25:25)

What the streets had, who lived where. As a result we have achieved a larger variation of stories from Famagusta. Our guest of honour today is our optometrist Dr. Özgür also known as Özgür. I first met him as Özgür in the final year of high-school and he was around the age of the first year of secondary school. I have an anecdote of when I was about to graduate. Of course, there was going to be a ceremony and certificates of achievement were to be handed out, and then they introduced the highest averaging student in the school and a little boy went up to the podium and it turned out to be Özgür. He always got a full GPA. That event allowed me to get to know Özgür who was a successful student, is now a successful person and a Famagusta native. I don't want to go on. I would like him to tell us about Famagusta from his own perspective.

31

32 [00:44:07] Thank you Key Informant. First of all, I consider this compilation of stories that MASDER is putting together as a really important work for the coming generations. However as the meetings are during work hours I have not been able to attend but I am following the events. I would like to thank all the MASDER directors for making this possible and I would like to especially thank Key Informant for his anecdote of the 1967-1968 academic year.

33 So Özgür, me, and my father are actually from Sandarlarlı but Sandarlarlı is a small village 10 miles north-west of Famagusta. How did we become rooted as Famagusta native? Well there is a little story about that. Let me tell you about it to start with. I was in the third year of primary school. Unfortunately our teachers spouse left because they couldn't stay in the village. After the 21st of December they left the village together and we were left without a teacher. We didn't do anything for three weeks. So, my father decided that this wouldn't do and that he would send us to school in Famagusta. One day I saw my late sister Türkay, may she rest in peace, ironing my trousers. There was no real need for the trousers to be ironed when you were in the village. She said, "Do you know why I'm ironing your trousers Özgür?" - back then they pronounced my name with an "s" - Özgür, some people still do actually - I replied that I had no idea and she said that they would take us to

 LABOR~ #58 (33:33)

Famagusta the next day to stay with them and that we would go to school there. My elder brother was a teacher in the Canbulat school and my three elder sisters were attending the Namýk Kemal High-School. They were staying on a small house in Kýpla street at number 28. This house belonged to Stingy uncle Polat. Don't mind my calling him stingy but in the old days people would either be named according to their professions or a special characteristic they had or a personal physical defect like if they were blind or crippled. My father was known as Feed dealer Kasým. We arrived in Famagusta on the 12th January 1964 and I started school at the Canbulat Primay school on the 13th January 1964 – I remeber this day clearly as it was a very important day in my life. When Mr. Serdar called me, I thought about the bits and pieces I remembered about Famagusta even before I moved to Famagusta, what I knew about Famagusta. I knew it was a big city where people did their shopping. I had measels when I was 5 or 6 years old. My mother brought me to Famagusta on the village bus to get a check-up. Back then our house wasn't on Kýpla street but they rented a place belonging to the Kebab maker uncle Ahmet. She took me there and I had my check-up and we returned to the village the next day. There was a shepard in our village called uncle Hüseyin, he was missing an eye so they called him blind Hüseyin – this should be around 1962 if I'm not mistaken – he came to the village in a panic and said, “I went to Famagusta and I nearly lost my way!”. They asked him what happened and he said that they had changed the Famagusta gate so much that he almost didn't recognize it. I think they made a new road entering Famagusta and he didn't recognize it so he gave us this news in a big panic. So anyway, I started school in the Canbulat Primary School in Famagusta where my elder brother was a teacher. It took me a while to get used to this new environment, it wasn't easy. Let me tell you about the Canbulat Primary School. Our headmaster was Mr. Kemal – sorry, first it was Mr. Niyazi, Mr. Kemal became headmaster the following year. Mr. Niyazi he was the grandfather of one of our ministers. He was a serious and tough looking headmaster. We were very afraid of him. After Mr. Kemal became the headmaster what I remember was that he establishe the Canbulat radio. All the people involved in the radio were teachers from the school. There was Mr. Kemal, our late teacher Hasan Kahraman who was actually dealt with the technical

 IDENTITY #59 (33:33)

 DOMAIN~ #89 (33:33)

 IDENTITY #61 (33:33)

 DOMAIN~ #63 (33:33)

 WORK~ #62 (33:33)

