

Dejan Kaludjerović **CONVERSATIONS**



**VERLAG FÜR MODERNE KUNST**



For Giali





Dejan Kaludjerović  
**CONVERSATIONS**

Weltmuseum Wien  
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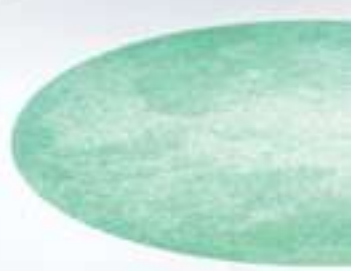
1860. Un grande deserto si estende, ma l'altitudine è ancora  
che è il più alto.



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Information on the left, they look like puzzles, they are not  
Information on the right, they look like puzzles, they are not







Mohammad Salemy

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# Child of the Universe: Objectivity at the Threshold of Individuation

Dejan Kaludjerović's practice in the last few years has taken a unique turn, pushing the notion of research by artists to new heights through employing empiricist methodologies for his artistic output. Approaching the politics and knowledge of art through a sociological prism, his work's epistemic import, however, lies in its fruitful transformation of quantitative methods into qualitative reflections. Evaluating the subtle differences between nation-states, Kaludjerović's series of fieldworks has probed the materialization of *weltanschauung* and subjectivity in various vernaculars. His collaborations with young children from around the world reveal the significance of "childhood" both as a space for channeling the cultural and political assumptions of different societies as well as its accommodation as a platform for the articulation of the children's very own subjective judgments. In his new work at Vienna's Weltmuseum titled *Conversations*, Kaludjerović combines these various "national" findings to present the viewers with a multilingual and international conversation between cultures from the perspective of children. Occupying the metaphoric space between a playground and a model United Nations summit, the work brackets out the geopolitical roots of cultural disagreements and conflicts so as to arrive at how different understandings of commonsensical units such as dreams, the future, fear, freedom, war, wealth and language are what unites and divides individuals and societies at their very basic human level.

Before addressing Kaludjerović's new exhibition, I will first conjure a working definition for the term 'research-based art', one that allows us to not only better understand the significance of this mode of art making but also to contextualize why Kaludjerović is able to transcend the limitations of the category and arrive at a new approach to both research and art making. Dictionaries describe the term 'research' as the systematic investigation of materials and resources directed towards establishing facts and making truth claims. While the term has been around for hundreds of years, its usage begins to peak around the early 1960s and stabilizes in the 2000s.<sup>1</sup> The term 'research-based art', however, frames a rather more recent phenomenon. It begins to circulate frequently in the world of art around the turn of the century and is used as a new marker of art practices and methodologies. The term owes its staying power not only to the desire of artists to expand beyond the claustrophobic and self-referential arena of art, but also to the pressure placed by state and non-state agencies on art in general to yield quantifiable justifications for the continuation of its presence in the social space.

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<sup>1</sup> See Google Ngram for the term 'research': [https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=research&year\\_start=1800&year\\_end=2000&corpus=15&smoothing=3&share=&direct\\_url=t1%3B%2Cresearch%3B%2Cc0](https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=research&year_start=1800&year_end=2000&corpus=15&smoothing=3&share=&direct_url=t1%3B%2Cresearch%3B%2Cc0) (accessed August 19, 2017).

Rooted in the scientific method, the term 'research' implies rigor and endurance in art making, distancing creativity from its expressive ontology towards measured procedures that are associated with the general production of knowledge. At their best, research-based art practices use the opportunities provided by considering art as knowledge to escape the limitations of art for art's sake. At their worse, they are merely a fashionable genre, fueling the desires of curators and institutions to showcase new art forms. However, it must be possible to bracket out these best- and worse-case scenarios to arrive at a more humble and pragmatic understanding of the phenomenon. Research-based art cannot consist only of the presentation and/or visualization of knowledge and, regardless of being rooted in rigorous investigation, must, at the end, resemble and function as art. If we agree that non-research-based art comes to life at the intersection of its phenomenological and cognitive functions, research-based art has the extra burden of supporting its cogno-phenomenological aesthetics through the trial and error of empiricism.<sup>2</sup>

If we agree that the production of knowledge operates by means of the two mainstays of researching and experimenting, then research-based art can be understood as a distinctive form of knowledge production in which even though the investigation and experimentation aspects of the practice might be conducted in fields other than art, the final knowledge claims are given and received predominantly in the world of art and art audiences. In this type of work, artists, often using particular artistic epistemologies stemming from their prior practice, move outside the specialized field of art to produce a kind of knowledge that, while belonging to the canon of art, has ramifications outside of art's narrow purview. At the heart of the question of research-based art are both the relationship between quantity and quality as inherited from the philosophy of science, and the role of the artistic subject in mediating the realms of objectivity and subjectivity. While the former has to do with how the buildup of quantifiable measures might lead to a qualitative leap, the latter involves the quality of precise interventions by artists in this formalized process in order for the work to transcend its scientific pretense and enter the realm of art.

It is here, in the last stage and through the decisions made by the artist, that research transmutes into art, for research from other fields of knowledge normally possess their own procedures and places of dissemination. However, artistic promiscuity, or the creative desire to transcend the disciplinary limits of art, together with the flexible possibilities of what we have come to understand today as contemporary art provide other fields an opportunity to resettle their concerns into another world. Thus, research-based art is only successful in meeting its own expectations when it crosses the spectral two-fold thresholds, on the one hand, between quantity and quality, and on the other hand, between objectivity and subjectivity. It is only then that it can provide, on demand, the weight and depth necessary for constructing new truths without sacrificing the existing realities.

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<sup>2</sup> The concept of art as a form of cogno-phenomenological entity goes beyond the physicality and function of objects that capture human attention. It considers art as the ultimate trap, which uses an appeal to the senses of the viewers to capture their mind, forcing them to find their own way out of their entrapment creatively and making a permanent mark on their minds in regards to how they navigate life afterwards.



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Kaludjerović's *Conversations* at Weltmuseum is composed from the audio-visual elements of the earlier iterations of the series *Conversations: Hula-Hoops, Elastics, Marbles and Sand*. These works were previously exhibited by different galleries and institutions in Austria, Azerbaijan, Israel, Iran, Russia and Serbia as a series of site-specific installations consisting of the voices of children between the ages of six and ten from the country in which each respective exhibition was taking place. In each project, financed and organized independently, the artist asked children from different backgrounds to respond to a similar set of questions; but in the process of editing the work, the voices of the artist and his translators were replaced by samples of the exact questions being asked by some of the children. In this way, what originated as an interrogation of children by adults was presented as an introspective conversation amongst children, the content of which ranged from the heartfelt and surprising to the predictable and mundane. Each sound installation was accompanied by a sculptural element in which the artist visually articulated the essence of the sound installation, expressing the tension between the children's worldview and the official state ideology. These sculptural components, six in total, also addressed the totality of the social settings in which the research had taken place. They also functioned as the artist's abstract reflections on both his investigative process and his method for gathering data in each local setting.

The present exhibition at Weltmuseum is not merely a gathering but the synthesis of these separate works into a new project placed in a fresh context. Entering the main gallery, the viewers are spatially confronted with a colorful wall made of 33 alphabet cubes from the Azerbaijani version, immediately blocking their view of the rest of the exhibit. Once circumventing the alphabet wall, they find a large platform covered with linoleum that stages a circle of marbles from the Serbian version held up by concrete constructions from the Israeli version that resemble bomb shelters used in that country. Behind the circle sits a sand box from the Iranian version. To climb up the platform, the viewers have two options. They can either walk up a ramp that is constructed from a school blackboard from the Russian version on which a hopscotch grid is painted and which is supported as it happens by some sticks from a Mikado Spiel box from the Austrian version; or alternatively, they can get up onto the platform by ascending steps made from some of the extra alphabet cubes from the Azerbaijani version. To absorb the exhibition, the viewers are free to walk around, climb on the platform, sit at the edge of the sand box or on extra alphabet cubes and bomb shelters. The setting is also suitable for resting while listening to the selected conversations of children from the six countries speaking in Arabic, Azeri, Farsi, Hebrew, German, Russian and Serbian. These voices are presented as an 18-channel sound installation synchronized with German and English subtitle videos, projected on the four walls of the gallery.

Describing *Conversations* only in terms of its previous stagings or its current iteration at Weltmuseum disregards the necessary pre-production required from the artists by research-based works of art. *Conversations* preexisted in the form of proposals, plans and estimates long before materializing in its current shape. This nearly bureaucratic pre-history is the invisible thread that links art making in countries as disparate as Israel and Iran, namely, that the internationally universalized system of support for the arts makes it possible for artists to plan and execute projects with such a geographic scope. Thus, it is not cynical or sarcastic to claim that taking advantage of existing funding structures and institutions' need for self-justification is another common axis binding research-based art with similar activities in

sciences and humanities. We are all familiar with the deeply held suspicion that focusing on funding opportunities hinders spontaneous creativity. What is new is the fact that the social proficiency in navigating art bureaucracy for research-based art has become an artistic skill itself, comparable, for example, to the familiarity of painters with the conditions of possibility for their isolated work in the studio. In this sense, *Conversations* could not have existed outside the myriad limits of its funding frame.

Kaludjerović's project arrives at Weltmuseum with its own brief history in the adjacent lounge in the form of cylinders that present graphic information about its previous iterations. The cylinders are clearly identifiable from a distance, making it easy for viewers to gravitate towards the sections of the large installation that interests them. Each of the six columns contains information about the geopolitical setting of the project taken from the CIA World Factbook, together with a curatorial statement about the particular iteration as well as the full transcript of the respective conversation. These documentation/archival stations are necessary if we are to keep in mind the fact that, before transforming into the seamless exhibition in Vienna, the project had to navigate geographically and politically from one nation-state to another, often encountering and confronting new set of constraints and possibilities in each vernacular. The lounge is also a reminder of both the bureaucratic and sociological origins of the project and is reflective of the estrangements between its different iterations, most obvious in the case of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Jewish State of Israel. The information design in the lounge also reflects the fact that, as a European city hosting one of the United Nations' headquarters, Vienna is a most suitable metropolitan vessel for displaying and synthesizing these geopolitical tensions.

However, starting with the basic means for carrying out a project cannot by itself guarantee the final quality of a work. Nor can a comprehensive and sustained research project backed by quantitative data guarantee the greatness of a work of art in the end. If the radicality of scientific method is assured by the flexible perspicacity of the initial hypothesis and its cross examination with a rigorous collection and application of empirical research, in research-based art, often the work begins modestly with quantitative research, and the qualitative leap comes only in the final stage, when the results are about to be aestheticized by the artist; for in the arts, we often recognize the greatness in art backwards and from the very sensible surface with which it confronts us and not with the conceptual or epistemic scaffoldings that holds it up.

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Even though Kaludjerović's *Conversations* at Weltmuseum resembles a large theatre set, once we augment the exhibit's visual elements with the 18-channel time-based voiceover, it becomes clear that the most appropriate way to approach the work is to consider it as a form of cinema, albeit a partially invisible one in which the actors are not visually present. The uniqueness of the work as a cinematic installation – in line with what is known in contemporary art as “expanded cinema” – lies in the fact that it de-emphasizes one of the key characteristics of the genre, namely, the use of physical projections in favour of what can be called cognitive projections.<sup>3</sup> In Kaludjerović's cinema, the projections are cognitive and internal, that is, in the minds of the viewers; the mental images are produced in the dialectics between

<sup>3</sup> For a definition of expanded cinema, see Gene Youngblood, *Expanded Cinema* (Boston: E. P. Dutton, 1970).

the voices and the empty architecture of the playground. On the other hand, as a form of cinema concerned with children, the origins of *Conversations* can be traced back to the works of Abbas Kiarostami, the Iranian auteur whose early films addressed the pedagogical development of subjectivity in children.<sup>4</sup> Like Kiarostami, the desire to both approach and reach out to children does not weigh on the artist in such a way as to compromise the depth of his work, but rather, the installation offers an opportunity for young viewers to have a uniquely self-reflective experience while simultaneously addressing adults as its primary audience. Hosting *Conversations* at Weltmuseum, an institution often frequented by school-age children, provides the artist a further chance to pursue some of these objectives.

Listening to the content of the conversations makes it clear that the enthusiasm expressed by the participants is indicative of their excitement at participating in this experiment, since being asked their opinion is an unusual and extraordinary phenomenon. By lifting them out of their mundane daily routines and asking them to focus instead on forming opinions, the project creates a children's utopia in which they recognize themselves as subjects worthy of attention. The therapeutic effects of this exercise can be felt in the dialogues where participants move very close to expressing or reflecting on their personal trauma resulting directly or indirectly from their surroundings, be it family or society. Moreover, like other children's playgrounds, the installation doubles as a line of flight away from the concerns of adults to where children construct worlds of their own.

The viewers' first impressions of *Conversations* might lead them to think that the participating children are merely reflecting what they receive from their social surroundings, and there might even be plenty of evidence in the dialogues to support this proposition; however, a closer listen and a comparison between different layers of dialogue might prove otherwise. As the narrative develops, participants recognize their interactions as a chance to reflect on basic philosophical questions and formulate opinions, and through this process, they arrive at their selfhoods. Thus, the best way to describe the sound portion of *Conversations* is as the space wherein the function of transparently channeling the surroundings by children subtly transforms into individuating away from whom they're told they are toward whom they would like to be. The age of the participants, most of them being 6 to 9 year olds, puts them at the thresholds of subject formation, where a child's internal self-conception transforms from a mirror reflecting the world around them to a self-consciously composed collage of images, habits and values.

The German and English subtitles for the voices emphasize that *Conversations* is a fair example of the universalism of particulars. The different voices presented in the piece speak the same language when it comes to abstract concepts, but deviate when particulars get in the way. This shows that, despite differences, there exists a substantial local basis for a strong global understanding of humanity as a whole, and that no amount of vernacular specificity can prevent the emergence of a universal picture of humanity-at-large.

Even though Kaludjerović has intentionally removed his own voice from the conversations and is presenting them as a quotidian discussion between children, he is not entirely absent from the exhibit's en-

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<sup>4</sup> For a general introduction to Kiarostami's cinema, see: Alberto Elena, *The Cinema of Abbas Kiarostami* (London: Saqi, 2005). For a closer look at the Iranian director's relationship with children as the subject of his films, see: Amir Soltani, "The Child Heroes of Abbas Kiarostami's Films" at <http://moviemezzanine.com/abbas-kiarostami-essay> (accessed August 19, 2017).

vironment; his presence is felt through the objects that constitute the visual elements of the installation. In fact, the primary conversation bouncing around the space in the hope of being heard is between the artist in the shape of his objects and the children in the form of their voices. This is why the work could not have been complete as merely a sound installation and the corresponding text videos. By staging the visual components, Kaludjerović recalls the ghosts of the project from their previous lives during their original iterations. They are reconvened to form the basis of an experiment in how particular formal settings can potentially produce a generic universal. What this means is that if each installation functioned in a particular way in its vernacular setting, their assembly at Weltmuseum measures the project's universal appeal and application. The six different localities that were each a basis of a reflection about a particular place, once put into interaction, become a global experience. We must add that, even though the implications of Kaludjerović's *Conversations* are manifold and seem to diverge, together they share the tendency to reconcile and complicate significant dualities that have continually haunted the production of knowledge. Thus, the presence of the artist is crucial as the acting body linking the dualities with which the exhibition grapples. At the heart of *Conversations* is an artist's attempt to deal with the binaries of quantity versus quality, objectivity versus subjectivity, universal versus particular, and overall, scientific and artistic inquiries. *Conversations* cleverly sketches the co-dependent topologies of these opposites and proposes a roadmap as to how these complex distances can be navigated.

*Thanks to Sam Samiee for contributing to some of the ideas discussed in this text.*

Jelena Petrović

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## *I don't know what freedom is, not at all...*<sup>1</sup>

Growing up is politics, conditioned ideologically and affectively by the social communities that surround us. Dejan Kaluđerović's long-term art project: *Conversations: Hula Hoops, Elastics, Marbles and Sand* (2013–present) is a reminder of the fact that childhood is not spared from political reality and political thought, however much this period of life, often referred to as the age of innocence, may be devoid of social responsibility for the things that happen and will continue to happen in the future. The basic setting for each art piece within this project is the playground as the place where different voices of children are gathered, coming from various – and at the same time paradigmatic – social, economic, cultural, technological and political backgrounds. The playground thus grows into the children's forum that, through a set of posed questions and their answers, reveals the thoughts, emotions, doubts, misunderstandings, limitations and interpretations of the world in which we live. Discussing some important topics and commonplaces, children are able to articulate the political reality and imagine their own country and society, while at the same time they testify to social antagonisms and permanent war. The past, the present and the future disappear in the all-encompassing time in which life evolves behind the real geopolitical spaces and their dominant narratives. In other words, the playground is presented as the place where innocence, ingenuity and imagination blur those safe zones within which the banality of evil vis-à-vis society, that is, vis-à-vis the other, is for the first time manifested in each individual childhood.

Children's typical black-and-white representations of the world, events and people paradoxically indicate the complex politics of everyday life, whose value systems are today built by (post-)ideological and (post-)social identities. The hybridity and/or intersectionality of all existing identities are set against the so-called essentialist categories of class, race, gender, religion, nationality and many others, through the perspectives of postcolonial and other deconstructionist approaches that still strive towards some imaginary – as well as usurped – democracies. These are in fact global democratic values that determine social life in terms of economics, situate political power and reproduce the contemporary everydayness of patriarchy, colonialism and neoliberalism, appealing to the heritage of civilization, which belongs to the hegemonic mechanisms of power. While we may be speaking about different geopolitical zones, whose differences have been pacified and culturalized by various new politics of identity, the global structures within which these diverse identities are politically distributed, classified and evaluated/subjugated are in fact the same.

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<sup>1</sup> The answer given by Mina, a seven-year-old girl of Arab descent, to the question of what freedom is, taken from the Israeli version of the *Conversations: Hula Hoops, Elastics, Marbles and Sand* (2013–present) project.

WELL, I DON'T REALLY KNOW WHAT IT MEANS. BEING A GIRL IS... HM... I DON'T KNOW. I DON'T HAVE ANY OPINIONS REGARDING GIRLS. BEING A GIRL MEANS THAT YOU HAVE A DIFFERENT CHARACTER FROM BEING A BOY. I DON'T KNOW WHAT BEING A GIRL MEANS. IN MY OPINION, BEING A GIRL IS LIKE BEING A BOY. I REALLY DON'T KNOW. LIKE OUR BEHAVIOURS, OUR HAIR... UMM... OUR LOOKS... OUR CLOTHES... FOR EXAMPLE HE HAS HIS BOYISH BEHAVIOURS, LIKE MY COUSIN HE GETS ANGRY ALL THE TIME, HE BEHAVES LIKE OTHER BOYS BUT WE ARE VERY DIFFERENT. LIKE WE TALK IN A SOFT VOICE... UMM... WE SPEAK CLEARLY... WE SPEAK VERY WELL... EVEN IF WE SHOUT WE SOUND DIFFERENT. TO BE A GIRL... AH... IT MEANS THAT WE CAN... MOTHERS CAN DELIVER EITHER A BOY OR A GIRL, IT DOESN'T MATTER IF THEY HAD A GIRL ALTHOUGH THEY WANTED A BOY. IT DOESN'T MATTER IF IT IS A GIRL THE MOST IMPORTANT THING IS THAT THEY KNOW WHATEVER GOD... WHATEVER GOD HAS GIVEN THEM THEY NEED TO LOVE IT. HM... MM... FOR ME THIS MEANS NOTHING. A GIRL IS A GIRL. BEING A GIRL MEANS... A GIRL IS JUST A GIRL, A HUMAN BEING, NOT A BOY. A GIRL HAS LONG HAIR. A GIRL HAS HER OWN TASTE. ESPECIALLY LITTLE GIRLS, THEIR FAVORITE COLOR IS ALWAYS PINK. AND THEN, WHEN YOU GET OLDER YOU CAN CHOOSE ANY COLOR YOU WANT. I DON'T HAVE ANY SPECIAL IDEA. WELL, MAYBE SOME BOYS LIKE PINK, BECAUSE ONE BOY IN MY CLASS, HIS NAME IS OGNJEN, HE LIKES PINK BUT HIS MUM NEVER BUYS HIM PINK, BECAUSE HIS MUM THINKS IT IS MORE FOR GIRLS. BEING A GIRL MEANS LOVING... DIFFERENT FLOWERS... I DON'T KNOW... LOVING PINK... UGH, DISGUSTING. A GIRL IS WHEN, I THINK IT IS WHEN YOU ARE SOMEHOW GIRLY, YOU LIKE MAKE UP AND ALL THAT. A GIRL SHOULD TAKE CARE OF HOW SHE LOOKS, SHOULD HELP HER MOTHER. BUT A BOY IS DOING HIS OWN BUSINESS. MM... GIRLS... MM ARE HM USUALLY NOT AS SPO... SPORTIVE WELL BOYS ARE SPO... MORE SPORTIVE AND GIRLS DO OTHERS THINGS FOR EXAMPLE BALLET AND... AND GIRLS USUALLY COOK AND... DO SUCH THINGS. WELL, IN GENERAL, ALMOST NO [DIFFERENCE]. SOME GIRLS WANT TO BECOME A DOCTOR, SOME - A HAIRDRESSER... SOME WANT TO BECOME MILITARY SOLDIERS, FOR EXAMPLE, MY LITTLE SISTER, SHE DREAMS OF BECOMING MILITARY MAN... AND SHE DOES BOXING ALL THE TIME, AND DOES EXERCISES, SHE GOES IN FOR [HOW IS IT CALLED?]... OSETIAN DANCING, BALLET, BREAK DANCE... SHE GOES. I ALSO GO IN FOR BREAK DANCE WITH HER. WELL, GIRLS, ONE OF MY FRIENDS IS ALWAYS SHOWING OFF AND HER NAME IS ANASTASIA, SHE JUST SHOWS OFF, LIKE, SHE WANTS TO BEAT ME IN BEING CLEVERER SO SHE ALWAYS GETS ME INTO TROUBLE SO THAT I HAVE TO GO TO THE SCHOOL COUNSELLOR. GIRLS ARE... ARE TALL SOMETIMES, SOMETIMES LITTLE, ALMOST LIKE BOYS, ONLY THEY HAVE LONGER HAIR... AND... THEIR DIFFERENCE IS THEIR HAIR, AND ALSO WOMEN WEAR MANTO AND SCARF... AND... I THINK GIRLS ARE QUITE OKAY, BECAUSE... GIRLS DO OTHER THINGS DIFFERENT THAN BOYS, THEY DANCE FOR EXAMPLE... OR RATHER PLAY... WITH EACH OTHER... OR BOYS RATHER PLAY SOCCER OR SO, I WOULD NEVER DO THAT... YES. AND WHAT DO YOU THINK? WELL THERE ARE MANY KINDS OF GIRLS, THERE ARE HYSTERICAL, WHO GET ANNOYED FOR THE SMALLEST THING STRAIGHT AWAY, THERE ARE GOOD GIRLS, THERE ARE BAD ONES; THERE ARE MANY KINDS OF GIRLS. WELL BOYS BEHAVE A BIT... A BIT AHM... A BIT... NASTIER... AND GIRLS ARE A BIT... WELL, NOT, NOT AS AGGRESSIVE. BOYS ARE NAUGHTY... WHEN YOU TELL THEM SOMETHING BAD THEY GET VERY UPSET. I DON'T THINK THAT THERE'S A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN BEING A BOY AND BEING A GIRL, I DON'T KNOW WHY, BUT SINCE KINDERGARTEN THAT'S WHAT I THINK. THEY HAVE SHORT HAIR. BUT SOME PEOPLE IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES AROUND THE WORLD, SOME OF THEM HAVE LONG HAIR. LITTLE BOYS ALWAYS LIKE BLUE. THEIR FAVORITE TOYS ARE MOSTLY CARS AND GIRLS HAVE DOLLS. BOYS LOVE BLUE, BUT WHEN THEY GET OLDER THEY CAN CHOOSE THE COLOR THEY LIKE. TO BE A BOY MEANS TO BE STRONG, THAT EVERYONE NOTICES YOU AND STUFF. I THINK BOYS FIGHT MORE OFTEN THAN GIRLS. THERE ARE BOYS WHO LIKE TO FIGHT, TO KICK, TO HIT OTHERS WITH THEIR FISTS, AND THERE ARE SOME GOOD BOYS WHO LIKE TO PLAY WITH OTHERS, EVERYTHING OPPOSITE. THERE ARE SOME BOYS WHO, HOW SHOULD I SAY IT, ARE GIRLY BOYS WHO DO EVERYTHING LIKE GIRLS: WALK LIKE GIRLS, PUT MAKE-UP ON, PUT NAIL VARNISH ON, THERE. I... CAN'T QUITE EXPLAIN THAT. BECAUSE BOYS ARE STRONG, THEY CAN DO ANYTHING. BUT GIRLS ARE WEAK, THEY CAN DO NOTHING. BUT BOYS CAN DO EVERYTHING. MM BOYS ARE DOING MORE RUNNING THAN GIRLS... AND... DO USUALLY... DRINK ALCOHOL... AND... BEING A BOY MEANS BEING A MAN. IT MEANS BEING STRONG, COURAGEOUS, BRAVE. A BOY IS SOMEONE WHO CAN ALWAYS PROTECT HIMSELF. A BOY MEANS A GROWNUP AND WISE PERSON. BEING A BOY IS THE SAME THING AS A GIRL. I THINK IT IS JUST SIMILAR, YET I THINK GIRLS FIGHT MORE OFTEN THAN BOYS DO. THERE ARE SOME BOYS WHO ARE GOOD AND LIKE TO PLAY NICELY, AND THERE ARE THOSE BAD ONES WHO LIKE TO HURT OTHER PEOPLE. A BOY NEVER HELPS ANYONE. HALF OF THE BOYS ARE GOOD, HALF OF THE BOYS ARE BAD. BECAUSE, BAD ONES HIT THEIR PARENTS, THEY DON'T HELP OLD PEOPLE, ANYONE. THEY BEHAVE BADLY IN FRONT OF SOME PEOPLE, THEY CAN HIT THEIR MOTHER IN FRONT OF SOME PEOPLE, THEY CAN SAY ANYTHING, THEY CAN OFFEND... THIS MEANS A BOY.

