

Participant 1 – Abridged Transcript

Introduce us to your artwork

P1: So I've to admit at first I tried to draw, paint something and that failed miserably. [Laughs]. So I thought well why not using the image, the picture that comes from my work, from my own fieldwork. At least it represents something more forward looking. Something that gives me a sense of purpose. So I selected one of the pictures that I took recently of the harbour expansion, the south harbour expansion. And I'm using this current [?] aerial photography.

[I: So you took the picture?]. Yeah. I've been experimenting with this technique for a while now. I don't know, it makes me think of one of those paintings from futurism. Of aerial views from aeroplanes. It's also slanted. This looks like something done on purpose but in fact I can't - I still cannot level the camera on the kite, so all the photos are like- [Laughs]. [...] I made a gear to attach the camera to the kite. Yes, so. Because it's very windy. [...] Wind is good if you're using a kite. [...] So there is marshland here, and harbour reconstruction [...] I used to work for the harbour, the community liaison department of the project,

[I: For the new harbour?]

yeah, for the new harbour, until the pandemic. And also, I am doing fieldwork here, so it's the [?] of my work life and at present. [...] My field work is about documenting, investigating, the construction from above, construction activities from above. Basically, I am trying to understand how construction expresses itself beyond the boundaries of the construction site itself... like rhizome.

[I: Are you Deleuzian?]

Not really no. But I applied this theory, this idea to construction and I find it relevant in this-

[I: So does it change the whole area?].

Well, I see how, for example, I don't know, roadworks are carried out around the construction site, or how dust and detritus, you know. You can observe how construction expresses itself beyond its boundaries. [...]

[I2: How did you feel the day you took this? What was your mood?].

When I go out to this kind of work I'm always very, kind of happy. I choose a good day, it must be a sunny day, so it means I have planned my day and I have spare time to dedicate to what I like, so this must have been a good day for me.

[I: so what does that mean. What's a good day?].

Well, a good day is a day where I feel positive about you know my future here, and uh.., You know with everything that has been going on recently. Like I lost my job almost a year and a half ago so sometimes I'm not really optimistic you know. So a good day is where I put my energies into something constructive.

[I: What did you feel when you saw this photograph? ...]

[...] For me it is more like fishing, because I don't know what I'm going to get.

[I: ...were you surprised by what you saw here?].

Yeah, I think... I thought this photo really combines a few things. You know, there is marshlands, historical heritage, construction. Also, this is one of the areas [...] there are local groups who oppose the development. And [park?] would basically be, uh, occupied by the energy transition zone so some don't really agree with that.

[I: So the park would disappear?]

I think so. Or part of it, yeah.

[I2: When you look at the image do you see other things, besides looking at the image in terms of what it means to you because of what you know is happening there. When you look at that image without knowing what is happening there, do you see other things ... could you see it in other ways, as it relates to you?]

Relates to me...

[I2: You mentioned a painting?]

Yeah, the painting was one of those aerial paintings. [...] I mean the point is, since I arrived in 2016, here, I always wanted to do something with the harbour, or with the sea. Basically. [...] So now I'm in Aberdeen. I love the sea - I come from a mountains region in Italy, so I've always been attracted, you know? To the sea, and drawn to water, and you know, the shore, to the coast, so I thought I'll try to do something with the sea, with the harbour. So this kind of, represents this kind of movement for me.

[I: Yes, it's also sort of autobiographical. I mean you spent part of your life working there.]

Yeah. It's professionally, and, uh, from the point of view of my research, it's meaningful [...]

[I: Yeah it is very meaningful for you, yeah.]

I also look at it in a, kind of, uh, true, research lens. So maybe what you're looking for is a very personal, uh, mm, statement about – but for me it's also about my way of looking of the world in a, through my anthropological lens. So, maybe you're detecting a sort of detachment from that because uh-

[I: No I don't really. I think it's very personal...]

[...]

[I2: Do you have a kind of special relationship with your kite?]

Yeah, I chose the kite rather than a drone, which would be the default option now, you know, because it's more, uh, playful. It's cheaper also. It's more DIY, you know, you can modify, you can attach, you can experiment with different cameras. You can do a lot of different things. I'm just at the beginning of this, you know. And it's playful because people see you with a kite. A drone has the kind of militaristic, erm feel to it, but, the buzz. I was in a park the other day with [child?] and he said oh a bee. [...] My kite is colourful [...] and people come and talk to you, that's all part of my research, you know communities. It's more interactive. [...]