 ACTION~ #64 (33:33)

aspects of the radio, my brother Master Ali Kasým was a commentator and he did the announcements between programs, the late Master Nazým who had been my teacher produced programs. These people ran the Canbulat radio and every morning they would go to the radio station and work there for an hour or an hour and a half and then they'd come to school all together and teach. There were other people in the Canbulat radio of course. What did we do in the Canbulat Primary School? Well, you know that in those years we were quite concealed and there was always some type of uneasiness going on. It was wartime. One of the games we would play was "little war". On both sides of the entrance of the Canbulat Primary School there were fences with bushes. We would hide in the bushes and have these toy weapons made out of wood and elastic bands and shoot at each other. In our PE lessons we would play football, volleyball, dogeball etc. We also had an agriculture class. In this agriculture class we would plant things in the school yard depending what our teacher instructed us to do. Things like lettuce, spring onions, turnips, parsley, coriander etc. I have a memory I would like to put on the record. The responsible teacher for the agriculture lesson was my brother Master Ali Kasým. So he made an effort not to be in my classes due to ethical issues. He only taught me in agriculture for a year and another year he was my PE teacher. The produce we obtained from what we sowed in the agriculture lesson would be sold back to us very cheaply (2 kurush) because there was a shortage of greens in Famagusta.

 MEANING~ #90 (33:3)

 IDENTITY #66 (33:33)

 DOMAIN~ #67 (33:33)

 LABOR~ #68 (33:33)

34 [Jump cut]

35 [00:57:11] ... he stayed in the village with my mother but he suffered an incident with civilian Greeks with guns where they tried to arrest him on the 8th August 1964. He was very lucky – getting caught was obviously unlucky but that evening he was let go and that was a very lucky thing, you know because those who were caught were usually never seen again – this happened like so; my uncle went out on his motorcycle and informed Famagusta that his brother-in-law got caught by 20 Greeks with weapons and Ahmet Sami and the authorities back then invited the UN to Sandarlarlý. They said that such and such has happened to our Sandarlarlý Kasým Ali go and investigate. Interestingly enough the UN for the first time to our knowledge – maybe they were doing so

 ACTION~ #69 (35:35)

but we never knew about it – went and met with the Greek police sergeant and asked about Sandarlalý Kasým Ali being arrested. The police sergeant said that he knew about it and that he was under his supervision and that there was a problem so they were investigating. As the police officer said this on the record my father's life was saved. If there hadn't had such a record it would have been easy for the Greeks to kill my father. So they let him go. My father couldn't stay in the village anymore so he came here. Well Kasým Ali as he was known back then was involved in farming [Jump cut]

 MEANING~ #70 (35:3)

- 36 [00:59:08]...he started bringing barley and wheat from the village.
- 37 [End of video]

Appendix F: Story Key

Map Number	Quote
1	<p>One day we were returning from school and when we came to the door we realised it was closed. What were we going to do? How were we going to get home? There were these 5th and 6th year students (our elders) and they said that they would climb through the grills. They managed to get down. They were slightly bigger than us and these grills were 1.5-2 meters up. They managed to get down from there using the corners of the walls somehow and went home. They returned with some rope. They threw it down to us. One by one, we tied ourselves to the rope and they pulled us up through the grill and let us down on the other side.</p> <p>[0:07:52] [Speaker: Man to the left of Mr. Ahmet (right of screen)] So you managed to get home?</p> <p>[0:07:53] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet] Yes. As I was descending (I was probably a bit scared), instead of saying, "Lower the rope" I shouted, "Give me rope, give me rope" and the rope broke. So I fell to the ground.</p>
2	<p>...that young man was from Mersin but he had come to Cyprus a long time ago and had settled. He was going to get married. So about Tarzan, I'm talking about 1966. Tarzan was brought up to that Kara Kapısı and was thrown off from the gate with his hands and feet tied in chains. They tried to make it look like he tried to run from the police. He went to the Greek police in order to take refuge. This was a few weeks after he was paraded around town. The Greek police accepted him. They kept him away from the Turks. From that moment on he started to send information to us. The saboteurs would use the information he sent. The headquarters for the saboteur team was what is now used as changing rooms for Türk Gücü. In order to become a saboteur you needed to have physical prowess, you needed to be strong, you needed to be agile. Not everybody could be a saboteur. Therefore, most of the members of the saboteur team were the football players in Türk Gücü. They already had physical training and were strong.</p>
3	<p>Many of those books are missing. However, I can guess who smuggled those books. It would be very wrong to name names here. They smuggled those books away. Mogabgab had a very large library. You know Mustafa, the sports shop? It used to be a warehouse for books. It was Mogabgab's book warehouse. It was full of books. In his apartment above he had a library. I spent a lot of time going through that library and everything in it.</p>