*What does it mean to be a girl?*

The *Conversations: Hula Hoops, Elastics, Marbles and Sand* project (2013–present) brings before us the fact that the knowledge of the power mechanisms that regulate social relations is deeply rooted in childhood. The project faces us with the realization that these mechanisms originate in the family as the nuclear unit of civil society, the foundations for and basic functioning principles of which were set by the union between patriarchy and capitalism a long time ago (the so-called bourgeois family). Built as an ethically untouchable biopolitical construct, the family has to this day preserved its status of an apolitical and private socio-economic organization, notwithstanding some minor disturbances caused by the ideology of the October Revolution in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Following the ideas of communism and socialism, this radical social change was an attempt at solving numerous issues of the class system, as well as the woman questions of unpaid and invisible work, oppression and structural violence of patriarchy. We might here refer to Alexandra Kollontai, who substitutes the view of the family as the foundation of capitalist patriarchy for a vision of new collectives and communities, which today sounds like an impossible political, economic and cultural social utopia:

*Communist society considers the social education of the rising generation to be one of the fundamental aspects of the new life. The old family, narrow and petty, where the parents quarrel and are only interested in their own offspring, is not capable of educating the “new person”. The playgrounds, gardens, homes and other amenities where the child will spend the greater part of the day under the supervision of qualified educators will, on the other hand, offer an environment in which the child can grow up a conscious communist who recognises the need for solidarity, comradeship, mutual help and loyalty to the collective.<sup>1</sup>*

The new society, which had in the meantime been adapted by patriarchy to the new social ideology of communism, did make some progress though, at least in the attempts to build a welfare state in which the social infrastructure provided a woman with certain benefits for some time regarding the so-called reproductive work. In this way, the division of family labour and social reproduction became in the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century inscribed in the process of labelling the working class by means of naturalisation of traditional gender roles. Woman’s well-being remained but a footnote to the prosperity of the man, so childbearing and rearing, domestic chores and consumer activities stayed the primary tasks of the woman, while, consequently, the man’s paid work retained its status of privilege.<sup>2</sup> Built on the supposedly “natural” male v. female values and the constructed moral categories of the working woman with a family, political economy created the conditions that allowed for the relationship between production and the gender division of labour to become more and more re-traditionalised over the course of time. The failure of socialism’s clash with patriarchy at the end of 20<sup>th</sup> century, as well the failure of socialism by itself, led to the appearance of structural nostalgia for the non-existent ideal family from the equally non-existent halcyon pre-socialist days, or, put differently, brought about the yearning for the “true family values” of neoliberal democracy. The paid work of men retained its privileged status legitimised during the political-economic transition within the post-socialist framework of contemporary capitalism, which is evidenced by, among other things, the increasing feminisation of

<sup>1</sup> Alexandra Kollontai, *Communism and the Family*, 1920, [www.marxists.org/archive/kollonta/1920/communism-family.htm](http://www.marxists.org/archive/kollonta/1920/communism-family.htm) (accessed on 25 July 2017)

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1988, pp. 53–93.

unemployment and poverty, the feminisation of service activities and low-paid jobs, the flexibility and precariousness of women's work, the suspension of women's social rights and the related quantification of their domestic labour, reproductive work and other forms of unpaid work, as well as the various modes of violence that successfully generate and maintain such structures. Re-traditionalising gender roles in the process of the re/production of everyday life within the increasingly more pronounced class differences of neoliberal society has contributed to the related problems being nowadays more and more frequently solved in the realm of the private/domestic instead of in that of the public/social/political.<sup>3</sup> Referring to Kaludjerović's project, collective heritage and the acquired knowledge of the basic values of family life and the division of labour become evident in the conversations about gender roles in the different social environments – post-socialist/post-communist, and capitalist, peripheral and central, (post-)transitional, etc. What is common to all these systems today is a global, neoliberal and seemingly culturally diverse structure of patriarchy from which any social and political opinion on what normative values of civilisation are is generated.

The patriarchal, that is, domestic matrix of neoliberal democracy is today certainly substantiated and modernised by each individual civil/citizen-subject within any given fundamental unit of society.<sup>4</sup> The simplified analyses of the politics and economy around us, which this project generates through children's answers to money-, power- and society-related issues, speak in favour of the fact that class dynamics and diversification are politically subjectivised through economy and the so-called citizen values of society. If we define contemporary society through the fact that all dimensions of human life in it are reduced to market rationality and relations formed on the basis of profitability, normativity and competitiveness, it becomes obvious that such a social system turns the citizen – male or female – into human capital, whose knowledge, characteristics and abilities present initial investments.<sup>5</sup> These investments depend on certain preconditions such as gender, class, race, but also on characteristics such as talent, appearance, resourcefulness, creativity, etc., which can be improved only if one possesses entrepreneurial abilities, which acquire the primary position in every realm of everyday life. To these, we might add strategic planning, organisation and administration of individual lives; individual choices, which refer to calculations according to the indicators of what is profitable, useful and successful; and, finally, individual responsibility and self-care, which are closely related to moral autonomy, on the one hand, and the arbitrary politics of human rights on the other. A place of prominence within civil/citizen-

<sup>3</sup> The division into the private and public realms has a long history, throughout which its basic meanings have remained largely unchanged, despite all historical changes and particularly as pertains to the position of women. The mutual relationship between the private and public realms was discussed by Hannah Arendt, who used as the starting point the difference between public spaces, which are political (Greek: *agora*), and private spaces, which are domestic, proprietary, and, in Ancient Greece, spaces of inequality. Arendt goes on to claim that social spaces are generated at the intersection of these two, at a much later period, when modern nation-states appeared alongside 'the social man', and when family became the basic unit of social, i.e. national economy (German: *Volkswirtschaft*). The research of these realms, therefore, as well as their representation in the social imagery, is the crucial demand posed today before any post-capitalist society and its political economy. Hannah Arendt, "The Public and the Private Realm", *The Human Condition*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1958, pp. 22–78.

<sup>4</sup> According to Wendy Brown, citizen-subjects act as neoliberal entrepreneurs in all aspects of their lives in neoliberal society. Wendy Brown, "Neoliberalism and End of Liberal Democracy", in *Edgework: Critical Essays on Knowledge and Politics*, Princeton University Press, 2005, pp. 42–44.

<sup>5</sup> According to Jason Read, who examines neoliberalism through the lens of particular production of subjectivity and the ways in which individuals are constituted as subjects of human capital. Jason Read, "A Genealogy of Homo Economicus: Neoliberalism and the Production of Subjectivity", *Foucault Studies*, no. 6, February 2009: Special Issue on *The Birth of Biopolitics*, pp. 25–36.



MMM I DON'T KNOW WHAT IT MEANS BEING POOR. I'VE HEARD BUT I DON'T KNOW. WHAT ABOUT YOU? YES. POOR PEOPLE FOR EXAMPLE... ER... FOR EXAMPLE HAVE VERY LITTLE MONEY, FOR EXAMPLE RICH PEOPLE FOR EXAMPLE HAVE A LOT OF MONEY, FOR EXAMPLE THEY CAN BUY ANYTHING THEY LIKE. TO BE RICH MEANS NOT TO CARE ABOUT WHAT HAPPENS TO OTHER PEOPLE WHO ARE NOT LIKE YOU. AND TO BE POOR IS LIKE YOU ARE MODEST. YOU DO NOT HAVE A LOT OF THINGS, BUT YOU DON'T REALLY NEED THEM... THAT'S HOW I WOULD SAY IT. I DON'T KNOW. MM BEING RICH MEANS THAT FOR EXAMPLE ONE HAS LOTS OF MONEY, AND POOR MEANS WHEN ONE, WELL WHEN ONE IS BEGGING AND HAS NO MONEY. SOME RICH ARE NOT GOOD, AND SOME ARE. THE POOR ARE GOOD, AND SOME ARE A BIT NAUGHTY BECAUSE THEY WANT TO STEAL MONEY. WHAT DO YOU THINK? IN MY OPINION, TO BE POOR, IS TO BE SOMEONE WITHOUT A LOT OF MONEY, BUT HE CAN BE HAPPY. BEING RICH IS SOMEONE WHO HAS A LOT OF MONEY, BUT HE IS NOT NECESSARILY HAPPY. WELL, FOR ME BEING RICH MEANS, THAT YOU HAVE A LOT OF MONEY AND YOU CAN BUY YOURSELF ANYTHING, AND BEING POOR FOR ME MEANS THAT YOU CANNOT JUST BUY EVERYTHING AND THAT YOU JUST... THAT YOU CAN JUST... AHM... ONLY BUY VERY CHEAP THINGS. WELL, THAT THE POOR ARE MORE RICH IN THEIR SOUL THAN IN MONEY, AND THE RICH ARE A BIT MORE POOR IN THEIR SOUL THAN IN MONEY. BEING RICH MEANS WHEN YOU HAVE A LOT OF MONEY. IT'S WHEN... YOU... MAYBE... YOU CAN BE... UMM... A MILLIONAIRE, A THOUSAND MILLIONAIRE... YOU CAN BUY... YOU CAN BE A TRILLIONAIRE. BEING POOR MEANS WHEN YOU HAVEN'T GOT A GRAM OF MONEY. WHEN YOU CAN'T BUY ANYTHING AND... YOU CAN'T EVEN BUY NORMAL JUICE. YOU CAN'T BUY ANYTHING WHEN YOU ARE POOR. WELL, IT IS CALLED RICH WHEN YOU HAVE A LOT OF MONEY, FOR EXAMPLE MILLIONS OR... OR EVEN MUCH MORE, AND IT IS CALLED POOR WHEN YOU, WHEN YOU ONLY HAVE VERY LITTLE MONEY AND YOU, AND YOU HAVE ALMOST NO MONEY AND YOU CAN HARDLY BUY ANYTHING. POOR MEANS, UMM... I MEAN SOMEONE WHO HAS A SMALL HOUSE, HE DOESN'T HAVE ANY CLOTHES, OR HE HAS A FEW CLOTHES. BEING RICH MEANS SOMEONE WHO HAS A VERY BEAUTIFUL HOUSE, BUYS ANY MEAL AND CLOTHES THAT HE WANTS AND THUS, HE IS RICH. A LOT OF RICH... PROBABLY, HE DOES SOME WORK AND EARNS MONEY, SO THAT HE BECOMES RICH. IF A HUMAN HAS GOOD KNOWLEDGE AND CAN BUY ANYTHING HE WANTS, IT MEANS BEING RICH. WHAT ABOUT YOU? POOR MEANS... THAT... YOU HAVE NO HOME AND NO MONEY, FROM THE ASPECT... THE IDEAL ASPECT. AND... BEING RICH MEANS THAT YOU HAVE A BIG HOUSE... AND YOU HAVE LOTS OF MONEY. A RICH PERSON IS SOMEONE WHO FOR EXAMPLE HAS A LOT OF MONEY AND THINGS BUT A POOR PERSON FOR EXAMPLE IS SOMEONE WHO HAS LITTLE MONEY AND HE CAN HARDLY GET THE THINGS HE WANTS. TO BE POOR MEANS TO LIVE IN THE STREET, NEVER... NEVER TO LIVE IN A FAMILY, TO BE A BEGGAR, TO FIGHT FOR A PIECE OF BREAD, ELSE... TO STARVE, TO BE THIRSTY, TO STEAL, AND TO LIVE IN A BOX, AT LAST, TO LIVE RICH... WELL, ONE CAN'T... WHEN YOU LIVE RICH, YOU CAN'T MAKE FUN OF THOSE WHO ARE POORER, YOU CAN'T CALL THEM, WELL, I DON'T EVEN KNOW HOW, BEGGARS, TO CUT A LONG STORY SHORT, RICHNESS IS GIVEN TO YOU IN ORDER NOT TO USE IT AGAINST SOMEBODY'S WILL, BUT TO USE IT WITH ONE'S MIND. POOR PEOPLE ARE THOSE WHO DON'T HAVE MONEY. THEY... THEY WALK ON THE STREETS, WITHOUT A HOUSE, AND ASK FOR MONEY. AND RICH, THAT IS PEOPLE WHO HAVE MONEY, A HOUSE, THEY ALREADY HAVE EVERYTHING. THEY HAVE A LOT OF MONEY, THEY ARE RICH. ONE... IN OUR BUILDING ON THE EIGHTH FLOOR ALREADY WITH A CARD, SO WE THINK THAT THEY ARE RICH, BECAUSE BEFORE THERE WAS JUST A BUTTON TO PUSH AND NOW WITH A CARD. I THINK... BECAUSE... FOR THE THIEVES NOT TO GO THERE. THE POOR LIVE HARD BECAUSE THEY DON'T HAVE NICE CLOTHES AND SO THEY HOLD SMALL POTS AND TELL US TO GIVE THEM SOME MONEY. TO BE RICH IS NOT SO GREAT. IT IS GREAT TO BE CLEVER.

*What does it mean to be poor or rich?*

subjectivisation is occupied by cultural differences<sup>6</sup> and social patterns that establish certain binary oppositions, such as majority/minority, centre/periphery, public/private, universal/particular, etc. In brief, when speaking about the civil/citizen-subject, we are actually speaking about homo economicus, or the man who produces himself<sup>7</sup> in the contemporary globalising circumstances of capitalism. At the same time, this human capital generates, through different identitary evaluations and power relations, the very notion of citizen society, i.e. human and democratic society, as the ultimatum of so-called civilisation.

<sup>6</sup> One of the products of culturalized systemic differences (based on the traditionally established categories of ethnic, gender and class affiliation) is a multicultural society that fragments and neutralises these systemic social differences (economic and political) by means of the politics of diversity and the ideology of tolerance. In this way, cultural (ethnic, gender, class) identity is implicit – and complicit – in the production of the neoliberal citizen-subject.

<sup>7</sup> This refers to the famous quote: “Homo Economicus is an entrepreneur, an entrepreneur of himself” Michel Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, p. 226.

NO. I DON'T KNOW WHAT WAR IS. I'VE HEARD BUT I DON'T KNOW. WAR IS. WHEN... WHEN... WHEN TWO PEOPLE ARE NOT GETTING ALONG AND THEN THEN KEEP ON FIGHTING WITH EACH OTHER TILL DEATH. WAR IS... THEY FIGHT THERE... OVER THE FASCISTS. WAR MEANS. UMM... FIGHTING. SOME PEOPLE ARE FIGHTING. FOR EXAMPLE. AZERBAIJANIS FOUGHT WITH ARMENIANS AND RUSSIANS IN THE PAST. IT'S WAR. FIGHTING... WAR MEANS FIGHTING. AHM. YES I KNOW WHAT WAR IS. WELL. WAR MEANS THAT PEOPE SHOOT EACH OTHER OR FIGHT. I DON'T REALLY. REALLY, REALLY, REALLY, REALLY KNOW WHAT WAR IS. I JUST KNOW THAT IT'S A KIND OF... THERE ARE TWO GROUPS WITH... GUNS. PISTOLS. BOW AND ARROWS. ALL SORTS OF THINGS. AH... PEOPLE WHO KNOW HOW TO PUNCH, AND... THEY GO TO BATTLE AGAINST THE SECOND GROUP THAT HAS THE SAME THING. FOR EXAMPLE. THE USA AGAINST... EHH... JORDAN. I HEARD THAT SOME TURKS AND AS IF THEY WANTED TO CONQUER SERBIA. THE WAR IS WHEN ONE CITY FIGHTS WITH ANOTHER. LIKE ARMENIANS. THEY ARE ENEMIES OF OUR PEOPLE AND THEY OCCUPIED SOME... SOME REGIONS OF OURS. THEY SHOT MANY PEOPLE: SOME FATHERS, SOME CHILDREN, SOME MOTHERS. THEY... THEY SHOT EVERYONE. AND THE WAR LASTED FOR SEVERAL YEARS AND. FRANKLY SPEAKING. WE DON'T KNOW... WE DIDN'T READ THE PEOPLE... PEOPLE OF AZERBAIJAN BOOK, BUT I DISCOVERED ALL THOSE THINGS WHEN I READ THE RUSSIAN LANGUAGE BOOK IN THE FIRST GRADE AT SCHOOL. WAR... WELL. IT IS WHEN SOME PERSON WANTS POWER: HE GATHERS AN ARMY AND ATTACKS SOME UNPROTECTED TOWN. AND OTHERS HAVE NOTHING LEFT BUT FIGHT. AND THIS STRIVING FOR POWER MAY SOON DESTROY THE WORLD AND TURN EVERYTHING INTO A WAR CAMP. WAR IS THE TIME WHEN ALL PEOPLE GO TO WAR. IT DOESN'T MATTER WHO THEY ARE. THEY JUST GO TO PROTECT THE MOTHERLAND. FIGHT, FIGHT. BUT SOON IT TURNS OUT THAT NOBODY WON. IT WAS JUST STUPID. SOMETIMES THESE ARE JUST CONFLICTS OF INTERESTS... SOMETIMES THEY SAY, DO YOU WANT WAR? YOU'LL GET IT... HE SAID THIS OUT OF STUPIDITY. SOMETIMES YOU SHOULD SAY: WHY DO YOU NEED THIS WAR? BUT WAR IS NOT SOMETHING THAT APPEARS. WAR IS SOMETHING THAT A MAN CREATES. IF A MAN DOESN'T WANT WAR. IT WON'T HAPPEN. WAR IS KILLING, RUNNING AWAY, BURNING, TO BE WITHOUT A HOME. THAT IS WAR. WAR IS WHEN SOMEBODY IS FIGHTING FOR THE TERRITORY WITH EACH OTHER. AND... AND SOME ARE SO AGGRESSIVE THAT THEY KILL EACH OTHER. THAT IS WHAT WAR IS CALLED... SOME ARE BURIED, SOME ARE LEFT ON THE BATTLEFIELD... THIS IS HOW IT HAPPENS. SOME GET INJURED AND THEY ARE TAKEN TO PHYSICIAN... A PHYSICIAN IS A MILITARY DOCTOR... BUT, IN GENERAL, I THINK THAT IT'S NO USE TO FIGHT... ONE CAN JUST PAY [BACK]. THAT'S IT. AND YOU? I DON'T KNOW. WAR? YES I KNOW WHAT WAR MEANS. WAR IS WHEN TWO COUNTRIES, WELL WHEN, WHEN, FOR EXAMPLE SOME... WELL A SOLDIERS FROM THE OTHER COUNTRY KILLS ANOTHER AND THEN THERE IS WAR... AGAINST TWO COUNTRIES. THEY START TO HAVE A FIGHT WITH EACH OTHER BECAUSE OF SOME LITTLE AND MEANINGLESS PROBLEMS. NO, I DON'T EXACTLY UNDERSTAND WHAT WAR IS. IT SEEMS TO ME THAT I WON'T UNDERSTAND IT UNTIL ABOUT NINE YEARS FROM NOW, AND EVEN THEN I'M NOT SURE. BECAUSE IN ABOUT NINE MORE YEARS I'LL BE IN THE ARMY. UMM... YES. FOR EXAMPLE FROM DIFFERENT COUNTRIES... FOR EXAMPLE FROM DIFFERENT COUNTRIES... FOR EXAMPLE THEY COME AND HAVE WAR WITH ONE ANOTHER. FOR EXAMPLE THEY SHOOT EACH OTHER. THEY BRING TANKS... FOR EXAMPLE... THESE THINGS. WAR IS A DIFFERENCE OF OPINION WHICH LEADS TO SOMETHING EXTREME. IN MY OPINION. YES. LIKE FOR EXAMPLE TWO COUNTRIES ARE UNABLE TO AGREE WITH ONE ANOTHER. THEN THEY ATTACK EACH OTHER AND START A WAR. WAR? YES I KNOW. AS THEY OCCUPIED PALESTINE AND MADE IT ISRAEL. AT WAR THEY SHOOT AND KILL PEOPLE, WELL NOT PEOPLE BUT FASCISTS.