Why did you move to the UK

[I2: So you mentioned 2016, you came here. Why did you come to? Where did you come? Did you come to Aberdeen?].

So I came here because [partner] lives here so I moved. I, you know, what's the right expression? I joined her.

[I: But, were you happy to come to Aberdeen?]

Yeah, I had been here before, for a conference. So that's where we met. Then yeah, that was my last year of PhD. So I spent the first year, that was my write up period for my thesis. May 2016.

[I: So you came here just before the referendum? Were you aware of it?]

Yes, oh yes.

[I: And what did you think then?]

Well I remember shouting at people on the way to the polls. Please, please don't- you know, vote with your brains. [...]

Feelings about the pandemic

[I: ... Can I ask you, in general, do you have many good days? ... How would you describe, if you had to think of your emotional field, do you think that the period of the pandemic had an impact, and if so how?]

Well, ok. [pause]. I think [pause]. Let's say I am, as a person, I can survive without the social- day-to-day socialising, and the loss of that kind of contact hasn't affected me too much/ Of course , I mean-. Also the fact that my son was born two and a half years ago and the pandemic has coincided with him being around with me, so I cherish that, I have been able to spend a lot of time with him that I otherwise wouldn't. I think looking back I will always recognise that as a great opportunity, you know. Also, this time- I've had time to focus on other things, beside childcare and fatherhood. I had to work on my research - some of my PhD was on migration, so different topics to what I'm doing now. So this has given me a chance to spend some time thinking about my work, my research. So, I'm not sure it has affected me – my mood directly. And from the very beginning I though, this is probably going – I don't know. Let's go to the next question – I'm wandering off topic.

[I: So ... did you lose your job because of COVID?]

Yeah.

Feelings about Brexit

[I: How were you feeling about your being here, with all this COVID, and then the fact that there'd been Brexit. [...] Did you have any feelings after the vote? [...] For me it was, like we say in Italian, a cold shower [...] So I'm trying to understand, you came here just before then. [...] How did these big events [...] did they have any affect on your feeling about yourself as an Italian being here?][...]

So when I was here, my doctoral research, was about, basically, citizenship in the Caucasus, post-Soviet setting. And I- The fact of being a European citizen in the UK in the wake of Brexit kind of gave me a chance to reflect on my loss of status and loss of citizenship rights in a wide way. So yeah, I felt, angry, of course. I was also – I am quite pessimistic in politics so I, erm, foresee things coming.

[I: So you weren't surprised?]

I wasn't too surprised. Well, let me think, maybe I wasn't surprised about Trump, but I was a bit surprised about Brexit.

[I2: What did you feel the next day?]

Now that I think about it, I was surprised. I was- yeah. And I didn't care much about my status. I mean, I looked at it, kind of like, from a distance you know. But until a few weeks ago when I had to apply for my pre-settled status and then I understood that I didn't have documents that could back my residency status here in 2016 because I wasn't in the tenancy agreement yet, and I didn't have a bank account or a job, so basically you can't really trace. So, then I felt a little bit like, urgh, that sucks. Because it's not a big deal but I have to wait one more year before I can apply for [...citizenship]. So, it's all delayed. So that wasn't, you know, great [pause]. But, uh, Brexit itself. I remember those conversations. I was surprised but I also saw that there was no way backwards. So, I kind of accepted it.

[I: You're very philosophical, because I- until it actually happened at the beginning of this year, I always had a little hope that something would happen so that Brexit could be reversed...]

No, I didn't want it to be reversed actually. I thought that that would have been a worse outcome for the country- for the UK, from a constitutional, political point of view than to just get on with it and Brexit means Brexit. but I

didn't like it. But yeah. So I accepted it. I think my thinking and my approach it followed from that. I also kind of, in a way, I kind of, I have seen, I have experienced, directly and indirectly, countries where your rights are not really taken into consideration. So, I kind of trust the system in the UK.

Feelings about "home"

[I2:... I'm interested to know as well, where do you see as home? You've not spoken much about where you were brought up]

My home is in Italy. I was born in Rome and raised in Abruzzo, central Italy. I'm the son of an immigrant. My father is from Iran. My mother is Italian. So- But, I think, a long time ago I decided that I wouldn't live in Italy... for a while. I don't feel a desire to go back right now.