4	<p>At the very first embrasure you come to we were chasing a gecko. The gecko ran behind some plaster in the wall. He broke off the plaster with a rock. Lying there was a pouch full of gold. [0:03:45] [Speaker: Mr. Ahmet] Wow. I'm going to start following geckos from now on.[0:03:50][Speaker: Man to the left of Mr. Ahmet (right of screen)] We discovered a pouch full of gold. So, what is this? Similarly, in 1974, the Greeks would hide their valuables around Varosha intending to get them after they returned. It is said that these items are buried or hidden using a certain cypher like they used in ancient Egypt. As I said one of these was the pouch we found. There was nothing much left of the pouch but the thin pieces of gold were there alright.</p>
5	<p>The earth in the ditch was actually filled in later. They dug through the rock and built it later. The earth there was filled in afterwards. The reason that the trees collapse today is because there is no earth left that they can dig their roots in.</p>
6	<p>Galya's Bakery. You know Ahmet Yorgancıoğlu's house. You know, Boyalı Fatma (Colored/clourful Fatma).</p>
7	<p>I was born there.</p>
8	<p>Gazi School</p>
9	<p>Look- Hasan Dama, my aunt's son – not the Hasan Dama that you know who is my cousin, but the one who is his uncle. Do you know the house of Sinan the dentist?</p>
10	<p>He would take vegetables and such to Namık Kemal. Namık Kemal would plant flowers at the right side of the entrance of the barracks and would give hşm flowers in return.</p>
11	<p>Lover's Hill</p>
12	<p>When this Free Port situation was about to commence, Ahmet the American, started to collect signatures for a petition against the port. “They'll build the port and we'll lose our sea”. I signed it. He received a lot of criticism though. They told him that the port would lead to prosperity. Year later I realised that this man was an environmentalist. This man saw the damage that was going to be done years before anyone else realised it. He had lived in America and came back here. People didn't like him because he had views like this. If they had built the port in the other direction it would have been much better. That man rebelled against it and wasn't able to voice his opinion.</p>
13	<p>Which is this; it is said that if mothers who had just given birth and could not produce milk went to Süt Akan and rubbed the water on their breasts they would start to produce milk. This is a legend.</p>

14	On friday prayers and on the bayram prayers – you know where the muezzin is, it has a second level – that second level is where the muezzins would be on bayram. When we were in first year – in 1954 I was in the first year – we were obligated to go to the mosque on fridays up until we were in the first year of high school. The closed area was for women. But the young girls would go up to that second level where the muezzins were.
15	That story about the mothers; there use to be a fig tree at the Canbulat Gate and they would put some honey on the figs and put their hope in that.
16	After that was constructed - there was a fig tree there that had dried up, Hasan Iskeleli (Eşref's Uncle) and I planted a new fig tree in its place. It was around 1966. Together with Hasan Iskeleli we dug the earth and planted the fig tree.
17	The elders of of our neighbourhood later told us not to go from that route.
18	Ok master, but how beneficial can our work be when we uncover these things that are not added to the state's inventory? A while ago you mentioned the metal gate at the entrance of Famagust.
19	Evrin's(?) father, - you know the petrol station that used to be in Famagusta - Ali Dayı (Uncle Ali). He and Makarios are from the same village but because Makarios's mother died when he was at an ealy age and because they were the same age Uncle Ali's mother would breastfeed him too. It is also known that when Makarios was President he would invite Uncle Ali to the presidential palace and treat him like a brother. That's why he was able to get permission to open up a petrol station in Famagusta.
20	If you notice, on this façade of the walls [points at map] on the part you Mr. Bakri mentioned (Mr. Yusuf knows about this he can help us with it) there are vertical openings. Inside those walls there is a tunnel that traverses the whole length.
21	Türk Gücü's football pitch, in front of the church, where the building is. When we where making the extention on the Türk Gücü building we discovered which years fires broke out due to the layering of the earth. When we were building the Türk Gücü football pitch – because that area was used as a grave for those who had died in battle – we found many belt buckles that the Venetians would wear.
22	There are those who say that they were loaded on a boat from the Othello part of the castle. We know that Othello was the first tower constructed there. They were even using it as the port. There was an open part and it had a wall.
23	We would go down through the grill and door (in the ditch) and from there we would continue onto Gazi Primary School.... There are two doors you can climb out of the ditch from through grills.

24 When the builders were constructing these areas they made those indentations to make it look like the original structure. On the left hand side of one of those entrances you can see one of the original gates, The Asmalı Gate. They tried to make it look like it. When you look at them at a glance, the tourists cannot differentiate between them. They think it's new. Yeni Kapı was built after the 60's. The inside of it is all plastered with concrete. They can tell the difference there. However, the three gates made at the harbour and the Canbulat gate were made so well that you might think they were the original Venetian or Lusignan structures.