*Do you know what war is?*

The civilising process under the veil of global democracy (neo-colonialism) becomes more complex when war is involved as a self-justifying means of defence in a contemporary society of this kind. After patriarchy and neoliberal civil society, neo-colonialism is the third symptomatic layer of the project reading, at the same time, one of the questions that activate this artistic action. Children's perspectives on the global war and localised conflicts do not indicate that the condition of war is invisible in the world of adults, but rather that adults ignore it, being as individuals unable to change anything, since society is now excluded and alienated from the politics of everyday life, perhaps more than it has ever been. The politics of affect, manifested in different kinds of resistance, are soon absorbed in and revised according to the global reality that we only passively observe today in its transitions and systemic adaptations to the neoliberal civil society. Furthermore, the appropriation of the basic meanings of freedom and democracy

by such a society has made room for the main prerequisite for the perpetual war, which officially began with the Bush administration in 2001, as total war against terror(ism). Such war, initiated as a war without limits, is achieved by means of military interventions and the accompanying humanitarian action, arms trade treaties made in the name of global freedom, and the defence of democracy and human rights, whereby these possessed ideas become lucrative commodities to be exported and globally imposed as the foundations of contemporary civilisation.<sup>8</sup> Free market economy has, together with its neoliberal subjects and structures, produced a new type of state in which contemporary war – perpetual and global – is generated by administrative and governmental mechanisms. The nation-state of the past, now transformed into a neoliberal or war-state,<sup>9</sup> has brought about new modes of brutal exploitation and colonialism – symbolic, biopolitical and political-economic – which we live nowadays.

The fact that the war-state became a protective zone of the free market, finally, leads towards the conclusion that the neoliberal dimension of contemporary capitalism is actually the formative ideology behind total war. This ideology maintains the condition of permanent economic, political and social crisis, which is born under the imperative of democratic citizenship and self-righteous politics of the First World, and which serves to justify and direct the repressive measures of the new final solution. It is clear that the described world is the one we all live and participate in, caught in the network of complex social relations – not only those of power, but also of different identitary designations labelled onto human capital. What testifies to this is the primary knowledge that children acquire, consciously or not, but certainly with complete ingenuity, as they reproduce the existing global politics. The civil family, neoliberal society and perpetual war all appear as normative or generally accepted commonplaces of patriarchy, capitalism and colonialism, remaining ethically untouchable and socially unbreakable in the world of today, as well as in some imaginary future. What makes Dejan Kaluđerović's *Conversations: Hula Hoops, Elastics, Marbles and Sand* project (2013–present) horrifying in the context of the surrounding reality that we ourselves produce is not the series of children's answers, containing variations to the absorbed social narratives and the adopted behavioural models of dominant/oppressed worlds, but rather the absence of social imagination and the inability to foresee a possible world for all lying beyond these usual models of thinking, doing and living.

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<sup>8</sup> Angela Y. Davis, *The Meaning of Freedom: And Other Difficult Dialogues* (San Francisco: City Light Books, 2012), pp. 89–90.

<sup>9</sup> Marina Gržinić's definition of the war-state shaped by force, violence and fear is the precise definition of the neoliberal state, the definition that goes beyond the historical meaning of the fascist state in order to underline "what the major logic of dominance in the world today is, and this logic is the logic of war." Referring to Santiago López Petit, she explains the notion of postmodern fascism as a form of self-governmentality based on the self-management of a proper autonomy of differences for which the cohesive element is war. Such a war-state twists the meaning of the capitalist nation-state in order to "sterilize the Other, evacuate the conflict from public space and neutralize the political" constantly demanding: "a proliferation of unbelievable 'freedom' of particularities", of which the best example is the reconciling agenda of human rights, which keeps strong borders of power between central and peripheral identities. Cf. Marina Gržinić, "From Biopolitics to Necropolitics and the Institution of Contemporary Art", *Pavilion*, no. 14 (2010).

There we do a lot of things for people, make people's hair,  
put makeup on them.



Ilya Budraitskis

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# The Power of the Future and Childhood's Negation of It

Today, the rhetoric of the “future” has become a kind of lingua franca for the financial and political elite (from the G8 and Davos forums to the BRICS meeting and the current agenda of the Russian government). This “future” begins to determine and manage the present, which has to be “flexible”, open to rapid changes and finally dissolve itself in potential reality. This neoliberal Cassandra-type message is widely known: we have to be prepared that our workplaces, our education and our present way of life will necessarily disappear. That is why, today, we should already be transforming ourselves into “minutemen” who can instantly refuse our social role and adopt a new one. Our knowledge and skills could at any moment become obsolete in the marketplace and useless. All our perspectives and plans based on the experience of today have no relation to the future, which is unknown and unpredictable. Only the financiers and experts have a detailed vision of the brave new world. That is the basis of their power: the future is not subject to democratic participation, where it could be determined by the limited and profane interests of the present society. On the contrary – this society should break with its illusions, cast off its fears and hopes, and accept the future as destiny.

The enlightened owners of the future have also become moral teachers who create the new general consensus for the masses. The first lesson of this consensus: “Love your problems” – don’t complain or look back, be severe, performative and strong in the face of competitive struggle. This maxim could be compared with the way of the lonely nomadic warrior, one who has no home and no past. He must be open only to the endless horizon of expectations and place himself completely at the mercy of luck. This relation between neoliberal “flexibility” and militaristic virtue appears to be more and more organic nowadays. In contrast to the traditional understanding of the free market as a means to the rational minimization of violence, the spirit of modern capitalism revives the credo of the warrior. The triumph of innovative economy combined with growing military costs and global expansion is more and more often taking the form of “national interest”.

In this respect, nowadays, Putin’s Russia, which tries to present itself as an opponent of the “global order” in the name of “traditional values”, stays at the vanguard of this mix of neoliberalism and militarization. Unlike the Soviet Union, where the very idea of the state included the possibility of a universalist alternative, contemporary Russia constantly undermines any humanitarian rhetoric as a hypocrisy that merely acts as a cover for the eternal competitive fight between countries for influence and resources. Culture and religion in this interpretation are merely weapons in the global competition between the

states and civilizations. In order to keep national sovereignty, they could be more or less effective. The “traditional values” don’t confront capitalist logic, but quite the opposite – they become equivalent to market value. In school programs, mass media and huge didactic museum exhibitions, a thousand years of Russian history, from the acceptance of Christianity in the 10th century to the Second World War, is presented as a success story. The current sovereignty of the country is proof of the correct management strategy that was adopted centuries ago.

One of the leading figures of this ideological turn, the Russian Minister of Culture Vladimir Medinsky, comes across as an engaged historian attacking “myths about Russia.” According to Medinsky’s point of view, throughout its history, Russia has been continually subjected not only to open attempts by Western countries to subordinate it and deprive it of its independence, but to a hidden ‘information war’ as well. The history of the formation of the national state turned out to only be possible thanks to the intense opposition of professional enemy propaganda. “Without using PR-technology, there would have been no unification, no victorious wars, no transfer of the capital city to Moscow, nor the repulsion of the Mongol invasion.”<sup>1</sup> Thus, Russia’s historical choices always not only corresponded to truth, but also turned out to be the result of completely rational decisions. This fact, that Russia was able to withstand the pressure of a multitude of enemies, is linked with the high competitiveness and effectiveness of her particular cultural and moral values. History and culture in this concept represent a place of conflict between the technology of ‘myth’ creation, with some myths working for the destruction of the state, and others, by contrast, strengthening it. These technologies of ‘useful myths’, like various other useful tools, must be continually perfected.

Such a view on history makes clear the parallel between competition among individuals and the struggle for dominance among nations. Conservative hegemony inside the country became nothing more than a necessary advantage in the modern world’s ruthless struggle for recognition and dominance. The conjunction of militarism and neoliberalism, conservative values and market rationality has proven itself as the new “spirit” of the Russian capitalist model. In this model, the state does not serve the common interest of present society, but teaches it (with examples from its great past) how to take on the challenges of the future.

This role of the state could be compared with the modern neoliberal concept of the school that has to provide not general knowledge but the “emotional education” teaching the practical skills of “leadership” and the manipulation of others in your own self-interest. This idea of “practical” education, which combines elements of competition, training the student’s willpower and ideological indoctrination, in Russian conditions, has been perfectly realized in the form of “military-patriotic” education. This form of education develops outside the school and competes with it in two ways: in the formation of the “citizen,” and in the preparation of the individual for “real life”. It describes the “minutemen” exactly in terms of both meanings: the conservative (who is always ready became a soldier and die for the existence of his country) and the neoliberal (who is always ready to fight for his own existence).

Culture and history in the “military-patriotic” framework transform from the spheres of peaceful life to the weapons of the hidden struggle with external opponents. As perfectly pointed out by Medinsky,

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<sup>1</sup> V. Medinsky. *Особенности национального PR. Правдивая история Руси от Рюрика до Петра* [*The Peculiarities of National PR*]. OLMA, Moscow, 2011, p. 19.

“if you don’t feed your own culture, you’ll be feeding someone else’s army.” Following this credo, the “Russian military-historical society”<sup>2</sup> was established a few years ago as a joint project of the Ministries of Culture and Defense. This collaboration was also supported by a number of private sponsors (so, even as a form as well, “society” is a great example of the neoliberal model of “state-private partnership”).

This initiative, which has gained huge financial and administrative capacity, focuses on a few lines of activity: new monumentalizing propaganda (dozens of statues of Russian war heroes from all eras erected across the country), a huge program of educational tours for children to sites of military glory, the creation of patriotic “amusement” parks where kids can enjoy real tanks and military missile systems, and institutional support for a “historical reconstruction” movement. The latter represents large-scale war games with thousands of young people dressed in uniforms of the past and armed with faux swords and guns. Taken all together, these activities of a “military-historical society”, which involve in various ways up to millions of children and teenagers, are based on the invention of the past as originating in its competitive, “actual” and “practical” side. In this ideological constellation, the future legitimizes itself through the consistent, homogenous past and triumphs over the weak-willed present that lacks the heroic experience of war. This is the unity of mythical ancestors and today’s children that is confronting the boring peaceful reality of adults.

In fact, this regime of temporality based on the coalition between an aggressive neoliberal “future” and a conservative interpretation of the “past” has become a new way of ruling that is not exclusive to Russia. This is a new consensus that provides absolute control by the elite over oppressed and voiceless present. The virtues of cooperation, non-dominance and non-violence now look hopelessly outdated.

So, what should other types of relations between past, present and future be? What relation could bring any alternative – even utopian – could throw doubt on today’s hegemony of the aggressive rule of the competitive fight?

Some decades ago, in the times of the Cold War, when the possibility of global extermination was even more possible than today, the movement for nuclear disarmament often referred to the figure of the innocent child, the inhabitant of the future. It was always stressed in the USSR-influenced anti-war propaganda that the passions and particular interests of the present could destroy even the possibility of a future. The capitalist world that is filled by greed and the reckless struggle for power increases the danger of war. The aggressive individualist present (which is trying to reproduce itself through the permanent arms race) remains blind towards any future for coming generations.

Even if the Soviet pacifism during the Cold War period was hypocritical and partly covered its own role in the arms race and its aggressive imperialist policy, from Czechoslovakia in 1968 to Afghanistan in 1979, it also had a positive effect. The education of the time was based on the very simplistic idea that war feeds only the interests of the bankers and hawks of the West, when the vast majority in the globe just needs peace. The masters of the present are ready to sacrifice the future in order to preserve their dominant position. This crazy irrational world of adults is ruled only by the unconscious power of self-

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<sup>2</sup> More information on the programme of activities of the Military-Historical Society can be found here: <http://rvio.histrf.ru/activities/>

destruction and it is only the children who can save it from itself. They appear as “noble savages”, the common sense from the outside, who intervene in this doomed world and speak up as loud as they can: “Enough is enough, we don’t want your wars anymore.” In this model, the “future” raises its voice not to reproduce and intensify the conflicts of the present but to overcome them. The past here exists not as source of inspiration for coming battles but as a collection of tragic mistakes and meaningless victims. According to this “children’s pacifism”, the future could be better, or even possible, only when it breaks with the very order of things of today and presents something fundamentally different from it. Children are emerging as ambassadors from the future to the miserable planet of the present in order to build their utopian self-governed community that has nothing in common with the vicious world of adults. This community is equal and global: it provides a future without borders, racial prejudices or national provincialities.

One of the greatest examples of this “children pacifism” can be found in the novel by the Italian communist Gianni Rodari titled *Pie From the Sky*.<sup>3</sup> In this tale, written in 1964, in the middle of the Cold War period, Rodari presents a clear conflict between these two opposite logics: the militarist present and the pacifist future. An unknown object falls from the sky into the suburbs of Rome – and, of course, is immediately recognized by the authorities and army chiefs as a potential danger. Most of the population, influenced by paranoid propaganda, are sitting at home and ready to follow each and every decision of the military. When the leaders of this frightened world of adults rapidly start to mobilize troops and implement a state of emergency, two brave kids secretly decide to investigate the object and upon reaching it discover a gigantic pie that consists of all possible ingredients: chocolate, marzipan, fruit, nuts, etc. The kids travel for hours towards the heart of the pie and finally meet its creator, an old professor who is seriously worried about his tragicomic position: he had planned to build the worlds’ biggest nuclear bomb and become a Cold War hero, but because of a mistake, he has merely ended up with a gigantic pie. Then, however, the intelligent kids explain to the scientist that his mistake is in fact the greatest of fortunes – instead of death and misery, it has brought pleasure and unity for all children and adults. The end of the story is optimistic and utopian: the adults break with their own fears and follow the children in having a great party on the ruins of the gigantic pie. This moment is crucial: kids and parents, students and teachers, masters and subordinates are all exchanging places. This means the principal revaluation of all previous values and opens the perspective for a new democratic and equal society. In *Pie from the Sky*, Gianni Rodari perfectly reveals the emancipatory potential of “children’s pacifism”. This potential, totally forgotten in our days, touches the key element of the dominant ideology – the power over the future.

I believe that Dejan Kaludjerović’s *Conversations* reflects this important controversial position surrounding childhood in the modern world: as a reproduction of the current order, or the overcoming of it. Childhood in this project could be understood as not just a pure continuation of the dominant ideology, based on identities and inequality, but as a source of negation of the current order of things. Kaludjerović’s *Conversations* is a part of this discursive battle for the very notion of the future – and without a doubt, this battle is one of the most important of our times.

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<sup>3</sup> Gianni Rodari. *Pie from the Sky*. J. M. Dent & Sons, 1971.



Séamus Kealy

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# Repositories of Unseen Impulses: A Few Notes on the Work of Dejan Kaludjerović

Vienna-based, Yugoslavia-born artist Dejan Kaludjerović makes drawings, paintings and research-based projects that often culminate in installations. *Conversations* is one such project, a kind of overview of a multi-year research and production. Between 2013 and 2017, Kaludjerović interviewed children, asking simple but provocative questions. The interviews took place in the context of artist residencies that the artist held in Russia, Azerbaijan, Israel and Iran as well as versions of this project that he realised in his “home countries” of Austria and Serbia, and were presented in the varying exhibitions in each context. Each installation rendered the produced material as a sound installation. The video projections within provided no images of the children per se but simply the soundtrack of the interviews with subtitles translating the children’s responses. These interviews have been edited together in this exhibition, synthesizing all the material together as kind of an overall analysis. Each prop-like sculpture that the artist made for each original context (sandbox, marbles, cubes, etc.) has now been re-made and re-presented in this exhibition, albeit in larger formats, presented together in an unsettling, giant playground that seems to stage some sort of invisible performance.

This is not a playground for playing in, however. It is rather a setting for the artist’s toying with ideas. In this case, the word “playing” would be insufficient for capturing what the artist has set about doing. In one sense, there is a sort of *jouissance* in the artist’s enactment of bringing and balancing together a number of unsettling scenarios. In another sense, there is also a sort of compulsion combined with the artist’s fascination with his subject material, here set together in this installation, containing within it something more than what first meets the eye. However, in order to engage with a few of the particulars of this installation, it may be helpful to step back and look at some of the artist’s previous works.

In 2014, the artist produced a sound and slide installation called *The First of May, 1977*. This work was shown at the 55<sup>th</sup> October Salon in Belgrade, and later, in 2015, at the Salzburger Kunstverein as part of the touring exhibition *Invisible Violence*. Two identical, narrow rooms are constructed in a larger gallery space. These rooms are neither adjacent nor near one another; rather, they are deliberately removed from one another. Other installations and rooms separate them. It is as if they are meant to be accidentally identical in their individual discovery by attending viewers. There is a deliberate gap between these two spaces, like a gap in belief, or indeed, like a gap in memory – a kind of *déjà vu*. There is also certainly



*The First of May 1977* (2014)  
29-slide carousel projection with sound (13'20" EN, 15' 48" DE, 12'15" SRB)  
Courtesy of the artist and Museum of Contemporary Art Belgrade

the sense of time being displaced, or even a Nietzschean return of time,<sup>1</sup> when the second installation is discovered. Each room is painted black and has a self-standing wall placed within it, dividing the room into two. One room has several, dissonant voices speaking within it, one after the other, as if each voice is that of a person somnambulistically responding to an unknown question. The artist has assembled their replies to his single question into a narrative. We hear responses from the mothers of two children, a boy and a girl, then from their fathers. The boy then responds, while the girl refuses to remember the situation.

This first room has descriptions of these various interlocutors of an event that apparently happened on the eponymous date. The other black room simply has a series of diapositive slides projected, one by one, onto its central wall. The second room seems to depict this described moment, which appears to be something rather innocuous actually, and clearly from a somewhat distant childhood. We see only blurry, colour projections of a long-ago event with children in a garden, concluding with close-ups of, presumably, the boy in question.

The title immediately creates associations with uprising and revolution, the passing of states from one political body to another, labour rights, and naturally, the anthem “The Internationale”. The First of May is, after all, International Worker’s Day. As such, it is a holiday, a global one, and historically relevant (if not internationally celebrated) as such.<sup>2</sup> The title may, however, only be indexical and thus coincidentally meaningful. The entire artwork arrives out of the artist’s own probing of the complexity of memory, truth and the ongoing, often severe manipulation of narratives in the context of the Yugoslavian wars in the 1990s. And here, colliding with a troubled history of war and tragedy (and related concurrent and postwar narratives) – and perhaps also entwined with occasions that problematically mark modernism’s development (the influence of Marxism on society and political structures) – here, appears some documentary evidence of, it seems, a naïve act of violence committed by a child.

The artist is indeed very close to the subject of the artwork. For here, we are hearing his family members describe the moment when he, the boy who also speaks in the sound installation, himself struck his cousin with a stone many years ago, and here we see photographic remnants presented as some form of self-incriminating evidence. The artist himself dissects and analyses this long-ago moment and its documentation and its later, flawed descriptions to engulf it within the dream-like, playhouse mirror structure of its own open fragmentation. Its visual presentation and adjoining subjective verbal descriptions are based on several mnemonically challenged narratives as they interact with each other and become contaminated by associations of war and its representations.

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<sup>1</sup> Nietzsche’s “eternal return”, which he first refers to in *The Gay Science*, is a concept of the universe and all its energy and life recurring endlessly. The notion originally comes from Indian myths and is later also referred to in Greek philosophy. Throughout modernity, and indeed repeatedly in the late 20th century, Nietzsche’s more atheistically inclined version of “eternal return” has had a deep influence on artists and philosophers.

<sup>2</sup> In fact, President Donald Trump recently re-coined this day as Loyalty Day, a quirky and somewhat long-attempted act to rid the day of any of its original political associations

The artist here stages and re-stages the event like in a feverish dream endlessly caught in a dark labyrinth, or indeed, as we might imagine a detective obsessively reviews the evidence of a crime. In this case, it is the act of a child who, at the age of five, we presume, has not developed his conscience or sense of the world enough in order to always differentiate right from wrong. Yet, the staging of this everyday event by the artist is not intended as some sort of confessional self-portrait. It, in part, appears to underline his need to strip layers of normalcy as it is made up in shared narratives down to a kind of speculation in visual form of darker regions of consciousness, identity-development and the production of the ego. These forms themselves flicker in and out of the structures of shared language and story-telling, for example, as they are inevitably caught up in webs of ideology and the collective wish fulfillment that ensures collective belief.

Dejan Kaludjerović is interested in the everyday inscriptions of power, culture, language, belief and law on the body and on the mind. His work, he says, is “mainly concerned with issues of responsibility and manipulation.” He thus examines the usual suspects, such as forms of mass media, education systems and indeed the influence of family and society on the psyche. But underneath this ongoing examination, as we have seen, we can pinpoint (and the artist openly admits to) a central concern with violence, and the nitty-gritty that emerges from mechanisms of power and capitalism as they are inscribed on the body and mind. Thus, when we unpack a work such as *The First of May, 1977*, elements of a long-ago act unfold into some sort of presentation of documents and fragments to be examined, and the testimonies then bear witness to something not only within the room, but outside of it, in the streets around the gallery space, and in living histories. We can ascertain several unfolding situations in this work. Matters of innocence and non-innocence, the passage into adulthood and all that carries with it in terms of borne memory, the production of perception, the role of day-to-day cultural propaganda, even matters of political crises and war – these all begin to emerge as we see a kind of sketch of the human condition as it is emerging and shifting in the malleable shape of a child and the memories attributed to a long-ago act, here caught up in a web of associations around the war in Yugoslavia.

Children are also the central figures and components of a video series the artist has made (and has been continuing, since 2008, to make), entitled *Je suis malade*. In each video, we see a child (from Australia, Slovenia and other countries) singing to chilling effect the ballad of the same title that Serge Lama wrote and performed in 1973. This melody has been revisited by French and international pop stars many times since, with lyrics such as “*I can't dream no more, I don't even have a personal history no more, I am dirty without you, I am ugly without you, I am like an orphan in a dormitory, I don't feel like living my life no more, My life stops when you leave ... When you leave, I am sick, completely sick, Just like my mother when she used to go out at night, Leaving me alone in my despair, I am sick, perfectly sick, I pour my blood into your body, You have emptied me of all my words, That love is killing me, and if things keep going, I'll die all alone with myself.*”

This whirlwind melodrama is full of a self-chastising and obsessive self-pity. This self-admonishment is almost masochistic in its flagrancy, to the point of an utter loss of self. Each child sings the song with an earnest need to impress, and with what appears to be some sort of familiar abandon. In one of the actual, former pop performances of this song – the song's most popular revival in France, in the 1990s,



*Je Suis Malade feat. Fidan* / Azerbaijani Version (2014)  
HD Video, 4 min 38 sec  
Courtesy of the artist

*Je Suis Malade feat. Si Tompel* / Indonesian Version (2017)  
HD Video, 4 min 38 sec, the puppet is produced in collaboration with Iwan Effendi  
Courtesy of the artist

actually – a tragic and pointless portrait of despair and heartbreak is swallowed in the spectacle of *kitsch* to disappear into the pleasure of the attentive audience, as an almost fascistic impulse that binds bodies in the crowd together. What remains is a universal self-hatred and bathos, albeit not a knowing one but rather one of *jouissance* and shared, collective pleasure. And thus, the question arises: why would one stage such a troubling set of expressions with different, international children in recording studios, those who do not know the meaning (or the language) of that which they are singing?