[I2: But do you call that home ...]

No, home- I think, home is where my son is now. My family. But also, the attachment I feel for Italy, and for Rome - and Simona (?) is my town - it's undeniable of course. But it's a very- I have a conflictual relationship with Italy and with the places where I was raised and where I was born. I wouldn't go back to live there.

[I: Ever?]

Maybe when I retire. [Laughs]

[...I2: Why do you say conflictual?]

Um... Because I'm just not happy about the- how Italy is run. [Laughs]. So, I don't trust the system.

[I: Do you follow Italian politics even from here?]

Yeah, yeah. Mhm.

[I: So have you got any more trust in this new government?]

In Italy, yes. Compared to Giuseppe Conte, I do.

[I: And how do you think that the Italian government failed in the management of COVID?]

I think, as of now, we don't have the data really to assess a government about what's going on. I think we have to wait a little bit. I mean there are of course examples of blood, and incompetence. And of course, you can always focus on those. And I think- I'm sure that the Italian government, especially the previous one, was culpable of many of those. But I think we have to wait a few years to understand, you know with statistics and data, where things got wrong, what mistakes were made, because it's really a complex, unprecedented situation we were facing. So who knows you know, when you count the dead, and the loss of jobs, everything you know. Yeah.

[I2: Were you watching on social media, what was happening when COVID started]

Yeah. Social media was a major source of information.

[I2: Were you concerned about your family?]

Um, yeah I was, of course. Also, I was concerned about their health, of course, if they contract COVID. And also about the, you know, social, economic, um, yeah, mmm, impact of COVID. Like on my father's business, on their mental health, because - and then, you know, life goes on. There were other things that happened, my grandmother died in Iran.

[I: Because of COVID?]

No. I don't think so. Not that I know. So, at the same time I couldn't see my father, so it kind of, you know, made everything a little bit harder.

[I: You couldn't see him why?].

I couldn't go to Italy and just be next to him, comfort him. And also my father hadn't been to Iran in a while because of the pandemic so, you know, it made just everything worse than it could have been. What was the last question?

[I: have you been back to Italy during the pandemic?]

No

[Not at all?]

No, no, no.

[I: And how did you feel about that. Did you normally go back?]

I would have gone, I think, at least once a year.

[I: But you decided not to.]

No, I didn't feel like it was- I was planning to go now this summer. But now with the delta variant and everything, it's not a good idea, if I get stuck in Italy. I wanted to go because my son is now 2 and a half and he's seen his grandparents twice, when he was very little. So it's about time he goes there. So if I have to go on my own, you know, it's not that important for me. I like to go with my son and [partner] also. And that doesn't seem feasible now.

[I: Why not?]

Well Italy's on the amber list, so we are advised not to go. There is a quarantine, I think it's 5 day for visitors from the UK, so it just doesn't feel right. Have you been?

[I: No, but I hope to go soon. This news about the five days is messing up my plans a bit. I would go anyway, even if it was a longer quarantine because I want to see my family. But I have been back three times since the start of the pandemic[...] I have been feeling upset about this restriction. This has impacted on my emotional situation – the inability to travel whenever I want-[...] But I don't think you felt the same]

I don't know if it's been the pandemic or other things that came with it. I've found it difficult to understand, to break it down.

[I2: How did your family adapt in Italy to using social media, did you use facetime?]

We used- so my mother doesn't use social media. She does use I think WhatsApp, she did for a while, then she stopped. With my father, yeah, we communicate on Skype, which is now an old tool like [Laughs] from the stone age. Don't even know, probably still the go to app to talk to people [laughs]. So yeah WhatsApp, Skype with my father, he does Facebook too. So I rely on social media of course.

[I2: Were you able to kind of- were you giving them advice- or just catching up- during the kind of-]

With my folks you mean?

[I2: Yeah]

Yeah, advice on what to do with the pandemic? Yeah, I mean, I was- children and parents, that's the relationship. You always try to make sure that they are doing ok. So are you, you know, following guidelines? Yeah. Put your mask on. Yeah, and same for them. Yeah.

[I: But, can I ask how old are your parents?]

Yeah. So I'm forty, my father is sixty five, my mother is sixty seven.

[I: Ok, so they are quite young, compared to mine of course].

Yeah but they could still be-

[I: Yeah they are still at risk of course. Have you got siblings?]

No.

[I: So you are the only child. Were you feeling kind of responsible then?]