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This came up because – Mr. Mehmet will remember this well – a Spanish ship caught fire in front of Othello. It was carrying waste cloth...
[0:03:09][Speaker: Mr. Mehmet] Yes. The Benicassim.
[0:03:12] [Speaker: Man on the left of Mr. Mehmet] ...and there was paint on the ship so there were explosions. Pieces of burning cloth rained down into Famagusta. They had difficulty getting it out from there because the front of the ship was pointing towards land. I was very young then so I only remember it a little bit. It was after that that the discussion of the ships being turned around when they arrived into port came about.
[0:03:52][Speaker: Mr. Mehmet] When the Benicassim started burning the sulphur on board caught fire and exploded. Eventually it was put out. They were required to pay for damages. It waited for 4-5 days and then the ship took off and left

27 When this Free Port situation was about to commence, Ahmet the American, started to collect signatures for a petition against the port. "They'll build the port and we'll lose our sea". I signed it. He received a lot of criticism though. They told him that the port would lead to prosperity. Year later I realised that this man was an environmentalist. This man saw the damage that was going to be done years before anyone else realised it. He had lived in America and came back here. People didn't like him because he had views like this. If they had built the port in the other direction it would have been much better. That man rebelled against it and wasn't able to voice his opinion.

28	<p>These were much better ships. So they took care that the people working in the port did their jobs properly. There was no theft or crime of any sort. Most of the people working at the port were Turkish. The British then chose a lot of these men to become boatmen. What was his name, uncle Ali Eyüp and uncle Rıza – Started the Custom Port Association and got everybody organized. The work still continued under very difficult conditions.</p>
29	<p>The engineers were going to check the foundations, the British and a young man from Port Services. Şekerci (Sugar or the Sweet shop owner) Ahmet went and provided oxygen for them the old way (pumping it down to them). He left the pump to grab a cigarette of his friend. When they pulled the young man back up blood was gushing out of his ears. He was dead. Poor chap, he was still young.</p>
30	<p>When this Free Port situation was about to commence, Ahmet the American, started to collect signatures for a petition against the port. “They'll build the port and we'll lose our sea”. I signed it. He received a lot of criticism though. They told him that the port would lead to prosperity. Year later I realised that this man was an environmentalist. This man saw the damage that was going to be done years before anyone else realised it. He had lived in America and came back here. People didn't like him because he had views like this. If they had built the port in the other direction it would have been much better. That man rebelled against it and wasn't able to voice his opinion.</p>
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32	<p>When the new port was going to be made, they were going to call it Port Services, England wanted a certain amount for this. The Americans wanted something too. Many companies wanted a piece. They gave it to a company called Port Services for 1 million dollars. A Polish company.</p>
33	<p>In the time when the old version of the port used to have a hole there were two parallel rock formations. We used to call them the first rocks and the second rocks. When you were 5-6 years old you would only swim up to the first rocks and then when you got older you'd</p>
34	<p>continue onto the second rocks.</p>

35	The port started operating and a sailor named Captain Brosser was managing it. All his assistants were Turkish. So half the port went like that. The other half continued to run via an Italian company. The
36	port extended to the Canbulat Gate and a pier was built etc. The British merchant ships had started to change.
37	There used to be sponge-divers in Famagusta. Do you remember Salih? [0:19:23] [Speaker: Mr. Mehmet] I remembere Salih. [0:19:24][Speaker: Male Voice] They would go sponge-diving. They'd come from Greece as well.
38	I remember the port operations where the train was being loaded. I even remember the Arab workers would come to the late Fehmi with big cans - Fehmi was a mechanic - and he would give them hot water from the train's boiler. The Arabs would then go and use the water to wash themselves on the boat.
39	One time Captain Camben called us over. He said, "Times have changed, technology has changed. We now have forklifts and similar equipment." we said, "Good". But now it meant that there were going to be less workers.
40	You remember some nice things. Those three ships would bring cargo and passangers. One of them would come every week. [0:09:37] [Speaker: Key Informant] Which countries would the passagers come from? [0:09:43][Speaker: Mr. Mehmet] These three ships would circle
41	round the Mediterreanean ans stop at Famagusta, Mersin and Pile and then go around again. One of these ships would arrive every week.
42	The carriages constantly worked. The horse carts. A one way trip earned them 2 shillings. All of the workers were from the Turkish villages. They didn't involve any Greeks. This went on throughout 1954 and 1955 until EOKA came out and then everything started to modernize.
43	The British steam ships started around 1955 when EOKA first appeared. Many more modern ships started arriving. [0:00:41][Speaker: Mr. T] Did passenger ships also arrive? [0:00:45][Speaker: Mr. Ahmet] The first passenger ships were the Pegasus... the Greek boats Felix and Almelia.
44	[0:00:51] [Speaker: Male Voice] They would come from Austraila too. All types of ships would come.