One must admit, when taking a closer look, that there is something rather unsettling in the conditions sought out, prepared and presented within Dejan Kaludjerović's work. At first glance, the video series *Je suis malade* appears innocuous. It depends on how far one scratches away at the lyrics and how much one weighs on the mournful, masochistic expression that, while being pure *kitsch*, has also – because of this and in equal measure – far-reaching impact across the cultural spectrum (at least in the French-language world). The artist is scraping away at common, universal principles imbedded in language and in shared cultural formations, especially in the dominance of the image in contemporary, Western society (yet also through complex cultural expressions, be it in the omnipresence of pop music or in Hollywood films) to get at some of the impulses behind what we might identify as the invisible forms of violence in these representations. It is an uncomfortable process even though these presentations at first glance appear familiar, even *gemütlich*.<sup>3</sup> The everyday veneer of common perception and language are held up to a kind of critical, funhouse mirror that distorts their everyday dreaminess and comfort into an analysis of despair, sometimes drifting into a nightmarish reality. This is done through an assemblage of somewhat *off* components – as in the *Je suis malade* video series that puts together a pop ballad and children singing it – that sets everything together in a kind of blurry, off-kilter effect. This is both dizzying and worrying; for what appears normally in a stable guise (lyrics, common customs, heartbreak as a common muse for a pop song, or, as in the *First of May* or even the *Conversations* material in this very exhibition, discussions of war, belief, death, religion and so on) all breaks down, and then the related, apparent belief systems often made up of ongoing forms of self-delusion and mutually agreed upon fantasy allow themselves not only to be seen, but to be prodded at. This prodding, which is the very act of making and showing these works of art in their video and installation formats, in fact, brings the most discomfort, if one looks at these works for a long enough time – something that one can, naturally, choose not to do, which indeed would also reveal their nature in another fashion. Indeed, at one point, this essay was going to be titled, “Playhouse Mirror-Effect: On the Work of Dejan Kaludjerović”. This so-called reflection, whether one looks at it or not, is palpable.

Thus, with the installation *Conversations*, the streams of often naïve responses by the children in these recordings appear at first glance to simply be these reflections in the form of curious absurdities, humorous outbursts, and perhaps a few slightly enlightened musings. Now and then something eloquent, mildly frightening and even profound is spoken by these kids. As with his previous works, the entire assemblage of this several-year process takes on the format of an unusual sociological research, one with apparently no direct or pragmatic results. The viewer is left to himself/herself to make conclusions; however, the artist, as we can get glimpse at in the above text, is certainly concerned with the origins

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<sup>3</sup> German for “cozy, snugly, homely”.

of ideological, philosophical and political thinking as it manifests within various communities and cultures. This work presents these concerns within an apparent framework of childhood innocence, re-orienting familiar symbols and dialogue in an uneasy manner into a grander mirror of collective thinking. Yet again, when we look closer and begin to not only dissect the content of what these different children from different cultures are saying but also consider its apparent universality, we again come to the same conclusion as above: that there are currents of a shared human psychosis and hints at darker impulses here. Dejan Kaludjerović stoically pokes away at these impulses as they appear in his ongoing investigations. It is for us to decide what to do about them.



*Armenians 01* (RAIL, 8 years old, Azerbaijan)

/ from the series: *Conversations: Hula Hoops, Elastics, Marbles and Sand* (2017)

Carbon paper and colored pencils on canvas paper, 92 × 95 cm

Courtesy of the artist



Klaus Speidel

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# World Shrinking: The Self and the Other in the Eyes of Children and Other Grown-ups. An analytical collage.

*Children are haughty, disdainful, choleric, envious, inquisitive, selfish, lazy, fickle, fearful, intemperate, liars, dissemblers and laugh and cry easily; they are immoderate in their joys and sorrows on the least of subjects; they will not bear any pain, and delight in causing it: they are already grown-ups.*

(JEAN, 43-year-old boy)

This famous aphorism published by Jean de la Bruyère in his *Characters* (1688) seems to be a perfect epigraph to Dejan Kaludjerović's *Conversations*. It sums up one of the fundamental ideas governing the project: if we take children 100% seriously, we learn something not only about them but about the society they grow up in as well and the adults they will one day become. Perhaps we may also attempt an inversion: if children are already adults, then, in a certain sense, adults may also be said to still be children. In any case, it ought to be possible to create an artful dialogue between adults and children as well.

While Kaludjerović is especially interested in the cultural and social differences that appear in the conversations, I here want to focus on some of the fundamental principles that seem to underlie different declarations. The fact is that many of the statements made in *Conversations* are somewhat like aphorisms—about which Nietzsche insisted that merely reading them was not enough:

*An aphorism [...] has not been “deciphered” when it has simply been read; rather one has to begin its interpretation, for which an art of interpretation is required.*

(FRIEDRICH, 43-year-old boy)

There is indeed a certain similarity between the statements chosen by Kaludjerović and aphorisms such as those produced by Nietzsche: they have clear subjects, they are short and they are put together in a form approaching collage. Their differences, however, may seem more important than their resemblances, and the reasons why they need to be interpreted are diametrically opposed to one another: aphorisms are complicated because they are highly sophisticated and reflected-upon creations by professional writers. In contrast, the statements made in Kaludjerović's *Conversations* are spontaneous replies to unexpected

questions. They have to be interpreted not because they are so complex, but because they are deceptively simple. Most of them surprise us not because they are so original, but because what they reveal fits so well with what we expect. Thus, many affirmations could easily be used as illustrative examples in sociological textbooks of how social and national differences shape worldviews. This is interesting in and of itself. Here, however, I want to focus on some of the more universal elements that appear in the conversations, which I will do by analyzing only a few of the statements and showing how the children's reflections contained in them are linked to themes that have preoccupied authors throughout the centuries. Half collage and half analysis, my text may also be seen as a first attempt to assess what a closer analysis of specific statements in *Conversations* can reveal. In order to work within a fairly specific field of reference, I focus only on the question of the relationship between the self and the other:

### **What is an enemy?**

*Someone who is mean.\**

(MARIJA, 8-year-old girl)

*It is a person that you don't like.*

(FIDAN, 8-year-old girl)

*An enemy is someone who you don't get along with.*

(ALEKSA, 8-year-old boy)

Each of these answers gives a definition of enmity, as required by the question, yet also does more. Each statement implicitly provides an answer as to why the given enmity exists in the first place. Presupposing that this is to be explained, each answer also represents a micro-theory about where enmity comes from and who is to blame for it, giving three fundamentally different kinds of answers to the question: we could call these the *other-centered*, the *self-centered* and the *reciprocal* approaches to enmity.

1. The first kind unambiguously blames the enemy. It may well be the most common approach: if there is a quarrel between me and someone else, I certainly cannot be blamed. Therefore, it must be the other's fault. However, it is not just about something they've done. We are talking about something more persistent, a problem of character: the other party is mean. And as it is certainly the most likely to fuel the conflict, this kind of narrative will often be encouraged by belligerent governments. While governments will usually refrain from describing enemies of the state—be they states, nations or individuals—as “mean”, opting rather for accusing them of *fascism*, *imperialism*, *subversion* or *terrorism*, it all comes down to deferring the blame for the existing hostility onto the other.

2. The second kind of answer seeks the motive for the enmity rather in the speaker's personal antipathy. It is interesting in the reduced form isolated here insofar as the “other” is not blamed at all. Thus, the reason given is nearly the exact opposite of the one linked to the first stance: we are antagonists because *I don't like them*. The blame for the quarrel is thus implicitly taken by the speaker. From this perspective, there might be hope for reconciliation: since we ourselves are the driving force of the enmity, it ought to be enough if we worked on ourselves, and the conflict could be ended. Sometimes, however, we might

not want to. Yet, even then, we will usually be quick to give a reason for our dislike, as did, for example, Muhammed Ali, one of the fastest and most prolific talkers in the history of boxing, when he said about his great rival George Foreman:

*I don't like him—he talks too much.*

(MUHAMMAD, 32-year-old boy)

3. The last vision of enmity is the most considerate and, again, one where there is hope for reconciliation. When we say that an enemy is someone “we don’t get along with”, we seem to distribute blame among both parties. This is clearly a better condition for a settlement than the first formulation. However, as the following statement shows, the potential of getting along with someone in the future can also be blocked by an ontology of otherness that allows for no variations over time:

*Foreigners should be in their own country, because we don't understand each other and will never understand each other.*

(MARIJA, 8-year-old girl)

Ouch! Rather than an analysis of a present lack of understanding, it is the declared impossibility of ever bridging the gap that strikes us here. Construing all dialogue as being pointless, such statements are rendered reliable self-fulfilling prophecies when they are embraced on a larger scale.

One way to attempt to overcome the lack of understanding affirmed by Marija is to try to make the *other's* vision of events available and to explain it, possibly by showing its historical roots. However, such attempts are often sabotaged by the quarrelling parties. Thus, the Peace Research Institute in the Middle East (PRIME) produced a history book that portrays the conflict between Israel and Palestine from both perspectives. *Side by Side: Parallel Histories of Israel-Palestine* has appeared in installments since 2002; however, both Israel and Palestine have banned this publication from being used in schools. This is a good example of how identities are based on stories that are told rather than what has “actually” happened. It also shows how different parties often try to make sure that a single narrative prevails, usually the one where all serious blame falls on the other, which brings us back to 1. An enemy is someone who is mean. But, wait a minute, the question was what foreigners are. Martin has an answer:

*Foreigners behave differently, they like foreign games.*

(MARTIN, 9-year-old boy)

Rather than race or origin, Martin defines being foreign through salient behavior and what they like—for instance, foreign games. Think America and football (yes, American football), India and cricket, Wales and rugby, China and Go. It is clear what you have to do if you do not want to be foreign anymore: stop behaving differently, stop playing different games. This seems to connect nicely to Hermann Broch's observation about tolerance:

*Tolerance is intolerant. It requires assimilation.*

(HERMANN, 61-year-old boy)

As long as you do not accept this requirement, you are prone to remain unknown and thus a nobody:

*Well it is not so nice to be a foreigner. Because nobody knows you, and nobody,  
I guess, wants to be friends with you nicely.*

(FILIP, 8-year-old boy)

The “Nobody knows you” in this statement cannot, of course, be literally true. It is only true if the scope of “nobody” is limited. It is probably safe to guess that the term “nobody” extends only to the people of whatever group Filip identifies with. For a child—only for a child?—“nobody in my group” is synonymous with “nobody relevant”, which is synonymous with “nobody”. Hence, since being a foreigner means to not be part of the “in” group, its meaning comes to be synonymous with not being known by anybody. This is a typical example of what we could call *world shrinking*, where the personal frame of reference becomes the frame of reference *tout court*. Used by children and adults alike, it is a way of reassuring ourselves by declaring that the part of the world that we can master is the only one that counts. Attempts at radically inverting our perspective, such as Georg Christoph Lichtenberg’s following aphorism—

*The first American who discovered Christopher Columbus made a terrible discovery.*

(GEORG CHRISTOPH, cca. 38-year-old boy)

—are still rare 240 years after Lichtenberg wrote it. However, this kind of mental movement can sometimes produce a greater truth than a self-centered point of view can. After all, our ordinary vision of events, where it is Columbus who discovered the Americans, is purely Eurocentric—the fact is, we would find it utterly odd if someone came into our home and then proudly declared that they had “discovered” us. Isn’t it, in fact, truer to the actual events to say rather the opposite, that it was first the Native Americans who discovered Columbus, when they espied the Spaniard’s ship approaching on the horizon? Whatever the truth of the matter, few are those who, like Martin, believe the following:

*Serbs, Arabs, Chinese, Japanese, we are all the same.*

(MARTIN, 9-year-old boy)

“We are all the same,” Martin says. Even though he uses the indexical “we”, we might find it hard to tell where he is from if no further context is provided. The speaker asserts that nationality is not important and his statement conceals his own. By putting shared humanity rather than differences of origin or race to the fore, his statement, presumably, could be readily connected to Schiller’s *Ode to Joy*:

*Joy, beautiful sparkle of God / Daughter of Elysium / We enter, fire-drunk / Heavenly, Your Holy  
sanctuary / Your magic binds again / What custom’s sword has parted / All men become brothers /  
Where your tender wing lingers*

(FRIEDRICH, 26-year-old boy)

However, for Schiller, as well as for Beethoven, who made the *Ode to Joy* famous, universal human brotherhood seemed to be more of a wish than a reality, something that is quite unchanged today, when one’s own “difference” is rarely seen as being simply a difference:



*Americans 01 (AMIL, 8 years old, Azerbaijan)*  
 / from the series: *Conversations: Hula Hoops, Elastics, Marbles and Sand* (2016)  
 Carbon paper, acryl, graphite and colored pencils on paper, 54,5 × 76 cm  
 Courtesy of the artist and CCA Andratx, Spain

*Serbs are different from other people because they are somehow better.*

(MARIJA, 8-year-old girl)

As opposed to Martin, Marija uses no indexical like “I” or “we”, and yet it is utterly unnecessary that I tell you where Marija is from. Why is this so? This statement is likely to be the briefest and most direct formulation of the belief that is at the heart of all forms of chauvinism and the ensuing ostracisms and exclusions. The bluntness with which Marija expresses her in-group bias is stunning. The difference between her and adults who hold similar beliefs is that the adults have learned to mask those beliefs behind more sophisticated babble. While we may find Marija’s self-laudatory assertion touching when it is clumsily formulated by a child, we may also share Karl Kraus’s objection, in at least certain cases:

*What is unappealing about chauvinism is not so much the dislike of other nations as the love of your own.*

(KARL, 35-year-old boy)

Of course, most statesmen who, in order to resist the far right, embrace its ideas would loudly protest—and so would many ordinary citizens. You have to love your nation after all! Or do you? The truth is

that Bernhard von Bühlow's somewhat hypocritical dictum seems to dominate current politics. When arguing that Germany should try to get its own colonies in 1897, he said:

*We don't want to cast shadow on anyone, but we do want our place in the sun too.*

(BERNHARD, 48-year-old boy)

This is the “We do not mean to do harm, but we will pursue our own interests” apology that dominates foreign policy all over the world. While ignoring others is no reliable way to avoid conflict, it can lead to not experiencing their presence, and hence, perhaps sometimes being confronted with one's fundamental loneliness:

*When it's dark, you feel like you're alone.*

(SELIN, 8-year-old girl)

This explanation of why we fear the dark is highly original and beautiful in its simplicity. Antonio Carlos Jobim, however, is not afraid of closing his eyes, for

*The fundamental loneliness goes away / Whenever two can dream a dream together.*

(ANTONIO CARLOS, 40-year-old boy)

So, is love the answer? Well, if Paul Valéry is right, a fundamental, insurmountable difference remains between one's conceiving of others and one's thinking of oneself:


*No individual conceives directly that he is man—no one is man—but the center, the goal, the base and the end all. No more than he can understand that he has to die can he understand that he is only a detail. And, lastly, he never knows these things except through reason.*

(PAUL, 59-year-old boy)

“Children only see themselves,” I once heard someone say when a running child bumped into someone out for a stroll. But if Valéry is right, this is true of adults as well. At the least, we all see the other only in relationship to ourselves.

We can, however, once in a while, get a glimpse of how the others might be seeing us in relationship to themselves. Dejan Kaludjerović's *Conversations* can be such a moment. Reading through them can be an exercise in adopting perspectives. When you do so, slow down, try to not hear only what you already know. While it is true that most statements are echoes, don't be too quick to judge them. Take interest in the differences, but also keep an eye out for the similarities and the ways of thinking that they are based on. And listen carefully. The voice they are echoing could be yours—or the one in your head.

\* Certain statements have been truncated for more clarity or to underline the differences between different assertions.

A person with dark hair, wearing a dark jacket, is sitting on a white, angular, geometric block. They are facing a plain, light-colored wall. In the foreground, a large, circular rug with a green and white woven pattern is partially visible. To the right, there is a white rectangular box on the floor and some colorful sticks or rods. Two small, white, rectangular speakers are suspended from the ceiling by thin wires. The room is brightly lit, creating soft shadows.

And what do you think, are adults afraid too?  
If so, what are they afraid of?











Kleinsteinschiff mit dem  
Küchler

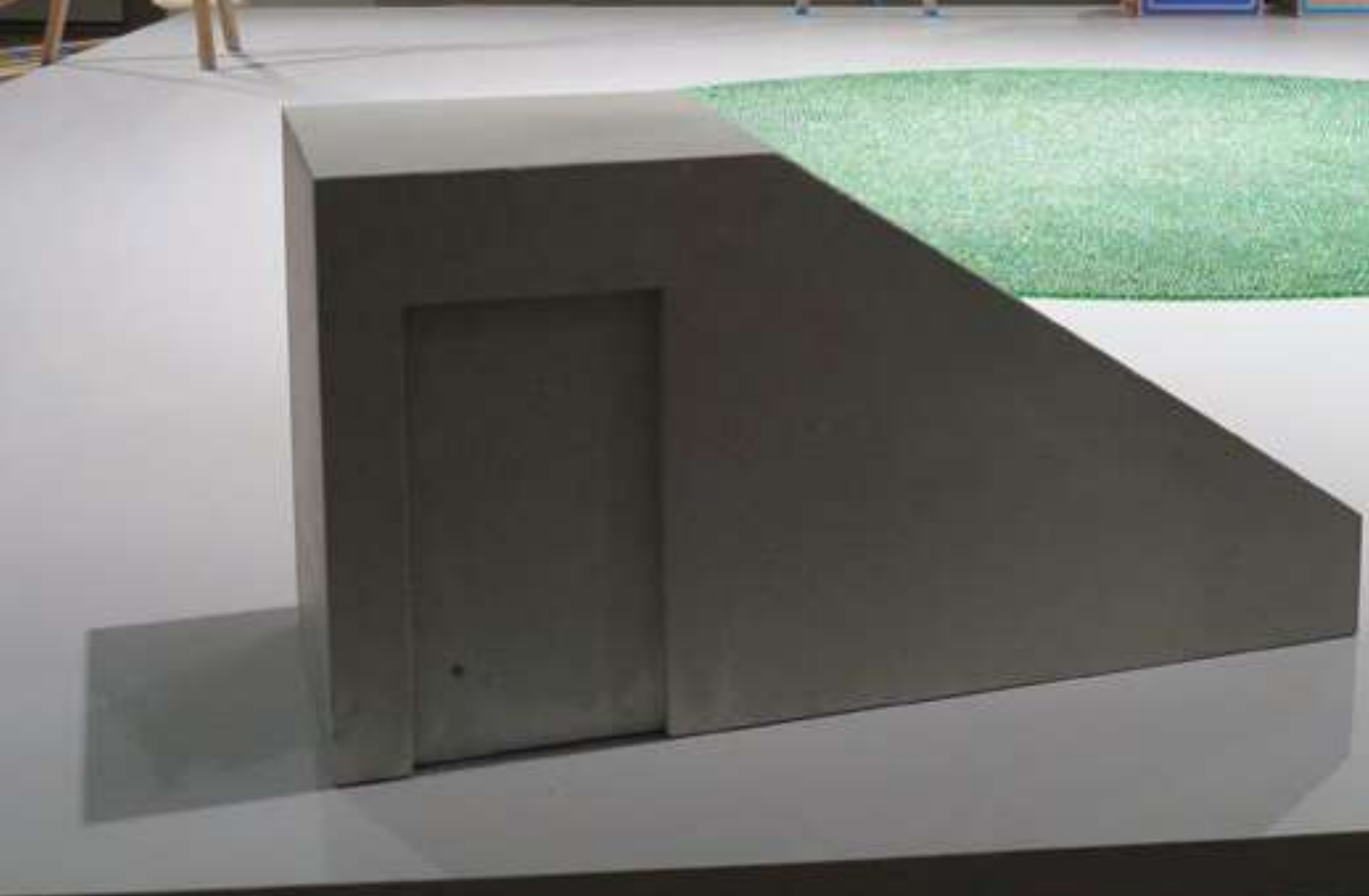




Das Publikum wird zum Wachen gezwungen und ist  
erzwingen, alles, die gute Erziehung zu tun.











I want to become President, so that there would never be  
a President after me.







**Russia=RU****01-RU-RUSLAN** 7-year-old boy, Russian**02-RU-DANIL** 11-year-old boy, Russian**03-RU-LILIANA** 6-year-old girl, Russian**Serbia=SR****04-SR-MARTIN** 9-year-old boy, Serbian**05-SR-ALEKSA** 8-year-old boy, Serbian**06-SR-MARIJA** 8-year-old girl, Serbian**Azerbaijan=AZ****07-AZ-FIDAN** 8-year-old girl, Russian**08-AZ-NURAY** 9-year-old girl, Azerbaijani**09-AZ-AMIL** 8-year-old boy, Russian**Iran=IR****10-IR-ELINA** 10-year-old girl, Farsi**11-IR-ANDIYA** 8-year-old girl, Farsi**12-IR-SOROUSH** 11-year-old boy, Farsi**Austria=AT****13-AT-FILIP** 9-year-old boy, German**14-AT-LILLY** 8-year-old girl, German**15-AT-NIKI** 8-year-old boy, German**Israel=IL****16-IL-IMRI** 8-and-a-half-year-old boy, Hebrew**17-IL-YUVAL** 9-year-old boy, Hebrew**18-IL-MINA** 7-year-old girl, Arabic

18-IL-MINA-*What are you dreaming about?* Pl.

01-RU-RUSLAN-I dream that I had a real hand-gun, well, to be on the safe side... to learn shooting.

05-SR-ALEKSA-I dream about beautiful dreams, sometimes about sad ones as well, and about scary dreams.

03-RU-LILIANA-I dream that my brother gets well sooner.

09-AZ-AMIL -Well... er... I dream of, for example, well, I dream of becoming one of the superheroes. Or, I don't know... so that... so that when I grow up I have a good family and so I am never ill, and so that, so that everything is fine with me.

04-SR-MARTIN-I always have beautiful dreams... like, romantic.

10-IR-ELINA-Good dreams, for example when we go on a trip, that sort of things...

16-IL-IMRI-But I don't know what I dream about.

11-IR-ANDIYA-I dream like I'm on the beach... and... everyone's going swimming, I'm also going to swim... and then...