Yeah I think I have always felt a lot of attention, on me which can't be diverted because I am an only child so you kind of have to cope with this.

[I: So you were not angry about not being able to go back to Italy?].

I mean, the point is- I've lived far away from home for a while now. I was in Australia, I was in the Caucasus, Georgia, Azerbaijan for about three years, I was in Poland, I was in the UK, a long time ago, as an exchange student. What else? So, it's not the first time I am far away from home. It's the first time I cannot decide to go back, which is a strange feeling, and seems unreal but.

[I2: [...]] Aberdeen culture is so different from Italian culture, does that impact your mood. ... Do you become a different person when you are in Rome to what you are in Aberdeen?]

I become a different person when I use the English language. [Laughs]. In a way, I mean. And I think that's an experience that many people that speak another language have, you know. It's a second language. It's part of another stage in my life, I mean I learned later on. So yeah, I mean, I'm aware of the social conditioning and when you reconnect to the places and the groups and the people, the society where you come from you are a different person in a way. But it doesn't necessarily mean moving from Aberdeen to Rome. I could be with my friends, or in another social setting. Now I am speaking like an anthropologist [laughs]. [...] One thing I mean is the smell and the noise of an Italian café and I sometimes think about you know, the noise of the espresso machine. That's a picturesque side of me, of Italy I miss.

[I: So have you got an opinion of Aberdeen?]

Of Aberdeen? [pause]. I, uh, have heard a lot of opinions about Aberdeen, but Aberdonians too, of foreigners. I try not to be conditioned.

[I: But do you have your own? It's not possible to be conditioned. I mean do you like it?]

Yeah I do. It's a port city, I like that. I like to see commerce and this connectivity. I wish there was probably more of that or that I had more direct experience of that. So, I like that about it. I like- that's the reason for my research, part of that is in construction, and I can observe that happening. It's not as probably multicultural as - So before, I lived in London for a while, it was back in 2006. So, for a long time, I had that idea of the whole UK, you know, as very multicultural, colourful, you know. Of course, Aberdeen is different. It's not, it's not London [laughs]. Of course, it's not London.

[I: Do you know many Aberdonians?]

I think so yeah.

[I: Have you got an idea of what is the vibe of the city. If you had to describe the vibe of Aberdeen, what would you say. If there is any vibe.]

If there is...hmm. That's a difficult question to answer.

[I: You don't have to answer if you don't want to]

No I'm trying not to put, you know, a face on, or faces on Aberdeen. Idea of what Aberdeen is, what Aberdonians look like. I don't know. That is just not the way I think. But I don't want to generalise. I just resist the tendency. There are things I like and things I don't. but I prefer to focus on the detail.

[I: So you don't really have an opinion of Aberdeen. I know what you are saying. You know when you think of your nonrational or bodily connection to a place, or how you feel when you are in a place. That's not really a generalisation is it? You know some places you go and you connect [...] Do you feel attuned to Aberdeen?]

Yeah, I do. To me, it like brings to my mind, a lot of natural elements. The wind, the water, moss. You know? I think I'm more attuned to nature here than to the city itself. I mean- the fact that I have this picture, just reinforces that feeling. For me it's more nature than the urban qualities that speak to me.

[I: Yeah, it's like more like North East of Scotland, the coast of North East of Scotland, rather than just Aberdeen as a city.]

Yeah, there is something geographical about it.

[I: Yeah, rather than urban. I was interested in something you mentioned just briefly. You're think about applying for British citizenship? How do you feel about it? Is it just for practical purposes or, what is the reason for your decision to apply?]

Well, my son is a dual national, so it would be I think good for me to at least have both the citizenships that he does have already. I think I'm also the son of an immigrant myself so I think I see that as a way of securing your status somewhere. You have a passport, you are a full citizen of that place. Also, in relation to the fact that, yeah, your status as an immigrant is always, can be, what the right word?

[I: Make you feel a bit more, precarious?]

Yeah, it's more precarious. It's also a place where I like to be. I can see myself, maybe moving from Aberdeen somewhere else in the UK.

[I2: Do you like the English language?]

Yeah [laughs] I really do. And the whole of the UK.

[I2: What about your son, are you teaching him Italian?]