So, Mr Mehmet when they were still using coal, there was a railway system that came into the port. Where you there at that time? What did they do on that line? What did they transport?

[0:02:31][Speaker: Mr. Mehmet] Yes. It ran upto 1950-51.

[0:02:37] [Speaker: Key Informant] There was a railway until '51? What was being transported and where did they come from?

45 [0:02:45] [Speaker: Male Voice] Where did they pass through and where did they go to? We keep seeing pictures of this.

[0:02:45] [Speaker: Other Male Voice] Shall I respond Mehmet? There was an empty space adjacent to the tax office, the train would set out from the train station through there and then pass by the construction office and then by the tax office again – there is a footpath there – you know the roundabout by the port that's there now? There's a door there that's closed now. It would go through there and all the way down the docks to load up.

When Asil came, he called us first. Dinçer was very excited and told me that Asil was waiting for us in Palm Beach. When we went there, there was a huge crowd behind Asil Nadir. Everone was there. We hugged each other. We had a table by the sea and we sat down.

46 Those were the final days of school. We started to order some food and drinks. While we were ordering, I looked at the people who were waiting for him and asked about those people. He said, “screw those rascals!” mentioning the people around him. Later, another person approached us to inform him about his flight, but again, he said “Screw it!”. To conclude, I could have been with Asil Nadir, but he could have told me to piss off too. Well, I heard later that he kind of said it. Ersin Katar told me this. Once he had said “I offered him a position as manager but the rascal didn’t accept!”. He’s a good friend, very good friend. Well, of course successful businessmen are not easy-going. They always need to consider their own benefits.

47	<p>Famagusta harbour was one of the most important arenas of Turkish people in Cyprus regarding the political process. All the oppositions, struggles and complains against Greek Cypriot State were formed around the harbour. Some labour unions were already formed and when it was a privilege to work in Famagusta harbour, we, as Turks, were all bounded by Greeks and their agencies in harbour. These agencies, which have their own employees, would organize the workforce and working areas. The workers would try to be close to them so that they could find a proper job in the boats in the harbour. The unemployment was at its peak during that period. AKEL influenced the employment in Famagusta harbour. In 1948 or 1954, I couldn't recall the year, it was the first time when both Turks and Greeks were together in Famagusta and later, the Greeks went to Hacı Emmi Cinema and discussed the distribution of working, resting and sleeping hours during the day as eight hours each. They made Turks sign the agreement. Well, what was the agreement you may ask? It was ENOSIS which caused a big trouble later. It was an agreement which was prepared for ENOSIS, about the union. Our struggle with Greeks was never-ending. Yes, there were Greeks in Famagusta but I cannot say that we live together.</p>
48	<p>Let me tell you something else. As you know, I had already mentioned about our teachers. Today, there are just a few trees left in Pertev Pasa. Unfortunately, the tree that I had planted dried up later. But the trees that my friends had planted are still there.</p>
49	<p>For instance, in Famagusta, there were Mr. Zeki and his family, Mr. Mahmut and his family, Mr. Galip and his family and Adiloğulları. They were grandees. ven their coffeeshouse was Turkish Hearth. [0:01:03] [Speaker: Mr. Kerem]: They even had Turkish Hearth done for themselves. It was in 1924 and it is named as "Isik Yurdu". You can see its name there above. wouldn't socialize with the people that much. They become aghas later.</p>
50	<p>In our neighbourhood there were five Greek families. [0:14:24] [Speaker: Kerem]: Through Altuntapya street until this door, there were all Greek houses... [0:14:36] [Speaker: the Men inside the room]: Yes, and there were Greek shops all around.</p>
51	<p>Namık Kemal mentions in his book that it had a beautiful sea and he mentions that he would frequently go by the sea. The people would pass through Othello, there used to be a gate there. There was no hole before.</p>
52	<p>Then we went to Mr. Hüseyin's house in Akkule Neighbourhood. There were two extremely rich people regarding their possessions in Famagusta: One was Mr Hüseyin and the other was another Mr. Hüseyin who was a grocer</p>