15-AT-NIKI-I dream of... well, being able to fly and... I also dream of... that I... and... and of games... ahm either on the computer or ahm on the iPad.

12-IR-SOROUSH-Well, a place that is so beautiful... In there, there are a lot of these waterfalls that, there are a whole lot of fountains and mountains. And in there, you can find any fruit that you want.

*And you?*

13-AT-FILIP-Ahm... mostly I do not dream... and... and sometimes I dream, that I am home alone and my mother and my father are always at work and I play on my mobile phone the whole time... and ridin' bike... and play with my friends... otherwise nothing else.

17-IL-YUVAL -Ehmm... I don't really have a lot of dreams... at all.

*What about you?* pl

02-RU-DANIL-What do I dream of? Well, so that I became famous, such... a businessman, maybe... well, yes, I dream of becoming popular. And I also dream that my parents never got old and that they were never sick. That they were happy. Well, yes, that's what I dream of.

06-SR-MARIJA-I imagine being beautiful and clever, being good and helping other people.

01-RU-RUSLAN-I dream that I grew up a military man, well, a spetsnaz... Well, I imagine that it's going to be full of difficulties and well, war... will be... Every day I fall asleep and there is the alarm clock... For example, a night operation in land houses: to put a bomb to the enemy's base.

02-RU-DANIL-*And you?*

14-AT-LILLY-Ahm... to have a dog, I dream of having a dog when I'm grown up, buying me one. I dream of having a big house...

05-SR-ALEKSA-When I grow up I would like for my life to be normal, and to live in the countryside, because there are no buildings, streets, cars and such things... in the countryside, there are trees, animals in the countryside, and I would not like to get hurt in my life and that everything happens like I imagined... and so on, and so on...

15-AT-NIKI -I want to be a lawyer.

14-AT-LILLY -A vet, I think. I, when I'm grown up, want to be a vet.

15-AT-NIKI -Ahm for example... that you... that you don't, that you either pay a fee or... or... or less likely go to prison... and so on.

07-AZ-FIDAN -To become President. I dream of becoming President.

04-SR-MARTIN -In my dreams I imagine I am a hero and a politician; The hero saves people and I like saving people, and to be a politician you need to finish school, and I like school.

16-IL-IMRI -I want to be a scientist because it's interesting to me.

11-IR-ANDIYA -To become a hairdresser... because... in there, we make people's hair. Then we do a lot of things for people, make people's hair, put makeup on them.

18-IL-MINA -I always dream to be mature... and I want to be much older right now. I remember my dreams every day when I go to sleep at night... I dream the same dream. I dream to become a chef.

07-AZ-FIDAN -I want to become President, so that there would never be a President after me, and then I will become Queen and that's all. Then it will go on like that. Well... then my daughter will become Queen and it will go on like this.

16-IL-IMRI -My dream is to be a scientist.

07-AZ-FIDAN-In Azerbaijan... I will be Queen.

17-IL-YUVAL -*What do you like to do the most?* pl

12-IR-SOROUSH-To exercise.

08-AZ-NURAY-Walking, for example, singing. I would sing, I sing at home, work, go somewhere. That's my favorite thing.

02-RU-DANIL -Well, I like to play with my friends, to play computer, to watch TV, to walk, to walk. So, I can't enumerate everything.

10-IR-ELINA-Help out with my sister's studies so she can learn better.

13-AT-FILIP -Playin' soccer... and playing handball at school. I like playing soccer, ahm I want to become a soccer player...

06-SR-MARIJA -I like playing with my sister and sometimes I like to read a book.

13-AT-FILIP -...ahm because I practice soccer and because it's fun for me.

01-RU-RUSLAN -I like to go in for sports: boxing, judo, karate... gymnastics, climbing...

11-IR-ANDIYA -*What about you?* pl

12-IR-SOROUSH -To do good things, things that are... both good for me and good for others, so that other people would be satisfied by me... I become famous in my youth.

03-RU-LILIANA -Most of all I like to help mother about the house.

07-AZ-FIDAN -Most of all I love... er, I love everything... I love studying... I... love drawing, I love singing, I love everything. *And you?*

09-AZ-AMIL -I love, at school, studying mathematics and computers, my favorite after-school activities, for example, well last year it was dancing but this year the teacher is kind of mean. Well, so, and also my favorite after-school classes are judo, drawing and ceramics. Er... well I love to have fun. I love my family.

11-IR-ANDIYA -*Do you know what fear is?* pl

10-IR-ELINA-Umm... No I don't know.

18-IL-MINA -Fear? ...ehmm.

18-IL-MINA -It means you see something that frightens you, as my mother sometimes fears mice, when she sees mice she always shouts.

05-SR-ALEKSA-Well, fear is... like you are afraid that something will happen, something bad.

06-SR-MARIJA -Fear is if you are afraid of something, it is like some fear.

04-SR-MARTIN -Fear is that when someone frightens you and you flinch, that is fear.

07-AZ-FIDAN-Yes. Fear is when a person is scared of something. Well, something scary.

13-AT-FILIP-Yes I know what fear is, mm... it is, if, for example when it is dark and then a child is scared, then one is trembling and one gets scared. Then usually you scream and cry.

08-AZ-NURAY-Fear? Umm... I know... I know it in a way that fear... I mean, you get frightened like... a person gets scared. I know it, like this.

12-IR-SOROUSH-Fear? Fear of doing something bad... fear of bad actions that for example... to be... to be brave and to prove to your friend that you are brave, not go under a truck, kill yourself and then realize you're brave! This is in fact being a coward.

Courage means that you fear a bad consequence.

14-AT-LILLY-Yes... yes, I know what fear is. Well, that you are frightened of something. Well I am really afraid of spiders. I don't know, I just think they are creepy.

15-AT-NIKI -Yes, I know what fear is. Fear is a feeling, that that ahm comes so fast wh... when you... when you startle... than sometimes one is afraid or... or when you are afraid of heights... or when you are afraid in darkness... then, then it is as if you startle. ...For example... about... well, that we have to flee and the police is after us, and... that and that's why...

09-AZ-AMIL-Fear is when you're afraid of something. Most of all when I grow up and become old I am afraid of dying. I just don't want to die, I am afraid of it. I also am afraid when someone suddenly wakes me up in the middle of night and scares me and I get scared. For example... I... for example... well... I am afraid to go... and to fly to the Sun and not to burn. I am afraid of burning. In the sun.

13-AT-FILIP -I'm not afraid of anything.

09-AZ-AMIL -And I am also afraid of some insects.

08-AZ-NURAY-I fear my father, I fear my mother as well and I have also some simple fears at home or elsewhere. I have that fear. Because, umm... because I fear darkness, that's why.

07-AZ-FIDAN-You can be afraid of, for example, when children do not understand, they think that... from the TV... a dream... that if they dream of something scary... maybe they will believe that they exist. I'm afraid of the dark. I can't sleep alone at night. Even though I have my own room. Well first mom sleeps with me and then she leaves.

15-AT-NIKI-Sometimes I'm scared at night. Ahm, because I have nightmares sometimes.

01-RU-RUSLAN-I'm not afraid of anything. In general.

03-RU-LILIANA-I'm afraid of big dogs.

10-IR-ELINA -Me... when for example... creatures for example... like cockroach and these kind of things that are alive, I'm afraid of those things only.

10-IR-ELINA-What about you? du

02-RU-DANIL -What am I afraid of? That something will go wrong in my life, that, in general that I will fail in everything, I'm afraid, that I won't be a success... that's what I'm afraid of.

11-IR-ANDIYA-Yes... of... I'm afraid of darkness.

16-IL-IMRI -I'm afraid of mathematics classes, because on one hand I'm good at mathematics, but on the other hand, I was handed a teacher who is not so good.

04-SR-MARTIN -I am afraid of animals: snakes, lions, umm... dogs and rats.

Because I don't know, as if som-something tells me that they are very dangerous and that they are much stronger than me.

12-IR-SOROUSH-I'm not afraid of anything.

17-IL-YUVAL -I'm afraid of... a... boy in my class... He's mostly annoying, and why? Because... he's sort of very strong in the class, in short, strong.

18-IL-MINA-Ehm... I'm... I'm not afraid of anything.

17-IL-YUVAL -...he's a bit crazy.

05-SR-ALEKSA-Well no, I am not afraid of anything.

03-RU-LILIANA-Nothing.

14-AT-LILLY -And what do you think, are adults afraid too? If so, what are they afraid of?

08-AZ-NURAY-Do they fear? I don't know why they fear, but I assume they also fear their fathers and mothers... Maybe.

11-IR-ANDIYA-No. They aren't afraid of anything.

02-RU-DANIL-Well, they do, I think. I think, that adults are still afraid of something, but of what... well, they are afraid for their kids, what can happen to them, and about their health they also worry no less, and furthermore what else they are afraid of?

18-IL-MINA-Em... only the lion and the tiger, mice do not frighten me... mice only frighten my mother.

15-AT-NIKI-Ahm... I think that adults are afraid of something too. Ahm for example, that they, that they, ahm that they have too little money or... that... they... mm... that are going bankrupt or... mm yes and that was it.

06-SR-MARIJA-Well, grown-ups, if they have a child, they worry about him, those are their worries.

16-IL-IMRI-I never heard that an adult was afraid of something.

12-IR-SOROUSH-No. Maybe there's someone then... usually there is. Of this for example, he does something bad... He does something bad, he doesn't... want people to find out, he doesn't want anybody to find out what he did.

13-AT-FILIP -Mmm... adults can be afraid of... of spiders, of snakes, for example when their child is doing something terrible or... when their child gets hurt badly or breaks a bone... then children are usually, ah the parents afraid.

07-AZ-FIDAN-They aren't afraid of such things. Older people are afraid for their children, for their mom and dad. They are afraid of serious things and not of such childish things.

03-RU-LILIANA-I think, nothing I think adults are afraid of nothing, because they are adults...

17-IL-YUVAL -Adults can be afraid of everything, say, very old grannies can be afraid very much, they can fear things such as, say, they could fall down stairs, they can be afraid of that.

09-AZ-AMIL-Well... for example, my mom is also, er... afraid of some insects... well... I don't know dad's fears well.

10-IR-ELINA-No... I've never seen my mum afraid of something or my father.

14-AT-LILLY-I don't know, but I... think when they grow older they are not afraid of things that much.

14-AT-LILLY-Not of nothing, but the fear is not as big of... of spiders or snakes... for example.

05-SR-ALEKSA-Grown-ups are afraid of losing their jobs, that they are attacked by some made-up animal that they imagined.

01-RU-RUSLAN-Well, of course they are afraid. Everybody has his own fear.

03-RU-LILIANA-Nothing.

04-SR-MARTIN-I think grown-ups are afraid of a lot of things too, maybe they are afraid of some people, you never know which man exists. If he is scary, dangerous, a murderer or something like that.

02-RU-DANIL -...I know what children are afraid of, but adults... I don't know much about it... children are afraid of that the parents will, for example, leave them, that they will never see anyone, that they won't become what they want to be, sometimes even to get a '2' or to fail to become a part of a community. They are afraid of many things, but most of what I've said shouldn't be better thought about, and this won't happen. Somebody is afraid of nightmares. Well, you see a nightmare, just wake up. I can say so. This is what children are afraid of, in my opinion.

18-IL-MINA -Freedom... um...

11-IR-ANDIYA-I don't know who is freedom.

13-AT-FILIP-Mmm freedom is for example when one... was in prison for five years for example and then gets out, then one is out then, one is free then. Freedom. Or when one is wearing trousers for a long time or a shirt and when one takes it off than has, it is freedom, well, when you take it off and put on another one.

12-IR-SOROUGH -I think freedom... a person should be free to do whatever he wants to do but not everything that he likes...

Freedom usually for example... one wants to tell his opinions to his country but if he doesn't have freedom or independence, he can't.

14-AT-LILLY-Freedom is just when you are free and... just not so... how can I explain it... just when you are just not in such a... when you are just free... entirely... comfortable...

16-IL-IMRI -I think that freedom is that you can do whatever you want, that you don't... have to do this, you don't have to do anything.

15-AT-NIKI -Freedom is... when you for example when you when you were in prison once and you get out, then you are enjoying freedom or when or when you were in... and you go out, you are enjoying freedom as well.

17-IL-YUVAL -Freedom is when you don't have school, you go on vacation, and you just don't go to school. You stay home.

10-IR-ELINA -Umm... No...

18-IL-MINA -Eh... em... I don't know what freedom is, not at all.

### 03-RU-LILIANA - *What is Money?*

11-IR-ANDIYA-No. I don't know what money is.

16-IL-IMRI -Money is coins and bills.

11-IR-ANDIYA-Well, money is money.

09-AZ-AMIL-Money is what you get for work... Well... you can buy anything with money, but only not people.

01-RU-RUSLAN -Money is special papers and such iron circles with numbers, these numbers mean a sum. When they make fake money one can find it out at once, or one can never know at all... Money is not a very good thing. Revolution may happen because of money... Red [Revolution], for example... war with cold weapons... they may even burn each other because of money, so that somebody got more, and somebody got less, or may somebody got nothing at all. I don't like money in general... though I store them, I have 30000 in store... and I go on storing. I want to buy a psychotropic weapon for myself.

18-IL-MINA-Money is something that we take so we can buy things... and we can take it... also to teach children how to hold it.

05-SR-ALEKSA-Money is like... some thing that enables you to take something.

14-AT-LILLY-Money is... ahm... money is just... hard work, you could say. Well, yes.

17-IL-YUVAL -Money is... something quite strange... that humans invented... and deal with it for all sorts of things.

15-AT-NIKI-Money... is... is what you can buy things with... there are different types of money, for example, coins or banknotes... and... hmm... that's all I know.

10-IR-ELINA-Money is something that for example when we get it from someone we can go for example to buy something with it.

04-SR-MARTIN-Money is something you buy with, it is a value.

07-AZ-FIDAN-Money is something we pay with. Money is often dirty.

13-AT-FILIP-Ahm... money is... mm money is important... ah for example you can buy food with money, sweets, houses, cars and, and other things.

12-IR-SOROUGH - Money is something that people... want... to get house, food, clothes, these things from it.

02-RU-DANIL -Well, in my opinion money is... well, money is not given to us so that it should be wasted... you waste, waste, waste,



count money... that's not what it's needed for. We need money to provide somebody with something, to get something necessary, finally, for children to enter the institute... and to... and to buy a car, in general, to buy different things. Well, nowadays money explains quite a lot of things.

08-AZ-NURAY-I mean Allah gives us and we spend it. Our father earns and we spend it.

06-SR-MARIJA- *Why do we need money?*

18-IL-MINA-We need money so that we can work.

15-AT-NIKI-We need money so you can, so we can buy something... for example when you're an adult... ah cars or something, or something to eat... because, because when you have a family then... they need something to eat as well, with money you can buy that, yes, and taxes.

07-AZ-FIDAN-We need money to take care of ourselves, to buy clothes, to buy shoes, to buy houses, to buy a carpet, to buy ourselves a bed, to buy ourselves things, everything.

04-SR-MARTIN-I think that we need money to buy things and to support ourselves and simply...

10-IR-ELINA-Umm... Because if there is no money we starve... er... and if we starve we die.

13-AT-FILIP-Mm to live... ahm we need money to live.

17-IL-YUVAL-We need money for... all sorts of things, for example, to buy food for ourselves, to buy a home for ourselves, to buy us... all sorts of things possible.

08-AZ-NURAY-It is needed for home appliances and then... it is needed for our clothes, then... just that.

15-AT-NIKI-To buy cars... or... pay taxes or to buy food and...

18-IL-MINA-We can buy things that we want but don't have them, and we can use money to buy food if we don't have.

16-IL-IMRI-To enjoy. To enjoy, you have to buy stuff, and you buy stuff with money.

14-AT-LILLY-To live, well we need money to live, so that we buy food and feed on it.

09-AZ-AMIL-Money is needed to live. If there was no money you won't be able buy yourself food. Without food... you can't even buy water. Without water and food it is impossible to live. So money is important. It is very important. It is a very important thing.

05-SR-ALEKSA-Mmm, money we need for some things that amuse us, so that it is not always boring and so you just sit and do nothing... and for fun you use money.

12-IR-SOROUSH-Because if we don't have money... usually... we won't have food, clothes and house.

06-SR-MARIJA-And sometimes if there is no water to buy some.

03-RU-LILIANA-We need money to buy everything. I would like a 1000 money... 1000. Well, when I grow up.

*And you?*

07-AZ-FIDAN-A lot. In any case I will be President, I will have a lot of money, I don't have to worry about that anymore. In any case I have sixty-five manats now. Umm... I have it right now, at home.

05-SR-ALEKSA-Well, neither do I want to be rich and those things.

14-AT-LILLY-Ahm enough money, so that I can live of it.

09-AZ-AMIL-I would like to have not a lot... because if you have a lot of money then you will have a lot of those... well I would like to have less than a thousand... well, I don't know... hundred, two hundred, five hundred, well... that much.

06-SR-MARIJA-Well, I would like to have enough money so that mum and dad can buy me some toys and that we are all beautiful.

12-IR-SOROUSH-To the extent I can manage my life... but if I become rich I would help others.

11-IR-ANDIYA-A lot. I like... I like it very much to have money. A lot.

13-AT-FILIP- Mm... mm... a lot... I will have a lot... I want to have a lot of money.

10-IR-ELINA- I am happy with as much as I have.

10-IR-ELINA- *What about you?* s.

17-IL-YUVAL -I would like to have a hundred million.

16-IL-IMRI-I don't know how much money I would like to have. It depends.

*And you?* s. m.

15-AT-NIKI -I... well... would like to... Ahm... I would like to have seven thousand euros. With the money I would buy something to eat for me or pay the taxes or... ahm... or buy things for school and... and that was it.

04-SR-MARTIN-Well, as much as God gives me.

01-RU-RUSLAN- *What does it mean to be poor or rich?*

18-IL-MINA-Poor? Mmm I don't know what it means being poor.

11-IR-ANDIYA-I've heard but I don't know.

*What about you?* s.

10-IR-ELINA-Yes. Poor people for example... er... for example have very little money, for example rich people for example have a lot of money, for example they can buy anything they like.

05-SR-ALEKSA-To be rich means not to care about what happens to other people who are not like you. And to be poor is like you are modest, you do not have a lot of things, but you don't really need them... that's how I would say it.

11-IR-ANDIYA-I don't know.

13-AT-FILIP-Mm being rich means that for example one has lots of money, and poor means when one, well when one is begging and has no money.

06-SR-MARIJA-Some rich are not good, and some are. The poor are good, and some are a bit naughty because they want to steal money.

*What do you think?*

16-IL-IMRI-In my opinion, to be poor, is to be someone without a lot of money, but he can be happy.

Being rich is someone who has a lot of money, but he is not necessarily happy.

14-AT-LILLY-Well, for me being rich means, that you have a lot of money and you can buy yourself anything, and being poor for me means that you cannot just buy everything and that you just... that you can just... ahm... only buy very cheap things.

04-SR-MARTIN-Well, that the poor are more rich in their soul than in money, and the rich are a bit more poor in their soul than in money.

09-AZ-AMIL-Being rich means when you have a lot of money. It's when... you... maybe... you can be... Umm... a millionaire, a thousand millionaire... You can buy... you can be a trillionaire. Being poor means when you haven't got a gram of money. When you can't buy anything and... you can't even buy normal juice. You can't buy anything when you are poor.

15-AT-NIKI-Well, it is called rich when you have a lot of money, for example millions or... or even much more, and it is called poor when you, when you only have very little money and you, and you have almost no money and you can hardly buy anything.

08-AZ-NURAY-Poor means, umm... I mean someone who has a small house, he doesn't have any clothes, or he has a few clothes. Being rich means someone who has a very beautiful house, buys any meal and clothes that he wants and thus, he is rich. A lot of rich... probably, he does some work and earns money, so that he becomes rich. If a human has good knowledge and can buy anything he wants, it means being rich.

*What about you?* s.

17-IL-YUVAL-Poor means... that... you have no home and no money, from the aspect... the ideal aspect.

And... being rich means that you have a big house... and you have lots of money.

12-IR-SORUSH-A rich person is someone who for example has a lot of money and things but a poor person for example is someone who has little money and he can hardly get the things he wants.

02-RU-DANIL-To be poor means to live in the street, never... never to live in a family, to be a beggar, to fight for a piece of bread, else... to starve, to be thirsty, to steal, and to live in a box, at last. To live rich... well, one can't... when you live rich, you can't make fun of those who are poorer, you can't call them, well, I don't even know how, beggars, to cut a long story short. Richness is given to you in order not to use it against somebody's will, but to use it with one's mind.

07-AZ-FIDAN-Poor people are those who don't have money. They... they walk on the streets, without a house, and ask for money.

And rich, that is people who have money, a house, they already have everything, they have a lot of money, they are rich. One... in our building on the eighth floor already with a card, so we think that they are rich, because before there was just a button to push and now with a card. I think... because... for the thieves not to go there.

06-SR-MARIJA-The poor live hard because they don't have nice clothes and so they hold small pots and tell us to give them some money. To be rich is not so great, it is great to be clever.

10-IR-ELINA-If you had one million, what would you do with it?

04-SR-MARTIN-I think that if I had a million dollars I would give to the poor who don't have that money and that is that.

18-IL-MINA-I would have bought 10 croissants for... for...

15-AT-NIKI -If I had a million I would give a little of... of the million give a little bit of it to the poor, and and I would buy myself a car, and something to eat and... ahm... and for me, and for me buy a telephone... and, and the rest I would... and the rest I'd save for...

08-AZ-NURAY-I'd give half of it to my dad, then... I'd buy a house, a car, new clothes, food and then... only those. I'd buy additional shoes, a lot of clothes, bracelets, necklaces, earrings. That's it.

15-AT-NIKI-...and the rest I'd buy a house from what's left.

16-IL-IMRI-If I had a million shekels, I would add another classroom to my school.

07-AZ-FIDAN-I want to save it, I like it. I just save them to... tease my brother, that I have more money. He so far has one manat saved.  
*And you?*

10-IR-ELINA -I don't know.

01-RU-RUSLAN-Well, if I had a million... I would spend it on different useful things. I would buy for myself... no, Mercedes for my dad, I would give 30.000 to each of my grandmothers... I would buy a good cream for my mom 'her heels hurt' I would buy perfume for her... I would give 5000 to my little sister, because she loves money very much, and she likes wondering in shopping malls...

09-AZ-AMIL-If I had a million, I... I would buy myself, well... animals, a car, I would buy myself headphones, I would buy myself lamps, TVs, refrigerators, a house.

14-AT-LILLY-I would buy a beautiful house and... and... make sure not to waste the money, but to buy things I need, clothing or food, or... that's it.

12-IR-SOROUSH-If I had one million... well it's obvious then again one million is not that much money so I have to get a house and I can't even get a house with it, so it would be only food and clothes.