Yeah, I am doing my best, really, to make sure he grows as a bilingual speaker. So I only speak Italian to him and he's learning through me. He I think, at the moment, one in four or five words [...] he uses one in four or five words in Italian, and the rest is English and that's perfectly okay because this is an English-speaking environment for him. His mum is English, and Scottish. So yeah, he has to learn and grow in both languages. And then he can decide. At some point he will probably refuse to speak Italian, you know as kids do sometimes, like when he goes to school maybe, and that's okay. But the language will be there latent. But it's a skill and he can do whatever he likes with it.

[I2: I'm kind of interesting, you know It's interesting, you like the idea of him being European, in a way, rather than British]

He has an Italian and British citizenship. That is the best that he could have, I think.

[I2: How does it make you feel that he is picking up Italian here, he's doing that... that there is part of your heritage being, coming through him. Is that a good feeling?]

Yeah, it is. [pause]. Yeah. I learned- So my father's language, he's from the North East of Iran so he speaks like Azerbaijani, Turkish language, Turkish, but I never knew the language my father speaks before I was 24. So, I learned that when I was 24. And I want to make sure that my son doesn't have to do the same. He has to learn Italian now. So, I'm really consistent at this. I tell all the parents of other kids who grew up here, you have to do it now. And they say no no you have to do it now. You [don't] have to wait when he's five or six. In a group I speak English to the other kids, that's fair, and I speak Italian to him, I don't care.

[I: ... you're right there is a phase in which they reject the other language because they don't need it]

They like to conform. [...] I wish he could always learn my father's language but that would be asking so much.

[...]

[I: you said you want to become a British citizen, you like the UK obviously... Was your opinion of the UK impacted by Brexit?]

Um, I think I understood Brexit. I made peace with the idea of it.

[I: ...You must have a theory about how come it went that way...]

This is how I explained it at the time. There is a kind of underlying feeling, and which is also, a philosophy of exceptionalism in Anglo-Saxon English thought and political practice [in the English-speaking world]. ... In American and Australian, In the Anglo-Saxon world, because of a sense of independence and the feeling that you are leading rather than being led. It's difficult to accept being part of a wider political entity, where other parts are as important as you are, and that's basically what the European Union is all about. So, losing a bit of sovereignty, losing you know, in favour of a shared idea of transnational power. So, I think this has both positive and negative sides. And Brexit, is a negative, I think, outcome. Because I am more precious about the European project, you know, of the European Union. I like it. I think it comes from the best of our- coming out of WWII, and there are problems with the project you know, but it's a good idea. And Brexit just you know, it's a, it made- I mean I'm 40 so I travelled in European before Schengen, the Schengen system was in place, so I remember showing my passport to border guards in Northern Italy, I mean I was what in Croatia and Serbia and it was, an experience, I wish people who voted for Brexit here had because now we just cross those borders without knowing you are crossing anything.

[...]

So yeah, the point with border is they are there and if you rekindle certain political processes, they become again hard, they become more tangible. So that's a loss. That's just negative and I don't like it

[I: But it didn't change your opinion of the UK.]

[I2: But you wouldn't have become a UK citizen if it hadn't happened?]

It would have been less important than it is now. Even to have settled status, pre-settled whatever it is now. I wouldn't have cared about anything, and just being here, work.

[I: But the triumph of this, like you called it, the triumph of this exceptionalism – does that have any impact on your feeling of being here?]

In what way?

[I: I think I have to reflect on my own experience. It means that to a certain extent, you called it exceptionalism, I am much more brutal, I call it superiority complex. [Laughs.] Does that have an impact on how you feel? Because I mean, having a superiority complex means that my fellow British citizen thinks somehow that he can

do things better than I do. That's the way I feel about it. So, doesn't that make you feel like they are undermining your, citizenship in a way? Does that make you feel like a Class B citizen in a way, because you are not British, and you are not so good at doing things, and you don't have this cultural background that makes you exceptional?]

Um, that's a good question. [laughs] So, you are asking me about how this translates into life and everyday experience? [...] But it's also true that – maybe because my partner is a British citizen, so I experience- My, uh, private life, you know, hasn't changed, hasn't been affected really. And that's really the centre, the core of my existence here.

[I: So you don't care basically?]