53	<p>Mugakkak used to have his hair cut in Sıtkı's Barbershop. I was a child back then. In our neighbourhood. He would always wear a fedora. Once I saw him after he had had his haircut. He got up and put his hat on. At first, he wore it correctly. Then he took it off and wore it backwards. I thought about it later. Why did he do that? You know that certain scientists are always preoccupied with other things and their minds are always elsewhere? They say that Einstein would write equations all over the milkman's cart. He wanted to represent himself as a great scientist. Tourists would come here and think, "What an eccentric man?". You'd think his bicycle would collapse any minute. Of course, his knowledge on the history of Fagamusta was indisputable and his ambition was to keeping Fagamusta as it was. That's why he couldn't get along with anyone in Famagusta because he wanted to preserve the city just the way it was and these effort would have displaced everybody from their homes. No one liked him. These things were not possible.</p>
54	<p>we attended to Gazi Primary School. To be honest, we got a good education there. Despite the poverty or the oppressions of English, Famagusta became an extremely rich town regarding its culture. There were plenty of cultural activities which brought cultural richness to the town as a complete opposite to the poverty of Famagusta that I have mentioned before. Theatres... People would act in plays and as far as I remember, a few educated people would come from Nicosia High School with Mr. Suphi or a Primary School Principal would come such as Mr. Kerem.</p>
55	<p>[0:05:18] [Speaker: Mr. Eşref Çetinel]: The schools that Englishmen had built, such as Pertev Paşa Primary School, had a folding screen in the middle of them. They had two or three classrooms. More rooms might have been added later but originally ther</p>
56	<p>There are lot of things to tell about Namık Kemal High School. For instance, Namık Kemal High School was the first school which formed a marching band. ... Marching band instruments would come from Czech Republic (Czechia). Our teacher Zeki Taner distributed the instruments among us. They asked me which instrument I would like to have. I chose the most fabulous one; a saxophone. But I got the alto saxophone. That is why I am emphasising that it is a very important school. After that, the plays of Shakespeare and Moliere took place in, Namık Kemal High School annually and it became a traidition. For instance, we, as students, staged one or two plays of Shakespeare. These are very important considering the progress of Famagusta. People of Famagusta and the High School became more familiar to each other.</p>
57	<p>I've written about it a lot. The people would do spells. It is related in various ways. I never witnessed it but I used to hear about people talking and laughing about it. It is said that they would perform spells and then they had to pass by the lion; the witches, the women. They would reach the lion and take some earth or throw some earth there or whatever they might be doing.</p>

58 So, I was just talking about the poverty and how we moved to villages. Let me tell you about something else as a detail, we used to call the workers as carriers; which we call them as dockers now. As far as I know, the word, ‘carrier’, comes from Ottomans. The people who were just running errands of others were called carriers and carriers would never take offence at us about how we address them. For instance, despite of the fact that duty was a place which offers a better paid job, the people who work there were called duty carriers...It wasn’t something shameful. As a matter of fact, there was no one who wasn’t a carrier in Famagusta; Everyone were carriers; either head of carriers or duty carrier.

59 Look, it was very expensive for people in Famagusta to graduate from middle school and go to study in Nicosia at Vittoria or the boy's Lycee. Unfortunately, the people in Famagusta didn't have that kind of money. Afterwards, our fathers spent all their money on their children to educate them, just because they hadn’t had a proper education themselves. This is very important. They were eager to learn and study. Not just the people of Famagusta but also the people in Cyprus were very ambitious when it came to education.

60 Namik Kemal High School was a great opportunity for Famagusta in all aspects, all thanks to Niyazi Manyera. Back in the day, Turkey wanted to have an agreement on a cultural aspect with the leadership of the governors here. Two High Schools accepted this cultural education agreement between Turkey and Cyprus. One of them was Baf High School and the other was Famagusta High School.

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62 As I said, back in the day, when it was around 1946 1947, the folding screen in the middle would be opened and plays would be staged there. They were usually the plays which most likely come from Turkey and they were often modified as a mixture of a musical and a drama from Shakespeare or the others.

63 There were also some gardens inside the walls which were behind Famagusta Turk Gucu and around here. The pool and waterways remain still. Date palm gardens today are left from those times. They would bring variety of date palms back in the day and these date palm trees are still here. There weren’t many houses in Famagusta

[Speaker: Key Informant] Were there Turkish and Greek representatives in the municipality?

[0:00:05] [Speaker: Mr. T] We separated in '57. It was a joint operation up to then.

64 [0:00:13] [Speaker: Mrs. S] It was a Greek municipality. I mean the mayor was Greek.

[0:00:13] [Speaker: Woman's voice] That's why they said it was a Greek town hall.

[0:00:27] [Speaker: Mr. T] There were constant complaints in the press that Varosha was prioritised and that we didn't care about the center of Famagusta and we didn't provide enough service.