02-RU-DANIL-I would prefer one billion. I would buy a car for myself, some modern one, I would build a small house for myself, and for the rest of the money I would take something for my parents, something very good and expensive, and when I spend all the money... but with mind. Something for myself, something for my parents, for myself only a good house and a car.

10-IR-ELINA-Umm... with it... umm... I'd put it in a savings account in bank. I'd save it.

17-IL-YUVAL-If I had a million shekels, I would spend it on all sorts of things. Like... little things from the grocery store.

13-AT-FILIP-I will buy a car... a car, a normal car.

11-IR-ANDIYA-With one million I would go and buy a house, put it out for rent. Buy stuff for it and... if I had more I would also buy a car.

05-SR-ALEKSA-No, I don't think a lot about money and those things, I think that if only all could be the same.

15-AT-NIKI-Would you share it with others?

12-IR-SOROUSH-For sure.

10-IR-ELINA-Yes. Umm... because... umm... I... money is too much for me... I think... I think I have to share with poor people and those who don't have it.

05-SR-ALEKSA-Well, if one of my parents, or relatives, anybody, was very sick I would give money for the surgery if they needed it and stuff like that.

14-AT-LILLY-I think I would, yes. I would share the money with others.

17-IL-YUVAL-I would share the money with other people, depending... if... they were... poor or rich.

11-IR-ANDIYA-Yes... I would share my money with others.

02-RU-DANIL-Yes, I would, if I had left... money... that is it.

07-AZ-FIDAN-Yes. I would share... Umm... I would share it with poor people.

18-IL-MINA-Yes, I would share it with my friends... with my mother and father... yes I... If I had enough... If I had money for everyone in the world I would give it to everyone.

13-AT-FILIP-Mm yes, what's left I will share... well, if half would leave then I would share it.

16-IL-IMRI-Yes, I would share my money with other people. With my friends.

09-AZ-AMIL-If with friends, I would share. If with unknown people, I would never share because I am a kind person.

03-RU-LILIANA-If I had a lot of money, then... I would share with others.

If I had a lot of money other people would love me... Other people would love me more, but mom and dad more.

08-AZ-NURAY-I'd give my money to poor people, umm... for example, to kindergartens; I mean I would share my money with orphanages. Then... I'd share it with everyone, anyone who is poor and I'd help them. Umm...

04-SR-MARTIN-Would you like to have a big car? s. f

10-IR-ELINA-No, not as much as that.

*What about you? s.*

04-SR-MARTIN-I would like to have an expensive car.

12-IR-SOROUSH-Not that much. To some extent yes and no. I don't like to get a car which is too big because it causes trouble, you should always have an eye on it, but if there's a car which isn't that big, a small one so you wouldn't worry about it too much, so you for example can use it the way you want.

14-AT-LILLY-Ahm... I would buy me a big car.

16-IL-IMRI-No, I wouldn't buy a big car. I wouldn't buy a big car because I don't think that I have a need for a big car.

16-IL-IMRI-And you? s. m.

15-AT-NIKI-No! I would rather I would rather buy a smaller car... because small cars are faster sometimes, I think.

11-IR-ANDIYA-I would like to buy a big car.

09-AZ-AMIL-I wouldn't like to buy a big car because I don't like such cars... and I... umm... I like lengthy cars. Like the one my dad has, for example. He has a long Mercedes. But I would like to have a Ferrari rather than a Mercedes. Ferrari, you know... that is such a racing car.

13-AT-FILIP-Yes I will buy a big car... mm... buy a big car and a small one.

17-IL-YUVAL-Nooo... I wouldn't buy a big car, because a big car is just a lot of money.

08-AZ-NURAY-I would want to buy a big car... so that I have a large car. So, I would want to.

05-SR-ALEKSA-No, an ordinary car, to be a little bit nice and not to be too busy, to have that thing when you can open the roof and then you can put your seats down and sleep, and stuff like that...

18-IL-MINA-If I had... yes I would like to buy a station wagon that has seats in the back... like this I don't want to put my things, instead I can put seats. I don't want to have the seats fixed inside the car, I want them removable... so we can sit inside the car and also outside the car... I mean we can sit outside the car but in the car.

07-AZ-FIDAN-I don't know yet. But I know... but I think when I get older there will already be flying cars, because they already exist in one country. That's why I think that when I get older they... they will be for sale and that's why I will buy one of them. And I will buy a Ferrari, in red.

06-SR-MARIJA-I would not like to have a car for me, but I would like to buy one for my dolls.

10-IR-ELINA- *Would you have more friends if you buy a big car?* s.

11-IR-ANDIYA-No. If I buy a big car, I don't think I would have more friends.

05-SR-ALEKSA-Well, honestly I don't know. If I were rich I think that people would be angry because they don't have the same things I do, I have a big expensive car and they have some old rusty car... that's the kind of things I'm thinking of.

08-AZ-NURAY-If it's a good friend I'd take him for a ride too in my big car. But still... it depends on the friends.

12-IR-SORUSH-No. I don't think if I had a big car I would have had more friends.

07-AZ-FIDAN-No. It is... it's just cars. What does it have to do with friends?

*And you?*

10-IR-ELINA-No, because it has nothing to do with buying a big car and these things. People for example will like someone more if that someone has a better personality, but for example if it was like that they wouldn't have liked her. Maybe that someone is for example bad.

08-AZ-NURAY-No. Why should people like me if over a car? They will like me more if I'm a good person.

17-IL-YUVAL-I don't know if people would like me more. But, I do know that... that there are, that there would be people who would like me more, and there would be people who would like me less.

13-AT-FILIP-Mmm... that I don't know... mhm no, just for a million euros everybody would not love me.

06-SR-MARIJA-You don't share friendships with money so that someone is a friend with you.

13-AT-FILIP-Mhm no, I already have enough friends.

18-IL-MINA-Yes, I would have a looooooot of friends and a looooot of money.

15-AT-NIKI-No, because you can't buy friends with money.

16-IL-IMRI-No, I wouldn't have more friends if I had money.

11-IR-ANDIYA-No.

15-AT-NIKI-Because... because money is not everything that counts in life.

Ahm what also counts... what also counts is love, friendship and... and... ahm... and being nice to each other.

09-AZ-AMIL-No. Because, there is no way you can buy friends with money. If you have friends then you have everything, they will give you everything. Friends are all you need in life. No. With money you can never buy friendship.

17-IL-YUVAL-I wouldn't have. It wouldn't be so interesting to me if I had more friends, because... I'm mostly more with my family than with friends.

14-AT-LILLY-I think I wouldn't have more friends then, because I think it would not be, it would not make a difference.

18-IL-MINA-It doesn't matter if you love or you don't love, the most important thing is that we all love each other.

14-AT-LILLY-Ahm no I think that others wouldn't love me more, no.

10-IR-ELINA-No.

14-AT-LILLY-*And what do you think?* s

16-IL-IMRI-I think that people wouldn't like me any more, because... personally, I don't understand how money would help me become famous.

06-SR-MARIJA-Friendship is not shared by money, but by brains.

07-AZ-FIDAN-Ah, dollars. Why love for money? Here everything is fine. Why love for money? Money is not a thousand friends, you make friends because... because you want them to love you.

04-SR-MARTIN-I saw one man was rich, his grandmother and grandfather sent him a lot of money, they loved him, and they gave him land and he sold it all and made money, and showed off non-stop, and nobody loved him and nobody defended him... and now he is making in our village that café and all, but nobody goes there and so, I saw that and now I know.

09-AZ-AMIL-*Do you know what war is?*

11-IR-ANDIYA-No. I don't know what war is. I've heard but I don't know.

15-AT-NIKI-War is, when... when... when two people are not getting along and then then keep on fighting with each other till death.

03-RU-LILIANA-War is... they fight there... over the fascists.

08-AZ-NURAY-War means, umm... fighting, some people are fighting. For example, Azerbaijanis fought with Armenians and Russians in the past. It's war. Fighting... war means fighting.

14-AT-LILLY-Ahm, yes I know what war is, well, war means that people shoot each other or fight.

17-IL-YUVAL-I don't really, really, really, really know what war is. I just know that it's a kind of... there are two groups with... guns, pistols, bow and arrows, all sorts of things. Ah... people who know how to punch, and... they go to battle against the second group that has the same thing. For example, the USA against... ehh... Jordan.

06-SR-MARIJA-I heard that some Turks and as if they wanted to conquer Serbia.

09-AZ-AMIL-The war is when one city fights with another, like Armenians. They are enemies of our people and they occupied some... some regions of ours. They shot many people: some fathers, some children, some mothers. They... they shot everyone, and the war lasted for several years and, frankly speaking, we don't know... we didn't read the people... people of Azerbaijan book, but I discovered all those things when I read the Russian language book in the first grade at school.

02-RU-DANIL-War... Well, it is when some person wants power; he gathers an army and attacks some unprotected town. And others have nothing left but fight. And this striving for power may soon destroy the world and turn everything into a war camp. War is the time when all people go to war, it doesn't matter who they are, they just go to protect the Motherland. Fight, fight, but soon it turns out that nobody won, it was just stupid, sometimes these are just conflicts of interests... Sometimes they say, do you want war? You'll get it... he said this out of stupidity. Sometimes you should say: why do you need this war? But war is not something that appears, war is something that a man creates. If a man doesn't want war, it won't happen.

05-SR-ALEKSA-War is killing, running away, burning, to be without a home, that is war.

01-RU-RUSLAN-War is when somebody is fighting for the territory with each other. And... and some are so aggressive that they kill each other. That is what war is called... Some are buried, some are left on the battlefield... this is how it happens. Some get injured and they are taken to physician... A physician is a military doctor... But, In general, I think that it's no use to fight... One can just pay [back]. That's it.

07-AZ-FIDAN-And you? p

12-IR-SOROUSH-I don't know. War?

13-AT-FILIP-Yes I know what war means. War is when two countries, well when, when, for example some... well a soldiers from the other country kills another and then there is war... against two countries.

12-IR-SOROUSH-They start to have a fight with each other because of some little and meaningless problems.

16-IL-IMRI-No, I don't exactly understand what war is, it seems to me that I won't understand it until about nine years from now, and even then I'm not sure. Because in about nine more years I'll be in the army.

10-IR-ELINA-Umm... yes. For example from different countries... for example from different countries... for example they come and have war with one another, for example they shoot each other, they bring tanks... for example... these things.

16-IL-IMRI-War is a difference of opinion which leads to something extreme, in my opinion.

11-IR-ANDIYA-Yes. Like for example two countries are unable to agree with one another, then they attack each other and start a war.

18-IL-MINA -War? Yes I know. As they occupied Palestine and made it Israel.

**14-AT-LILLY-Why do people go to war?**

16-IL-IMRI-I think that people go to war because... the... differences of opinion, what they think, is important to them. They want to win in the difference of opinion... that their opponent will think them... will think what they think. And because of this they go to war, to convince their opponent.

07-AZ-FIDAN-Umm... in order to protect Azerbaijan. They want to win. They want that for their motherland... Azerbaijanis... They want our homeland to be... to... to be ours and not theirs.

15-AT-NIKI-People go to war because they ahm... because they want the countries for... for ah, because they want other countries, well, they just want them to belong to their state. I think war is really terrible, because a lot of people die and... that's why.

10-IR-ELINA-For their homeland.

04-SR-MARTIN-Well, there is always a reason.

18-IL-MINA-Because... sometimes the war can help them to take lands and kill people.

04-SR-MARTIN-A person has to know how to hold a gun, to know some martial arts, there is a man there who teaches you and this man surely means well.

06-SR-MARIJA-Maybe to take some money from us.

12-IR-SOROUSH-So they can get their rights.

05-SR-ALEKSA-It is, like, war makes them happy, to kill someone and like that.

17-IL-YUVAL-People go to war in order to pro... protect the country and the country's royal throne. Such as, for example... the government and all that, so an army is needed in order to protect the citizens... and the country.

04-SR-MARTIN-Maybe to learn something there.

12-IR-SOROUSH-Independence, freedom.

09-AZ-AMIL-To protect the dignity of their city and country. To protect dignity, to be a citizen of this city. To protect themselves and not to live in the sea.

06-SR-MARIJA-To conquer our country and then have two countries.

13-AT-FILIP-Hmm... hmm... don't know, I don't know (in Serbian)... hmm because otherwise because it would be dangerous in this country for them and then they could die.

06-SR-MARIJA-Well, to take something from other people.

14-AT-LILLY-Because mostly it is because... ah one country just wants to have the other country and that other country wants the country as well... and so... war just begins.

04-SR-MARTIN-All those, like some people would say, axes should be buried and for them to make up no matter what.

11-IR-ANDIYA-To be pleased. Reach an agreement.

08-AZ-NURAY-Umm... because, umm... people... Armenians take our people, our land and then we go to them to get our land, our people back. We fight them.

What about you? pl.

05-SR-ALEKSA-People go to war so that they don't lose their homes, those they love and all those closest, for all the people who live in their country so that some people don't kill them and then move onto those who are in the village and the city.

08-AZ-NURAY-Do you think people solve their problems with fighting? Pl.

07-AZ-FIDAN-Yes. They so... they solve the problem so they cannot occupy our country. They save our country.

15-AT-NIKI- No, I don't think so. No I don't think so. I don't think so!

16-IL-IMRI-No, in my opinion, when people fight, the problems are not always resolved, but sometimes, fights can resolve problems.

10-IR-ELINA-No, because if they fight... their problems won't get solved at all... they will be only destroying their friendship.

05-SR-ALEKSA-Well, they don't solve anything with war, that war gets bigger and in the end you get nothing from fighting.

14-AT-LILLY-No, I think when people fight, that they don't solve any problems... no. In opposite just... make the day worse and that, yes, just that they make the day worse.

12-IR-SOROUGH-I don't think people solve their problems by fighting, they would make them last longer and...

06-SR-MARIJA-Let them concentrate on smarts, and not war or hatred.

09-AZ-AMIL-No, with war you may not even solve... no, you can't solve anything with war. It's just... in order to solve something you need agreements, you need to chat with someone, to talk. Heydar Aliyev, our national leader, signed the peace agreement and saved our city.

04-SR-MARTIN-Those who fight more will have fewer friends and pals.

18-IL-MINA-No... but for the Jews yes.

11-IR-ANDIYA-No, they won't solve their problems.

13-AT-FILIP-Mm with some problems, when there is just a little when they only fight a little, then then the problems are solved but when they a lot then they usually don't.

11-IR-ANDIYA-I don't know why people fight with each other.

16-IL-IMRI-If, actually... in fights, it depends how we define the fight. Because... a fight can help become a war, and if, say, we define a war as a fight, at the end, there will be someone who will... win, or maybe there will not necessarily be someone who wins, but there will be an end to it. And the end, mostly, will be towards one side or another... And... that's why, many times fights actually help solve problems and don't cause problems.

08-AZ-NURAY-Our problems? Umm... I mean no, it's impossible with fighting. I think it would be better if they prayed, they'd solve their problems then.

17-IL-YUVAL-When people fight, on one hand, they solve problems, very small ones, and on the other hand, they really don't solve problems.

07-AZ-FIDAN-Problems are solved when there is war.

05-SR-ALEKSA-A long time ago some people were enemies and did not know how to solve it, and they started a war and that is how war passed on to all generations and even today there is war somewhere.

18-IL-MINA-For Jews yes... this war helped them to take Palestine.

18-IL-MINA-What do adults do in a war?

03-RU-LILIANA-At war they shoot and kill people, well not people but fascists.

16-IL-IMRI-In my opinion, adults, what adults do in war, depends on which side they're on, if they are fighting or if they are def... defen... defending themselves. The defender attempts to participate in it as little as possible, trying more trying to prevent it... in contrast to the fighter, who wants to be victorious, he wants to win, or from his point of view, to let it continue no matter how long, the main thing is to win.

15-AT-NIKI-They shoot other people with pistols and so.

07-AZ-FIDAN-They... they... they are saving their homeland.

12-IR-SOROUGH-They try to destroy their enemy to get what they want.

14-AT-LILLY-Ahm adults at war do, just they... shoot at each other and... throw bombs on houses... and, yes.

09-AZ-AMIL-Well for example my second cousin went to war for a year. They do everything by order. Just like they are told they need to do. That's why you can't disobey otherwise you will not protect your honor to be a citizen of... the city.

10-IR-ELINA-Umm... They defend their countries, like they shoot... so their enemies won't be able to get close to their homeland.

17-IL-YUVAL-The adults, what they do in war is they fight against each other. It can be good when there's victory, and it can be bad with a loss and with... killings of people.

07-AZ-FIDAN-Well, only adults fight, kids don't plan to fight. Children are too small to fight.

13-AT-FILIP-They are fightin' and... protecting themselves and protecting their kids.

08-AZ-NURAY-Those people fight, they take a gun and kill everybody, kill Armenians.

11-IR-ANDIYA-They kill, and for example... kill then... We don't need war, we don't have to fight.

07-AZ-FIDAN-Do we need war?

04-SR-MARTIN-We don't need wars at all because we can suffer...

02-RU-DANIL-I think we don't need wars, of course. Who needs them?

10-IR-ELINA-Weeeee? ...No!

18-IL-MINA-No, not at all we should not do these things, the most important thing is not to do these things but to love each other... the most important thing is to become friends.

12-IR-SOROUSH-If that thing is really important... certainly yes.

07-AZ-FIDAN-Why do we need war, to argue and kill so many people. We don't need it.

03-RU-LILLIANA-I think that war is good, because they protect... well, protect everything, so that others didn't kill anybody.

15-AT-NIKI-No... I, I don't think so.

11-IR-ANDIYA-We don't need a war.

09-AZ-AMIL-If you dared not to go to war... your city will be crushed like a small insect. We can't let this happen because it's wrong, otherwise where will we live after all?

14-AT-LILLY-No we don't need... well I, we don't need wars.

17-IL-YUVAL-We don't really need wars. It's j... It's just people that... invented it that we need to make wars, in order to control all sorts of places in the world.

08-AZ-NURAY-No, we don't need. But we maybe need it for taking our land back. It can be possible. We can get our land with peace, but they don't give it back, Armenians don't give back our lands.

What about you? pl.

13-AT-FILIP-Mm actually we don't need wars.

16-IL-IMRI-Ah, In my opinion, we can get along without war, even though in my opinion people don't understand this, it's a fact that wars continue to go on.

05-SR-ALEKSA-And, what is an enemy?

18-IL-MINA-The enemy? The enemy?

09-AZ-AMIL-An enemy is someone who is not your friend, he hates you, he insults you, who makes only bad to you and nothing good.

11-IR-ANDIYA-I don't know.

16-IL-IMRI-In my opinion an enemy is someone who doesn't agree with you, but, it's a disagreement that leads to war, many times... an enemy is someone who disagrees with you in a way that's so extreme that you lead it to war.

08-AZ-NURAY-An enemy is when one person does bad things to another, it means an enemy. I mean when someone is jealous, hits and harms someone, others will see him as an enemy. There is also an enemy who takes our land. I mean they took our land, so we call them our enemy.

17-IL-YUVAL-The meaning of enemy is that it's someone who's against you, meaning that he's not together with you. He's against you. For example, Israel against... eh... Egypt. Egypt is the enemy because it's not together with Israel.

07-AZ-FIDAN-Enemy is an enemy. It is... it is a person that you don't like and it bothers you. He disturbs you every time, doesn't let you to do what you want, he's called an enemy.

15-AT-NIKI-For me enemy means, that, that we are not friends but... and that we also fight sometimes.

14-AT-LILLY-For me enemy means ahm... that you just are not getting along with him and actually keep out of his way.

18-IL-MINA-I don't know what is the meaning of enemy.

What about you? s.

10-IR-ELINA-Yes, the meaning of enemy is that for example they are being bad with us... for example... they do something bad to us... like they don't like us.

12-IR-SOROUSH-I have no opinion.

13-AT-FILIP-Well, when one... ahm... one man and another man are fighting, and then they are enemies. When they get heavily... well... ahm... on their nerves and... and... mm an they push while they are passing, then they are two enemies.

04-SR-MARTIN-I think that an enemy is like when, for instance he did something evil to you, thinks evil, all evil.

03-RU-LILIANA-Enemies are bad people. They kill people.

05-SR-ALEKSA-An enemy is someone who you don't get along with, who you don't play with and don't respect.

14-AT-LILLY-Ahm enemy is... an evil, well, no always evil person but... a person you don't like so much.

02-RU-DANIL-But, one should always get friends with an enemy, no matter how many times you've quarreled with them, how many times you fought, how many times, I'm sorry, didn't abuse him. But sometimes you have an enemy since childhood, and then it's more complicated. I'm better than you are, that's the beginning of everything.

18-IL-MINA-Um-um, we should not be enemies.

09-AZ-AMIL-I have one enemy in my neighborhood, his name is Tugay. One day when we were playing he once threw my ball on the roof of the building and it... well, we couldn't take it out for five, six, three, four days. We took it out with great effort, nobody was allowed to go to the roof. With great effort, an old man went to the roof and took off the ball.

07-AZ-FIDAN-I don't have enemies. Mean and bad. Enemies are just like that.

12-IR-SOROUSH-You can't judge that fast.

06-SR-MARIJA-Someone who is mean. One of my friends stole my marker which my mum needed and then he used it whole, crumpled it up and threw it away.

12-IR-SOROUSH-For example we fight with one of our friends... he is a very naughty boy. Then when others do something we say he did it. And this is not right at all... that we judge fast.

17-IL-YUVAL - The enemy can be anyone. Depends whom you're fighting against.

13-AT-FILIP-Mm... usually both of them together are enemies.

10-IR-ELINA-No.

16-IL-IMRI-No, I don't know who the enemy is.

15-AT-NIKI-No, I don't know.

11-IR-ANDIYA-For example one country that doesn't agree with us we call it enemy and then we fight with them.

08-AZ-NURAY-They took our land and we see them as an enemy. Because they took our land.

04-SR-MARTIN-Does anyone know what terrorism is?

11-IR-ANDIYA-No, I don't know what terrorism is.

15-AT-NIKI-Mm no.

10-IR-ELINA-No, I don't know.

05-SR-ALEKSA-I don't know what terrorism is.

07-AZ-FIDAN-No. I haven't heard.

14-AT-LILLY-Ahm, what is terrorism... I have no idea what terrorism is. No... no, I've no idea what terrorism is.

06-SR-MARIJA-I never even heard of this word.

09-AZ-AMIL-I actually don't know what the terrorism is.

08-AZ-NURAY-What?

14-AT-LILLY-No, I've never heard of that word.

18-IL-MINA-No, Terrorism... um... No I do not know what is terrorism.

And you? s.

04-SR-MARTIN-Well, I think it is something bad but now I don't know.

06-SR-MARIJA-It reminds me of some computers and some electricity.

08-AZ-NURAY-Terrorists? Yes. It is... I mean it's in movies. For example, they go to kill people and when they're together, it's called terrorists.