It's not that I don't care. Let me think [pause]. I see that, but I see it in other things too- I see it, and I don't know how this is going to sit with you, but I see it in the independence movement here too. [...] I know a few people who voted for Brexit. Very, very, few. And I was surprised. I can count them with the fingers on one hand. I was always engaged with them. Some were silly. Some made an argument, ok. But I know many more people who support independence. And I have more issues with those. Not personal issue. For me politics is very seldom a personal issue. I like to challenge them on this. Because although the Scottish independence movement likes to portray itself as a very progressive one, the mainstream political discourse is, if you go deep into it, I don't think it is. This besides more cogent political issues. But also on a personal level – I don't, you know. So for me Brexit was in the past. And the next years will be dominated by this more than Brexit. The discourse about independence, which I really don't like. And I will move south if it happens. I told [partner] I would do it.

[I: And how does she feel about it? Because she's Scottish right?]

Yeah, she is.

[I: But she doesn't mind England?]

No, no. I don't speak for her. She can represent her views.

[I2: I'm kind of going back the way a bit. Son, languages, learning your dad's language. You were speaking about pathways and detritus earlier. Could you put that stuff we've been talking to about belonging in terms of pathways? ...]

So, for me, all of this and what I used to do about migration and mobility and borders, it is connected. [pause] Basically I'm interested in space, land, how, you know, we make our ways and paths irrespective of boundaries. So the fact that, when I focus on detritus and dust and construction, for me, I look at this, how they exceed and it's- they share something with life for me. Like how life exceeds itself[?] At the individual, at the species scale[?] So this is what I like. And also it's a way for me to look at past and present history and to look at the environment through a lens, to see beauty in things that normally wouldn't be associated with beauty or aesthetic values. So I'm also learning that you know? To slow down. And to find beauty, in ruins, in a way. And construction I think is the epitome of that. Because people don't really- people think of what was before, so what is lost and what is to come, but they don't tend to think of construction itself. Also because it's space where you don't have access- it's beyond the fence, you can't see it. So by working there, I worked side by side with the engineers, and so I absorbed that type of that approach to the world. Which is so far away, so different to an anthropological, sociological way of looking at the world. But I admire it and I respect it. And I tend to like things that are different from where I come from. I want to challenge myself. So for me, understanding an engineer is the most challenging thing I can do, you know. With architects I think it's already, or urban planners, it's easier. But engineers have such a strong, pig-headed view of things, you know [laughs].

[I: So you mean not only the way they look at the construction site but the way they look at the world?]

Yeah, in a way. You know, so that's where the interest lies for me. [pause]. And also, what I do must be in dialogue with the environmental, ecological, which I want to be a part of this conversation. I never had, you know I'm not an environmental by nature. I like nature but I am not a radical in that sense. Like, I, so I have to understand, I have to put that in context and see how it interact with things?

[I: And hanging around in that site gives you a perspective on that sort of thing?]

Yeah.

[I: On how to relate to the environment or about issues about the environment?]

Yes. And also, there are local communities, there are other actors, there are environmentalists. There are- so it's a good place for me to understand the city. So, when you asked me what Aberdeen is for me, I look at it through this. I have a maritime perspective on Aberdeen. From the sea and the land.

[I: The sea is also the place where they drill holes to get oil. So how- you said you're not an environmentalist- so how do you do you put all this together. You like Aberdeen because of the sea. But Aberdeen is also the place where the sea is awfully drilled by these terrifying things, and how do you put this together?]

Um, I. Yeah, no, I mean the oil industry is not the cleanest and most environmentally friendly industry. But we rely on oil for our lives, and plastics. I am really a realist in this sense. I welcome the green revolution, the renewable industries and everything. But I know that the process to be compatible with change on a human scale- Um. I mean maybe I'm answering something that-

[I: I just keep reading that in Aberdeen, not only do they keep on drilling [...] there are more licences given. So, I don't know, you seem to be concerned with nature in the sense that you love nature, so how do you relate the things that interweave in Aberdeen. Aberdeen is yes, beautiful nature, new things coming out, new ways of using nature, and on the other hand there is this undeniable, heavy presence of the oil industry which is one of the most polluting industries.]

Yes, but it has decreased in size, consistently. Since, for what, the past ten years? Longer maybe

[I: Yeah, there was a deep crisis in 2014, 2015 when we first arrived because the price of oil went down rapidly and there was panic in Aberdeen, not only because lots of people lost their jobs. But because, I mean I'm putting my own vision in it, I think Aberdeen is marked, in a heavy way by the oil industry, Aberdeen IS the oil industry. A lot of the rest, to me, is a bit of a corrupt corollary to this industry.]