65 I also remember that after 1963 - you remember the two Greek Cypriots who entered through the port gate – back then I had a classmate; Mr. Selçuk the police commander. His daughter was my classmate back then. I was in their house. Whenever anything happened he would always come and tell us anyway because we lived within the walled city. So I was there and her father received a phone call that something had happened. He said, “Come on quickly girls, we are going to go to the walled city.”. So we went. Nobody was actually allowed within the walls but because he was a police commander we were able to get inside and I saw those two Greeks lying on the ground. I'll never forget it. On the floor at the entrance of the Famagusta Gate.

66 I know something about the British period. There were some highschool students. Back then high school students were much older than we were, we were just children but they were still young of age. I remember they would climb onto the desks and walk accross them. They would call on us to take part in marches (processions). We were little back so we'd go. Everyone would be shouting “Division or death!”. The British would take a spot at the Famagusta Gate and wouldn't let people leave and they would throw tear gas at us. I remember that we would run home with tears streaming from our eyes. I'll never forget that.

67 I was in the first year of primary school and we also went to school on Saturdays. The old police buildings were commissariats back then - those buildings that are in front of the old hospital. They would make us form lines and take us there. We would sing “God save the queen” and they would hoist the flags. I'll never forget that. In the British period Turks were actually quite oppressed.

68 Previously at one point it was an – Armenian School? - a Greek School. We lived there for a short time. Maybe two, two and a half years. Then we moved to a house made by the municipality in the Elmas Tabya street and lived there for many years. Until 1987. We lived there until 1987 and then we were assigned state council housing and moved.

There was an older woman called Münüfe. She would go from door to door for weddings and memorial services. She would speak very fast and say such and such's daughter is doing so and so in this location.

69 [0:04:25][Speaker: Mrs. S] She would send the regards of different people. Such and such sends their regards, so and so sends their regards. For example, she would say, "So and so has a wedding or memorial service on Thursday at such and such a time, you are welcome.". She was Sıtkı the Barber's mother.

70 ...it would be so crowded that in order not to lose our father, we would wait at the gate of the mosque and when my father came out from prayer we would kiss his hand and then we would go and buy buns that they would sell during Eid and then we would all go home to have breakfast. After having breakfast we would get our Eid money and go back out to the square. There would be a fair on and we would spend our money there. It used to be a lovely fair that was lots of fun. They had those games that were like billiards

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72 My father had his shop in many different places in Famagusta. It was in the Namık Kemal square at one point, on the left side of the İşbank, where D&B is now. At one point it was on the upper side of the İstiklal avenue. He had it in front of the Türk Bankası, next to the Türk Bankası. It was in front of the corner of your place. Next to Sıtkı the Barber. It was barber Sıtkı's and then barber Yusuf's. At one point it was next to Mehmet Dayı's shop, the button maker.

73 He'd smoke a hookah too.
[0:12:28] [Speaker: Mrs. Sevel] The moment we saw my father coming home when he came around the corner we would light the small coals and put them in a can. He would come in and prepare his tobacco and place the burning coals on the hookah. You'd put the coals in a can so that they would get hot and they would burn there before you used them. When they became white hot he would place them on the hookah.

74 But I know that someone would come there drinking alcohol. Would they get it from the tavern or buy wine from the other shop and then come over?

[0:11:10] [Speaker: Altogether] No, from the tavern. They would come and buy the humus and then go to the taven next door. Orders would come from there as well.

[0:11:16] [Speaker: Male Voice] It was interesting how the shopkeepers would work with each other.

[0:11:21] [Speaker: Altogether] They had a lot of respect for each other.

75 After Mr. Kemal became the headmaster what I remember was that he established the Canbulat radio. All the people involved in the radio were teachers from the school. There was Mr. Kemal, our late teacher Hasan Kahraman who was actually dealt with the technical aspects of the radio, my brother Master Ali Kasým was a commentator and he did the announcements between programs, the late Master Nazým who had been my teacher produced programs. These people ran the Canbulat radio and every morning they would go to the radio station and work there for an hour or an hour and a half and then they'd come to school all together and teach. There were other people in the Canbulat radio of course.

76 Barber Mustafa's shop was a very important meeting place. Hasan the Barber was his apprentice. He's still alive and he has his own place. I was a child around 10 back then. Most of the 25 year olds in Famagusta would meet up at Mustafa's shop. They would have their coffee, get a haircut and have conversations. We would get our hair cut there too. He had an electrical hair cutter (shaver). This might seem funny to you. Back then those cutters were mostly manual. He had hydraulic chairs. It was a very modern set up for those days.