15-AT-NIKI-I think that I have heard the word terrorism... ahm in the TV series Logo. Not good word. Because... terrorism, I believe is, that bombs will be... exploded and that terrorists come... and... and... they want to threaten.

03-RU-LILIANA-They torture people.

16-IL-IMRI-The truth is I haven't the vaguest idea of what terrorism is. Everyone says, 'terrorism, terrorism', but they all say it about entirely different things, so... I don't... know.

01-RU-RUSLAN-Terrorism. Well, it's like bandits but even worse. They have special tanks with gas. And when they spray the gas people can either get intoxicated, or even, well, go to heaven...

07-AZ-FIDAN-I don't know. Because I think that a terrorist is the one who shoots, who fights, who destroys. I thought it's called terrorists. People who are doing that are terrorists.

12-IR-SOROUSH-They are a group of people who for example for some famous people who get in the middle of what they do... to destroy them and to reach their goals they destroy them.

03-RU-LILIANA-And you?

09-AZ-AMIL-Terrorism is... well... umm... well, there was one boy in our class, his name was Ali Nurushov, he behaved, like, abnormal. He was like a psycho. That is terrorism.



16-IL-IMRI-Yes, I heard it a lot on the news, but as I said, everyone says, 'this is terrorism,' and 'this is terrorism,' and 'this is terrorism,' and 'this is terrorism'.. So what is terrorism? I.. don't... know.

02-RU-DANIL-Terrorists are those who, who don't even care what a human life is, who sometimes don't even know what they are doing, just go mad and that's it.

17-IL-YUVAL-Ehhh... I did happen to hear about all sorts of terrorist attacks that were in Israel. But they weren't so very, very interesting.

15-AT-NIKI-I think they seek people's attention. I don't know why they seek attention.

17-IL-YUVAL-Terrorism is something that... it never existed before. And it... it's simply something really strong in the world.

#### 01-RU-RUSLAN- *What is death?*

04-SR-MARTIN-I know what death is... death is when someone kills you or you kill him.

15-AT-NIKI-Death is when someone dies.

03-RU-LILIANA-Death is when they kill people. Suppose they are killed. Then they are put into a grave. Then all the other people cry because they were killed.

14-AT-LILLY-No, I don't think so as you can also die in car accidents, it is, yes, yes ahm... you can also die when you run out of food... or you get seriously ill... and there is no medication for it.

09-AZ-AMIL-Death is when you die and you have no more life, then you're buried in the tomb under the ground.

12-IR-SOROUGH-Death is... when someone gets to an age, gets weak and after some short time that someone dies... But there are some other deaths like suicide... because of some difficulties... they kill themselves... I don't know anything else.

06-SR-MARIJA-If someone is run over by a car, that is also death.

11-IR-ANDIYA-Death, yes. It means they kill someone then he goes to the world or heaven and hell.

13-AT-FILIP-When someone... ahm at war... if, death is when somebody dies.

07-AZ-FIDAN-It happens when someone is too old and he dies. Sometimes someone gets very sick and he dies. Sometimes there are car accidents. Sometimes... well many different things can happen.

18-IL-MINA-Death is when somebody shoots you and you die, or kill you and you die.

08-AZ-NURAY-Death... One person kills another and that one dies and goes to another land. There're different kinds of deaths.

14-AT-LILLY-Death is when a person was very old or had some terrible disease and he then unfortunately had to die and he is just no there any more.

17-IL-YUVAL-Death is when a person loses his soul, and... he simply can't be alive any more.

02-RU-DANIL-Death... Death is when a person... well, his way is over. Death happens in each person's life. But if you live a real life, live, so to say, without those... alcohol, everything, then you can live better, then you can live longer, then organism will be healthier...

05-SR-ALEKSA-Death...

Death is when you cross into another world, a world that is not fun, in the sky, actually the other world is just as it is here except that it is in the world of spirits. Then, what happens is you go along the street, but no one sees you, and if you believe in God, that's a good thing because something good will always happen in return if you believe in God.

#### 05-SR-ALEKSA- *Are you afraid of death?* pl.

07-AZ-FIDAN-I am afraid of death because nobody wants to die. Death is terrifying. Death is when people are dying and nobody wants to die.

06-SR-MARIJA-I am afraid for my mum, dad, sister, granny and granddad and more for them than for myself.

08-AZ-NURAY-I don't want to be separated from my dad and mum. My sisters, my brother, why should I get separated from them? If I die, I won't see them anymore.

And you? pl.

04-SR-MARTIN-Yes. I am afraid of death.

#### 05-SR-ALEKSA- *What does it mean to be a girl?*

10-IR-ELINA-Well, I don't really know what it means.

15-AT-NIKI-Being a girl is... hm... I don't know.

12-IR-SOROUGH-I don't have any opinions regarding girls.

17-IL-YUVAL-Being a girl means that you have a different character from being a boy.

11-IR-ANDIYA-I don't know what being a girl means.

16-IL-IMRI-In my opinion, being a girl is like being a boy.

10-IR-ELINA-I really don't know. Like our behaviours, our hair... umm... our looks... our clothes... for example he has his boyish

behaviours, like my cousin he gets angry all the time, he behaves like other boys but we are very different. Like we talk in a soft voice... umm... We speak clearly... We speak very well... Even if we shout we sound different.

18-IL-MINA-To be a girl... ah... it means that we can... mothers can deliver either a boy or a girl, It doesn't matter if they had a girl although they wanted a boy. It doesn't matter if it is a girl the most important thing is that they know whatever God... whatever God has given them they need to love it.

13-AT-FILIP-Hm... mm... for me this means nothing, a girl is a girl.

07-AZ-FIDAN-Being a girl means... a girl is just a girl, a human being, not a boy. A girl has long hair. A girl has her own taste. Especially little girls, their favorite color is always pink. And then, when you get older you can choose any color you want.

12-IR-SOROUGH-I don't have any special idea.

06-SR-MARIJA-Well, maybe some boys like pink, because one boy in my class, his name is Ognjen, he likes pink but his mum never buys him pink, because his mum thinks it is more for girls.

09-AZ-AMIL-Being a girl means loving... different flowers... I don't know... loving pink... ugh, disgusting.

04-SR-MARTIN-A girl is when, I think it is when you are somehow girly, you like make up and all that.

08-AZ-NURAY-A girl should take care of how she looks, should help her mother. But a boy is doing his own business.

13-AT-FILIP-Mm... girls... mm are hm usually not as spo... sportive well boys are spo... more sportive and girls do others things for example ballet and... and girls usually cook and... do such things.

01-RU-RUSLAN-Well, In general, almost no [difference], some girls want to become a doctor, some - a hairdresser... some want to become military soldiers, for example, my little sister, she dreams of becoming military man... and she does boxing all the time, and does exercises, she goes in for [how is it called?...] ossetian dancing, ballet, break dance... she goes. I also go in for break dance with her.

06-SR-MARIJA-Well, girls, one of my friends is always showing off and her name is Anastasia, she just shows off, like, she wants to beat me in being cleverer so she always gets me into trouble so that I have to go to the school counsellor.

15-AT-NIKI- Girls are... are tall sometimes, sometimes little, almost like boys, only they have longer hair... and...

11-IR-ANDIYA-Their difference is their hair, and also women wear manto and scarf... and...

14-AT-LILLY-I think girls are quite okay, because... girls do other things different than boys, they dance for example... or rather play... with each other... or boys rather play soccer or so, I would never do that... yes.

*And what do you think?* s.

04-SR-MARTIN-Well there are many kinds of girls, there are hysterical, who get annoyed for the smallest thing straight away, there are good girls, there are bad ones; there are many kinds of girls.

15-AT-NIKI-Well boys behave a bit... a bit ahm... a bit... nastier... and girls are a bit... well, not, not as aggressive.

12-IR-SOROUGH-Boys are naughty... When you tell them something bad they get very upset.

16-IL-IMRI-I don't think that there's a difference between being a boy and being a girl, I don't know why, but since kindergarten that's what I think.

07-AZ-FIDAN-They have short hair. But some people in different countries around the world, some of them have long hair. Little boys always like blue. Their favorite toys are mostly cars and girls have dolls. Boys love blue, but when they get older they can choose the color they like.

05-SR-ALEKSA-To be a boy means to be strong, that everyone notices you and stuff.

15-AT-NIKI-I think boys fight more often than girls.

04-SR-MARTIN-There are boys who like to fight, to kick, to hit others with their fists, and there are some good boys who like to play with others, everything opposite. There are some boys who, how should I say it, are girly boys who do everything like girls: walk like girls, put make-up on, put nail varnish on, there.

14-AT-LILLY-I... can't quite explain that.

08-AZ-NURAY-Because boys are strong, they can do anything. But girls are weak, they can do nothing. But boys can do everything.

13-AT-FILIP-Mm boys are doing more running than girls... and... do usually... drink alcohol... and...

09-AZ-AMIL- Being a boy means being a man. It means being strong, courageous, brave. A boy is someone who can always protect himself.

18-IL-MINA-A boy means a grownup and wise person.

13-AT-FILIP-Being a boy is the same thing as a girl.

14-AT-LILLY-I think it is just similar, yet I think girls fight more often than boys do.

05-SR-ALEKSA-There are some boys who are good and like to play nicely, and there are those bad ones who like to hurt other people.

08-AZ-NURAY-A boy never helps anyone. Half of the boys are good, half of the boys are bad. Because, bad ones hit their parents, they don't help old people, anyone. They behave badly in front of some people, they can hit their mother in front of some people, they can say anything, they can offend... This means a boy.

11-IR-ANDIYA-Do you have a girl friends? s.

15-AT-NIKI-I have, Yes, I have female friends.

12-IR-SOROUGH-No.

08-AZ-NURAY-I have girl friends. They live near to us, they're our neighbors, so that's why my friends. I play with them.

02-RU-DANIL-...I'm, first of all, not very good with girls, I'm used to boys and am always with them only. Firstly, boys are, well, always stronger, that's clear... secondly, boys one-two and can climb anywhere, and girls [you need to wait] till they climb... I have more boyfriends, because I like, with boys am in friends... because for me it's more joyful with them... and it's easier for me with them.

04-SR-MARTIN-Well I have boys of the opposite sex. The boy's name is Nemanja, he is also girly, he likes to walk like a girl. He is always asking his mum 'let me have hair extensions' but I don't look at this because they are all the same, they just have different characters.

08-AZ-NURAY-I'm not a girl to play with boys and also if I play with boys my brother would shout at me, will beat me and can get angry. That's why I don't have boy friends.

06-SR-MARIJA-Theodora, she really likes to play with boys. She behaves like she is a boy and she would like to be a boy, but she can't because she is a girl. And she always watches boy's cartoons, never for girls. And she always dresses somehow like a man. Sometimes she might put on a skirt, but no, she does not like skirts, but likes what boys like and she collects some gornits, I don't know what that is. And other girls usually like to play with Barbies and stuff like that.

09-AZ-AMIL-My friends are boys, only good ones... and girls... well only a few of them, not all of them at once. With bad boys I don't make friends, only with good ones.

06-SR-MARIJA-Sometimes a boy asks me round to his birthday or something like that, but I don't play with boys.

03-RU-LILIANA-Girls are more beautiful than boys, because they do make up with kid's cosmetics, then else they put on dresses, wear bags. They are fashion-girls.

*And you?*

07-AZ-FIDAN-Yes, I have friends, boys and girls. Many, many, many. They are from Azerbaijan but some are from Moscow.

17-IL-YUVAL-I even have a girl friend, even... two. Yes, I have a boy friend, only one, unfortunately.

01-RU-RUSLAN-I'm mostly in friends with boys, well, because it's not interesting with girls... Well, just girls don't have boyish games. They don't like blood, or killings, weapons, explosives. They like animals more... I like to kill zombie. For example, with hammers, with hammers or a mace-head.

18-IL-MINA-Ahm, I have only... only... six friends. They are all girl friends. I have only one... one friend... a boy, no! Two friends, who are boys.

05-SR-ALEKSA-I am friends with the opposite sex, with girls and with my own sex, with boys. Boys and girls are not so different, some boys think that girls can't do a lot of things.

12-IR-SOROUSH-*Who do you play with most?* s.

17-IL-YUVAL-I play the most with... mainly my cousins, or all sorts of kids who are nice, from my class.

07-AZ-FIDAN-Mostly with girls. With my brothers. I mostly play with my brothers.

16-IL-IMRI-I don't know, I play a lot with all of them.

14-AT-LILLY-I'm mostly playing with my best friend, yes.

She is funny, nice and kind. We sometimes fight, but not as often any more.

09-AZ-AMIL-I play the most with my schoolmates because the school year has just begun and... at school... only at school I can talk to my friends. Mostly.

13-AT-FILIP-Mm... with my brotha... I'm mostly playing with my brother.

11-IR-ANDIYA-He's my friend. His name is Sajjad.

15-AT-NIKI-I mostly play with my male friend. Either dodgeball or catching balls.

18-IL-MINA-With Muhammad, Muhammad Ildirbas but I do not see him every day.

Sometimes when I visit him we jump on his mother's bed and sometimes when he visits me we play with my toys.

14-AT-LILLY-Ahm we mostly play tag or... yes, we mostly play tag.

15-AT-NIKI-*And you?*

10-IR-ELINA-Umm... I have a girl cousin. I also have a boy cousin. I play with both of them but more with my girl cousin. For example we go to the room and we play together. We play LEGO. We play 'roles.' These things.

13-AT-FILIP-*What are rules made for?*

14-AT-LILLY-Ahm i think, rules are made to prevent that anything happens to the people.

15-AT-NIKI-Rules are made for... so not everybody somehow is allowed to rob everything... or, or that they... that they can drive on the street as fast as they like, and that 's it.

14-AT-LILLY-Ahm rules are, that for ex... that cars for example are not allowed to drive there or that there is a walkway... yes am for example, that you are not allowed to do drugs or do anything mean and steal and things like that.

13-AT-FILIP-Mm... ah... rules are made for, well, in order that not everyone drives through a red light, otherwise will, well, otherwise they will collide and... and rules for example... mm... when you are fighting strongly then you have to be 50 meters apart

from that person and, well from that person so that they are fighting no more.

15-AT-NIKI-I think rules are gr... great. Because... because rules... stop a wild pers... on ahm to either kill others or from ahm or from ahm or from beating... or and that's it.

14-AT-LILLY-Yes, I believe it is important to follow the rules.

10-IR-ELINA-I don't even know what restriction means!

14-AT-LILLY-I think I know what restrictions are, I'm not entirely sure though.

18-IL-MINA-Restrictions? I don't know what restrictions mean.

10-IR-ELINA-No, I don't know.

17-IL-YUVAL-Restrictions are when they limit you with... with something. For example, let's say, Mom limited me to eating only one square of chocolate a day.

10-IR-ELINA-Umm... Yes, the reason is to for example protect us. My mum also told me what it meant one time. She never actually used the word 'restriction'. For example she said not to go in the streets, a car would come and hit you. I am always in the yard if I want to get out.

11-IR-ANDIYA-No. I don't know what restrictions are for.

16-IL-IMRI-Restrictions for me, it's something that you can't do... like, you can't do it, and you are not able to overcome it. You are simply unable to do it.

13-AT-FILIP-Mh... mm, I don't know what... ah that restricted means... mm... and it is not allowed to walk through a red light, it is allowed to walk on green and and it is not allowed for example in some countries driving too fast by car... and... and...

10-IR-ELINA-It is good of course... because that someone is telling this for our own good. I think it's not a restriction for women, this is their duty. But I don't know why boys don't wear it on their heads, girls wear them.

18-IL-MINA-Restrictions are there to make us behave well, so that we will not fall and... not to be hurt and... and not to slip and fall.

12-IR-SOROUGH-So that for example that person takes care of his friend so that he wouldn't suddenly go to a bad place or eat something bad, so that he wouldn't get sick or become ill.

17-IL-YUVAL-It feels... okay from one aspect, and a bit less okay from another aspect. Because on one hand it's good to be restricted because you don't... because you don't do all sorts of things that in your opinion are good, but they're not really good for you, and on the other hand, it's fun to do those things that are not really good for you.

11-IR-ANDIYA-Doesn't feel good or bad. It's in the middle.

12-IR-SOROUGH-It both feels good because you're relieved that there won't be any problems for you but the bad feeling is that you can't go to the places you like.

16-IL-IMRI-I don't know... how it is, but I think it can be... a bit not fun, like how people treat you, they maybe treat you differently, not like a regular kid.

18-IL-MINA-That is a good thing so we can take care of ourselves and not to be hurt.

02-RU-DANIL-Do you know who foreigners are? s.

18-IL-MINA-Foreigner? No I don't know who a foreigner is.

09-AZ-AMIL-A foreigner is a person who came from another country. A foreigner came from a different city that is not yours.

14-AT-LILLY-Yes, I know what foreigner mea... means. Foreigner are those who who for example live in another country, just not in that country where you currently are.

01-RU-RUSLAN-Foreigners are such people that come from a different country. So here is one country and here is the other... for example, Russia and England... From England there came to Russia, for example, 20 or 30 people. And they are foreigners, i.e. foreigners are... 'ino' is other, and, well, 'strantsi' are those who live in another country... They should learn different sights. They should learn about other countries. One can't spend all the time in one country.

04-SR-MARTIN-A foreigner is... he is a man who lives in some foreign country, for instance I live in Crepaža, and he lives for instance in Australia.

13-AT-FILIP-Foreigner means when... somebody from Turkey comes to Austria, then the Austrians sometimes say foreigner... or from China or from Au ahm Germany sometimes and or from Serbia or Croatia.

10-IR-ELINA-Umm... Foreigner for example means they come from very far cities to Iran or they come from America to here. For example when they come from distant cities to Iran that means foreigner.

05-SR-ALEKSA-A foreigner is as if you come from one country to another and do not know anyone from that country.

12-IR-SOROUGH-Foreigner like... foreign people that... for example... one time I was in Shiraz I saw a lot of these people from... countries... countries of the world... and these places. And I saw a lot of them. And that every one of them has their own traditions. How about you? pl.

07-AZ-FIDAN-Yes I know what foreigner is. Foreigner is a person who lives in another country. For example in Africa, for example in London, for example in France, for example... in Azerbaijan. For example we live in Azerbaijan and, for example another person came from France, he is a foreigner. We call them foreigner.

15-AT-NIKI-Yes, foreigner means... when one is from another country ah and and then comes here, that's the meaning of foreigner.

03-RU-LILIANA-A foreigner is the one who speaks English. He came from another country.

17-IL-YUVAL-A foreigner is someone you don't know. For example, you are a stranger to me.

11-IR-ANDIYA-No, I don't know who foreigner is.

12-IR-SOROUSH-We are foreigners ourselves if we go to other countries they say we are foreigners.

08-AZ-NURAY-Umm... foreigner... It means... umm... I don't know them very well.

06-SR-MARIJA-I don't think it is something special to be a foreigner.

12-IR-SOROUSH-Do you think being a foreigner is good? s.

04-SR-MARTIN-Well, for some it is nice and for some it is ugly.

09-AZ-AMIL-Frankly speaking I don't know how... if it is good or bad to be a foreigner.

03-RU-LILIANA-Yes, it's good to be a foreigner, because they speak English.

15-AT-NIKI-Ahm... I don't know whether it is nice or not so nice... because I'm not foreigner.

07-AZ-FIDAN-Well all foreigners are equal human beings because each person has his own country, and when he goes somewhere he is considered a foreigner. Each country has its own people. If Azerbaijanis go to France they become foreigners, if French people come to Azerbaijan they become foreigners. All people are foreigners when they are going somewhere.

08-AZ-NURAY-We didn't see any, I mean I didn't see foreigners. If some people saw them, they might be good people. Umm... maybe they liked them. But I like to be an Azerbaijani. It's good.

02-RU-DANIL-For me it's better to be a Russian citizen.

18-IL-MINA-It is not nice to be strangers, because if someone is a stranger it means that we don't know him.

I know that once a girl and her mother went somewhere and the girl had fun there very much, and a strange man approached her and told her, 'Come and see my dog, isn't it nice?' And the girl answered, 'Yes it's nice', then the stranger told her, 'Come to my house, I have a lot of dogs.'

13-AT-FILIP-Mm Yes, it is nice.

05-SR-ALEKSA-Well, it might be nice to meet new people that you do not know, learn a new language, learn the customs of that country.

11-IR-ANDIYA-Yes. Because wherever the foreigners go, they can speak English, speak in a foreign language. Because they have to speak English everywhere. Then... there is everything there and the women don't wear Hijab. That's it.

What about you? pl

17-IL-YUVAL-It's nice to be a stranger from the aspect that... lots of people don't know you, and if you want privacy, you have privacy. On the other hand, it's not really fun to be a stranger. Because... people don't know you, and you go around the street and don't know anyone.

14-AT-LILLY-Yes, I think foreigners feel just as good as those who are not foreigners. I think all are equal. Yes, also here in Austria.

16-IL-IMRI-I don't know if it's nice to be a foreigner. In my opinion, it could be not nice, like, people treat you like you don't exist, or don't pay attention to you, like. Because strangers can also be dangerous... like it's associated with terrorism.

11-IR-ANDIYA-Who are the foreigners?

10-IR-ELINA-The foreigners are those who for example live outside Iran. If I want to be precise... for example, they live in America, they live in England, and they live in Germany. They call them foreigners.

18-IL-MINA-They are very strange people... There can be a lot of children and each one of strangers can approach a child and kidnap them.

04-SR-MARTIN-Well, foreigners are those people who... how should I explain now, who like to talk foreign languages, they behave differently, they like foreign games, there, they are foreigners.

17-IL-YUVAL-Every person that you can meet on the street can be a stranger, unless you know him from somewhere.

14-AT-LILLY-Foreigners are those... those... who don't live in the country where, well mostly, where they... currently or just not entirely belong.

05-SR-ALEKSA-Foreigners are as if you have adopted a new brother. A brother who was not born by your mother but by someone else, but now you take care of him, that is somehow, what it means to be foreign.

15-AT-NIKI-Foreigners are... are those who come to another country... and... for example refugees, they come from another country because there is war in their country.

06-SR-MARIJA-Foreigners are some people who we do not know and we don't know who they are. Maybe some black people who are from another country.

13-AT-FILIP-Foreigners are those from other countries to... to come to Austria or to Turkey, China or Australia.

And what do you think? s.

16-IL-IMRI-In my opinion the foreigners, are people you don't know.

12-IR-SOROUSH-Foreigners are people who for example come from another country to our country.

### 17-IL-YUVAL-Do we need foreigners?

12-IR-SOROUSH-I don't have any opinion about this.

03-RU-LILIANA-I like it that foreigners come here, because they are good people... It's interesting to communicate with them... They shouldn't leave. Let them stay.

08-AZ-NURAY-But why should we need them?

04-SR-MARTIN-We need for instance, some foreigners maybe they are cleverer, maybe they know how to build some things better... and so on.

18-IL-MINA-No we do not need it, we need to know each other so that we can play together.