77 They were staying on a small house in Kýpla street at number 28. This house belonged to Stingy uncle Polat. Don't mind my calling him stingy but in the old days people would either be named according to their professions or a special characteristic they had or a personal physical defect like if they were blind or crippled. My father was known as Feed dealer Kasým. We arrived in Famagusta on the 12th January 1964 and I started school at the Canbulat Primary school on the 13th January 1964

78 So my father started the shop on his own. Let me tell you about the feed product as I'm already talking about this anecdote. What did he have available, what did he sell, what did he buy, where did he buy it from? Well, we have already said that he brought

79 Our house was on the barracks (Kýpla) road. The barracks road started from the Venetian barracks and continued past the fountain due north. So you pass the Cafer Pasha Baths, the Gazi Primary School and you keep going even past the bakery. On the right there's a small house and my brother lived there with my two sisters as students. My other brother and I moved in with him and later on my mother and father moved in also.

80 So we lived there in sort of cramped conditions. Back then families sacrificed a lot for each other and supported each other very much.

81 So back then Kasým's shop was in front of the mosque next to where D&B is now I think. There was a coffee shop in front of it owned by uncle Behiç who I will now tell you about. Uncle Behiç's coffee shop was a very important place for me because I would go there and drink water and see everyone. Uncle Behiç is from Kuruođlan. When you looked at him he seemed stern but he had a very good heart and was a good person. He would primarily run the coffee house but he also produced coffee, a brand called Behiç Emirali coffee. There were only three places that made coffee back then; uncle Behiç's, Hasan Said's father's Göçmen coffee house and later Ahmet Bařman had a place in front of the Bandabuliya. I don't remember any others. Uncle Behiç would roast his coffee at home but he would grind it in the shop. The coffee house would have a great smell of coffee. I would help my father in the shop but when there was nothing to do I would hang out over there. I'd watch the backgammon and checkers games being played. One time I interrupted a game without permission. There was an old man called uncle Murat, a dark fellow. He turned to me and said, "Look at me Kasým's son. When I don't do anything for 24 hour I at least get enough done that's about your size!". After that I never interrupted any games.

82 One of the games we would play was "little war". On both sides of the entrance of the Canbulat Primary School there were fences with bushes. We would hide in the bushes and have these toy weapons made out of wood and elastic bands and shoot at each other. In our PE lessons we would play football, volleyball, dogeball etc. We also had an agriculture class. In this agriculture class we would plant things in the school yard depending what our teacher instructed us to do. Things like lettuce, spring onions, turnips, parsley, coriander etc.

83 Next to them was the house of Fenerciođullary. Yýldýray, Saldýray, Sevinç, Zeki and their youngest Hulusi. Only Saldýray and Hulusi are alive now. Zeki had a medical condition regarding his legs. The only television was in Hasan Kürpat's house. We all watched television there. They would help Zeki over because his legs were in a cast. Next to the house of Fenerciođullary was Mrs. Rukiye's house.

84 Because I used to help him sometimes he took me along with him to the ice factory to buy ice once. The ice factory was behind where the co-op sells their juices now. So we went there and bought 5-10 pieces of ice. When he brought them back he would cut them into quarter pieces and half pieces to sell them. People would also take them home with them. There were a couple of people who smoked hookas also. Uncle Halil and uncle Ahmet. I remember them smoking very clearly.

85 Most importantly, in front of them was uncle Mustakya's house. Why was he important? Because he was part of the history of Famagusta. None of these people are left anymore. Master Havva left us a little early. She was a very respectable person and looked after herself very well. Remember we said that Hasan Kürpat had the only television? Well uncle Mustakya had the only telephone in the neighbourhood in his house. My sister would call us from Nicosia and my mother and I would run to uncle Mustakya's house to talk to my sister. Because my sister couldn't come to see us from Nicosia and we couldn't go and visit her either. Those years were problematic as you know. So we kept in contact with uncle Mustakya telephone.

86 Tinker Kemal would work on the bases. In 1958-'59 most of our artisans worked on the bases. When they didn't have work on the bases they worked in their shops. Tinker Kemal worked i two different ways. I watched him a lot and he never was bothered about me watching him. He would either build something from scratch but cutting and shaping the tin into a cylindrical form to make a tankard. He would build other items obviously; buckets and things. He would also modify oil barrels and other objects made out of tin which was easier. These he would sell for cheaper prices.

87 There was a shepard in our village called uncle Hüseyin, he was missing an eye so they called him blind Hüseyin – this should be around 1962 if I'm not mistaken – he came to the village in a panic and said, "I went to Famagusta and I nearly lost!"