02-RU-DANIL-I think, I don't care about foreigners... whether they come or go... I'm not responsible for them... let them come and go whenever they want, but the main thing is that there shouldn't be too many of them. Otherwise the whole town will be full of them. So Germans have already come to Russia. Gerard Depardieu lives, and that's it. And nobody goes away.

16-IL-IMRI-I don't know if we need foreigners, what I do know is that foreigners are not vital for anything.

13-AT-FILIP-Yes, we need foreigners.

12-IR-SOROUSH-Yes, because for example... there will be... architects coming here from other countries... who would prepare houses for us... for example... a lot of other kinds of people... like doctors coming from abroad and working in hospitals. For some jobs we don't need foreigners because we may be able to do those things ourselves.

15-AT-NIKI-No... we don't need foreigners. Because... because foreigners, ahm, whose, whose state is not threatened ahm don't have to come here... When there is war in their country then they can flee to us and then they either go to a refugee-shelter and look for a job, and if they don't find a job then, then they take, they go to a store where mattresses and blankets are for free, for refugees and then they look for a place to sleep, and then they sleep.

11-IR-ANDIYA-Yes, we need foreigners. Because... foreigners, ok? There are some things... I don't know... like car things... well... there are things because we don't have, ok? They have them. We want to agree so that together we can all have them.

15-AT-NIKI-Ahm... when they don't have a job then... they are looking for one... or... or... or come here or live on the street...

05-SR-ALEKSA-Well, foreigners can come to us and they don't have to come.

10-IR-ELINA-Umm... need? Do we need or we don't need! At the end they come here. To see our city.

04-SR-MARTIN-And what do you think?

14-AT-LILLY-Ahm, I think we do not need foreigners, because there would be far too many in Austria and then, nobody would get a job any more and then we would not be able to live such a good life anymore.

09-AZ-AMIL-It should be the President's decision.

### 16-IL-IMRI - Should they go home?

09-AZ-AMIL-No one can give them orders. Only their President orders them. If they want let them return, if they don't want, they can stay.

15-AT-NIKI-Those foreigners who couldn't find a job back home, we don't need those, because they could... because they could have just look for a job.

18-IL-MINA-It's a must so that we don't see them. It's better that there aren't strangers here.

04-SR-MARTIN-Well, I think that they should go back to their homeland, where they were born, and they should not stay here; how much help we need, that is how long they should stay.

17-IL-YUVAL-Why shouldn't they go home? Strangers are also human beings.

08-AZ-NURAY-They should go. They stay here for work, they come and find a job here.

05-SR-ALEKSA-Well, for instance, if there is a problem in their country with their house, they could not pay their bills for water and electricity, then they have to move to another country or some other place.

07-AZ-FIDAN-Of course they should because it is not their home. If they want to move here they have to build their home here, to bring their family here, and start living here. They will have to learn Azerbaijani and Russian.

15-AT-NIKI-No they can just stay as they are already here.

13-AT-FILIP-Actually they should not go home as one country... in one country it would be crowded and another country almost empty.

14-AT-LILLY-When they live in a country that is at war, I think they should not go back, but when there is nothing, I think they can go back.

16-IL-IMRI-No, in my opinion foreigners don't have to go home. I think they have to try to be friends with someone and that way they won't be strangers.

14-AT-LILLY-I think they should rather stay here then.

17-IL-YUVAL-From the aspect of... Israelis really know how to host well, the hotels here are good hotels, everything... everything depends, on the person who comes here. If he wants to stay or not.

06-SR-MARIJA-Well, they should go back to their country, so that they are all in their own country, happy with their country, and not to be unhappy.

10-IR-ELINA-No, because they have come to see our city, they want to see what attractions exist in Iran. For example they see them and go show them to their countrymen.

15-AT-NIKI-*And what do you think?*

11-IR-ANDIYA-I don't know... Yes. They should go back home. Because nowhere is like someone's own home. I don't know why they come to our city.

13-AT-FILIP-They came in our town, because they did not ha... have enough to eat and to drink...

12-IR-SOROUSH-Some of them to find jobs and some other for the works, we don't know about some other come to go around and have fun.

17-IL-YUVAL-On one hand, our city is very beautiful, and on the other hand, it's less beautiful. For example, there are cities that are more beautiful than our city, but they're not the capital.

07-AZ-FIDAN-Well they want to see our country. Why do we want to go to Azerb... to Paris? We want to see the Eiffel Tower, we want to be there. Why do we want to visit Dubai? We want to visit the big tower. We want... in general, why do they want to come to Azerbaijan? Because they also want to be in Icheri Sheher [the old city], they want to have a rest from their work there.

05-SR-ALEKSA-Foreigners come to our city to learn more.

18-IL-MINA-To kidnap us... and strangers like to kidnap.

14-AT-LILLY-Ahm, I think they came to our town either because they had no money there and no job or there is war within their country... or they came here for a holiday, that's why.

17-IL-YUVAL-Someone from the Philippines could come to work here because in the Philippines maybe, he can't make a good living there.

06-SR-MARIJA-Foreigners come from some other country maybe to see what we think, and foreigners should be in their country because we don't understand each other, and will never understand each other.

16-IL-IMRI-Because... in my opinion, it's nice to go to a different city, a different place, to see, to tour, to go around...

15-AT-NIKI-Because they probably find a better job here and... maybe earn more money here...

10-IR-ELINA-Because they want to see Iran, to see what it looks like. Like we go abroad to see what foreigners look like. What they eat. What they do. They are like us.

04-SR-MARTIN-They should not mix, they should stay in their homeland. For instance, if you are born in Belgrade you should stay in Belgrade and not mix.

02-RU-DANIL-*Why do all of them speak different languages?*

16-IL-IMRI-I don't know why they speak a different language, but in... in my opinion, it can actually be good to speak a different language, because it's nice to learn someone else's language.

03-RU-LILIANA- People speak different languages because God did so.

12-IR-SOROUSH-Because it's their tradition.

07-AZ-FIDAN-Well because their language is different. We Azerbaijanis speak Azerbaijani, they, umm... they living in Moscow speak Russian, they living in France speak French, they living in Spain speak Spanish, in Italy speak Italian.

10-IR-ELINA-Because, for example, the foreigners have been there from early childhood. And there they have a special language then when they grow up like us Iranians that our children learn Farsi, for example they learn foreign languages. Then they learn to speak foreign languages.

17-IL-YUVAL-They speak a different language because each country has its own language.

09-AZ-AMIL-It depends on how Allah decided, as is said in Azerbaijani - God. That's how Allah decided.

15-AT-NIKI-Because they come from another country and because in this country this language is spoken.

08-AZ-NURAY-They force themselves to speak different languages so they think that they speak that language and they are that country's citizens.

13-AT-FILIP-Because they know this language and they speak another language because they can't speak Austrian and then they speak their own language.

14-AT-LILLY-Foreigners speak another language because they are from another country and in other countries mostly a different language is spoken. Such as, for example, English oder French or Swedish or Chhhine ahm, or German, as it is spoken here... yes or Russian, yes, well.

01-RU-RUSLAN-Well, I think that some people know just one language, and some all languages... Well, they are called interpreters, such people... Well, because some know one language, and some don't.

15-AT-NIKI-*What are Americans like?*

11-IR-ANDIYA-I have heard but I don't know who Americans are.

09-AZ-AMIL-Americans, I don't like them, they are fat.

13-AT-FILIP-Mm... Americans usually speak American and... ahm... and English and... and those in America... one to I don't know

I know nothing further about Americans.

08-AZ-NURAY-Americans? Umm... they... I don't like them, the Americans. Because umm... maybe they also don't like us or maybe they like, but maybe they like or they don't. Sometimes Americans tell something that ours don't like it or they don't like our talking. For example, like that. But they come here for work, we go as well for example, like that.

16-IL-IMRI-Ehh, I don't think about Americans so much.

14-AT-LILLY-I know Americans... from movies. I think Americans are quite nice.

13-AT-FILIP-I know the capital of America... it's London, and that's all I know.

10-IR-ELINA-They eat very strange food.

15-AT-NIKI-Americans just make the best movies and... I think about them that they... are good.

Americans are... somehow... very... very very ahm rich, but also very very poor.

17-IL-YUVAL-The Americans are a nice people. Not the... coolest in the world.

10-IR-ELINA-Americans for example are not like us in their own city. For example they should do what we do, what we do is better than what they do. For example they don't wear Hijab. And... for example they should wear Hijab like us. They should do a lot of things, which they don't in that city.

09-AZ-AMIL-In America... all Americans are rich, they study well, they have good jobs. All of them can be rich but... but... it is said that they... that... they eat some doughnuts, hamburgers, and that they are fat.

07-AZ-FIDAN-And you? s.

12-IR-SOROUSH-About Americans I think they are like us. If we say they are like bad people, they would say that we are bad people too.

07-AZ-FIDAN-Who are Russians?

10-IR-ELINA-I think the Russians are like Americans, only their language is a little different.

13-AT-FILIP-Russians speak Russian and 'Russien' is mm the biggest country, well the biggest country in the world.

08-AZ-NURAY-Umm... Russians are bad, because in the past they tortured us, I mean they did bad things to us, they punished us. That's because them and Armenians were together back then, and they brought us difficulties. That's why even now... they come to our country, but we don't want it. Because we don't like them.

16-IL-IMRI-Hmm... I think about Russians, and by the way there's someone in my grade who is originally from Russia... In my opinion, Russians are like other humans.

14-AT-LILLY-Well Russians speak Russian and... live in Rome... and I think they also are quite nice, but I don't really know.

12-IR-SOROUSH-I think about Russians the same way I think about Americans.

17-IL-YUVAL-Russians... are okay, not the nicest, and they have a language that is very strange in my opinion.

Most of the Russians I know are... emm... they're not so nice to me and my friends.

11-IR-ANDIYA-I don't know about Russians.

15-AT-NIKI-Russians... Russians are very... very... very ice skaters and, and ice hockey players, and they have... they almost always have... they have snow almost the whole time... in their country, and in winter then they have very much snow and can build snowmen and so.

I think... Russians... are... are very few ah and they have the biggest c... they have the biggest country in the world, well the biggest continent in the world and there are less than in India.

And what do you think? s.

09-AZ-AMIL -I can describe their country that it is very big, but some parts of Russia... nobody lives... some parts of it are empty.

18-IL-MINA-I have never seen an European.

12-IR-SOROUSH-I've heard about Europeans that for example their soccer is strong and have high ranks in sports. For example the five countries that are very famous in sports, England, Italy, France, Germany, Spain.

07-AZ-FIDAN-They aren't very clean, they used to be dirty before and now they became a little bit cleaner.

16-IL-IMRI-Hmmm... ahh... I pretty much li... like Europeans, also because I have family, and also, like, I think about Europeans, also, like the Russians, they're like all human beings... actually.

14-AT-LILLY-Ahm Europeans are... equally nice I think, but I think they are a little different from us.

We are... ahm... we are from Austria.

10-IR-ELINA-Europeans are like those Americans, because for example... they are like those but they have different languages.

14-AT-LILLY-Ahm... I think they are... not completely different, just a little bit.

11-IR-ANDIYA-They... have a different language.

15-AT-NIKI-Europeans are... good... Because Europeans... because they are more conscious of the environment and... yes, that's why.

09-AZ-AMIL-I think Europeans are also kind because all people should be kind and if they are not kind they will be in jail. Or they will be removed from... the country or the city.

14-AT-LILLY-Yes they are nice, Europeans are nice.



17-IL-YUVAL-Europeans... are nice... it's like... they're nice, they're cute, they're interesting, and that's it.

13-AT-FILIP-Europeans are nice and... and Euro... European... is a small continent and and for example other continents are a little bigger as Europeans.

And what do you think? s.

08-AZ-NURAY-Europeans, umm... I think we don't like them much, because they come to our country, we go to theirs, we spend holidays there. I think they're good, but maybe they fight with us or they come to work in our country.

15-AT-NIKI-I think about... Europeans... they... they are not so wasteful when it comes to plastic and that they don't waste so much plastic ahm garbage and do not burn that much of stuffs that get into the air.

14-AT-LILLY-Jews are also very nice I think.

10-IR-ELINA-No! Never heard anything.

15-AT-NIKI-Jews... I like them... a lot because... because they listened to Jesus and... and the Jews ahm were ahm were ahm were not that mean to each other, and... yes.

13-AT-FILIP-Mm... Israel is part of Arabia... and I know nothing else about Isra... Isra...

15-AT-NIKI-They are... they are fighting in war and I don't, well, I don't like them that much... But they also have a lot of refugees, that's why I think, well...

16-IL-IMRI-Hmm... I think... Israelis... this is actually interesting, I don't know how to explain what I think about Israelis... But I think that they are a unique people, because... first of all, the language... ehm... no one else speaks Hebrew except Israelis.

14-AT-LILLY-And what do you think? Pl.

17-IL-YUVAL-Israelis... are a nice nation... it has people who are cute and has people who aren't. It has people from this half of the world and people from the o... other half of the world, and... it's very interesting in this coun... in Israel. There are lots of things, like, for example, wars. All... all of the Arabs around us want to rule here. And... it's a bit difficult for us to fight them, because it could be a really big war with everyone fighting us, and it could be a very small war that we win very easily. Let's say, against... Egypt... they're not the strongest and smartest.

11-IR-ANDIYA-I don't know what Israelis are like.

18-IL-MINA-Israelis... in Israel... there are two girls, who are my friends, they speak Hebrew. I know how to speak Hebrew so I speak and play with them.

12-IR-SOROUGH-About Israelis I think... They are people who are... not grateful... so their country's land... is small... and their country is small... they like their country to become bigger... and to rob other countries. For example they want to get other countries.

14-AT-LILLY-Israelis are... I think, very nice too... because I think that they... hm... that they also that they are also very nice.

16-IL-IMRI-Ah, in my opinion... Palestinians are... quite exactly the same as Israelis, like, they are... human beings... like anybody else.

17-IL-YUVAL-Palestinians are a nation that is... on one hand, unfortunate, that there are... lots of wars and things. Maybe I'm mistaken, it seems to me to be Syria, but we're not dealing with the issue of Syria... and... ah... they're nice from the aspect of if they would be here in Israel then they'd behave a bit nicer than how they would behave in their own country.

18-IL-MINA-Palestinians are people living in Palestine. But there is no Palestine for us any more!

17-IL-YUVAL-What do you think of Iranians? pl.

18-IL-MINA-No I don't know who are the Iranians.

06-SR-MARIJA-Serbs are different from other people because they are somehow better.

04-SR-MARTIN-Well, we are we, for instance Serbs, Arabs, Chinese, Japanese, we are all the same.

05-SR-ALEKSA-Serbs, well, I don't know what Serbs are like.

04-SR-MARTIN-Serbs are those people who have that Serbian blood, and they feel it inside them.

09-AZ-AMIL-Azerbaijanis... Azerbaijanis are... for... for me are the people from my country. They are nice, kind, Azerbaijanis for us are... for me Azerbaijanis and the entire nation means a lot.

08-AZ-NURAY-About Azerbaijan... they are very beautiful, Azerbaijanis, because they don't want to fight but they... some of them want it. 'I would go to fight and get our land back', but they shouldn't do much about that. They... we have a president, they will get it back.

07-AZ-FIDAN-Well some are like good, some are... well, not, some are thieves, some are just people who walk... well... on the streets... some are poor and some are rich. People are different.

09-AZ-AMIL-Armenians are our worst enemies. Armenians occupied all... almost all of our regions... like Khojaly, for example.

We... we... I think that Armenians... when we go to war with them - will lose. I think soon we will get back our parts of our country.

07-AZ-FIDAN-Armenians are evil, they took our Karabakh, they are mean. Armenians want to fight and to take our oil.

06-SR-MARIJA-I do not know what Roma are.

04-SR-MARTIN-Well, Roma are those people who, some exist who are rich, and some exist who are poor, but they are some good

people... and there are some bad ones.

05-SR-ALEKSA-Roma, they have different complexions from all of us, they are black and talk another language. Romani.

06-SR-MARIJA-Well, Gypsies are some people who are a bit poorer than other people. Gypsies do not have very nice clothes; they are some Gypsies who are usually black; Gypsies did not learn well in school so that is why they do not have enough money like other people.

05-SR-ALEKSA-I don't know why there are two names for Roma and Gypsies when they are the same.

04-SR-MARTIN-Well, because Gypsy is a rude expression and Roma is a polite expression, Roma is another word but it is a more cultured expression than when you say Gyp-Gypsy to someone, it is such a bad word, and a rude word, there.

### 11-IR-ANDIYA-What is politics?

18-IL-MINA-Are they people living in Politics? Ahm... I know nothing about politics. I never heard the word politics.

07-AZ-FIDAN-I don't know what is politics.

And you?

11-IR-ANDIYA-I've heard but I don't know what it means.

16-IL-IMRI-I don't know what politics is, I'm not a politician and not interested in politics.

10-IR-ELINA-I don't know. I really don't know. Nothing at all.

14-AT-LILLY-Ahm... politics are... I think I can't explain what politics are...

17-IL-YUVAL-Politics is... I don't know entirely... Politics is something... that... all sorts of questions people ask you, and you don't know how to answer, and all sorts of things. I don't know what politics is, in short.

14-AT-LILLY-Yes I think it's something rather sincere, but... yes.

12-IR-SOROUSH-I don't know anything about politics and I haven't... thought about it.

15-AT-NIKI-Politics are for ahm either lawyers or... or for ahm or for politics or for politicians and...

10-IR-ELINA-Umm... Politics for example... work... for example people who do the work of the country. For example... I don't know...

09-AZ-AMIL-Politics is, er... hmm... I think politics is... well something like that... something useful... useful... everything useful that you do for society.

04-SR-MARTIN-Politics is some school craft which you have to go to school to learn, and you get a lot of money for that craft.

13-AT-FILIP-Politics are for example... mhm... when... well there are a lot of politicians for example in Austria there is the ÖBB or OFB or other... politicians.

05-SR-ALEKSA-Politics, well I don't really know much about politics but I can tell you this. Politics is as if you are learning to know something, to know what will happen and things like that, politics is like knowledge.

08-AZ-NURAY-'Polits' is when someone is good in his work. For example, when someone paints very well. It means he has good skills. Construction laborers for example... Construction workers build buildings, that means 'polits'. Because they can do it, they have skills. We also see some experts... for example, they invented and made computers. They make different things. They build everything.

16-IL-IMRI-Politics is... the government, all of the government agencies. In... In my opinion it's like... what... comes out of... of... all of the departments, when they join together. In my opinion, politics is what comes out of this.

07-AZ-FIDAN-Oh, I think it is a problem in the country, for example, I saw in the news, on TV someone... that some people kicked their President out of their country, this... it is called politics.

### 12-IR-SOROUSH-Or do you know who politicians are? s.

13-AT-FILIP-No, I don't know any politicians.

17-IL-YUVAL-Politicians can be anyone.

15-AT-NIKI-I don't know any politicians.

10-IR-ELINA-I don't know. I don't even know what politics means to know who politicians are.

06-SR-MARIJA-I don't know exactly, but I think they are important, for something.

12-IR-SOROUSH-I don't know anything about politicians.

14-AT-LILLY-Ahm... I think that I know what politicians are, I'm not entirely sure though.

06-SR-MARIJA-I do not know exactly what a politician does because I did not hear of this word, and sometimes I, maybe, heard it in the news, but someone always switches the channel. For instance, my grandmother wants to switch to her series and my mum wants to switch to some film, and my dad. And so when some news start they switch, and they only watch the weather forecast.

14-AT-LILLY-Ahm I think they... are ahm... not so nice as... others mhn well, non-politicians, I think. Yeah, no nice people, rather unfriendly people.

10-IR-ELINA-Presidents, ministers. I only know these two kinds. I don't know who else.

09-AZ-AMIL-They are those... they are those who do the most good things for society.

04-SR-MARTIN-Politicians are those people who are clever, rich, how should I explain this, they like clever things – there, that is what politicians are.

05-SR-ALEKSA-Well, politicians are respectable people I guess, they like to help, honest, good.

15-AT-NIKI-Ahm... politicians are people that... that ahm... that help the state... and... and... and politicians yes are... just... politicians. I think politicians are likeable.

11-IR-ANDIYA-They do government's work, they make agreements. That's it.

05-SR-ALEKSA-Politicians know a lot and they share their knowledge with those people who don't have these information and so those information spread across the world.

13-AT-FILIP-Mmh Politicians are people, well, that... well a man, the boss of these politicians, they try... mhm for example for other countries mhm to, for countries, where they are now... ahm more, well, repair things, there are different politicians.

14-AT-LILLY-Ahm... I think we need politicians, but I... don't really know.

I think that we need politicians... because I believe... I believe they protect the environment and prot... our world and protect our world... and us too.

16-IL-IMRI-In my opinion, politicians are... those who are responsible for preserving the unity between all of the departments.

10-IR-ELINA-They run the country... then... they are careful... so everything is in order.

04-SR-MARTIN-Well, for instance, there are bad politicians, bad politicians, those who... There are many, there is the president of Serbia and he controls Serbia, he organises everything but actually he wishes only bad things for Serbia. There are some, for instance, who are good; they think all good things for Serbia. It is strange, but there is some president who some man did something bad to him and he wants to get back at him.

07-AZ-FIDAN-It's those who do this, it's who do this... who create disasters, he is a politician. Everywhere, where there is a disaster... In general, where it happens, are politicians. The one who does that is a politician.

07-AZ-FIDAN-What are minorities?

15-AT-NIKI-I think that it means... no.

18-IL-MINA-I don't know anything about it... I don't know anything at all about it.

09-AZ-AMIL-Mino... rities... is... is... I think, those who are doing the least useful things... or... doing the least of all the bad things.

14-AT-LILLY-No, I don't know, what the meaning of the word 'minority' is... Hm no, I have no idea what that could be.

12-IR-SOROUGH-Minorities? ...I don't know anything.

*How about you?* pl

08-AZ-NURAY-Minority? I think it means when a person gets lost. I think minority is the shortened version of getting lost, or it's a country or something... or maybe some name of a profession.-

16-IL-IMRI-What? Minority?

Minorities sounds to me like it's less.

11-IR-ANDIYA-I don't know what is minorities.

16-IL-IMRI-Let's say that in democratic voting there's the minority and there's the majority. I think that the minority is everyone who votes, but doesn't succeed in reaching the goal he wanted.

10-IR-ELINA-Umm... I don't know. Really I can't even guess its meaning.

17-IL-YUVAL-A minority is someone who has very little of everything, but I don't know if I'm right.

13-AT-FILIP-Mm I don't know what 'minority' means.

07-AZ-FIDAN-I don't know. Ilham Aliyev? [President of Azerbaijan] I know him.

13-AT-FILIP-What is the meaning of the word 'guest worker' to you? pl.

14-AT-LILLY-I never heard of it.

16-IL-IMRI-I don't know what 'gastarbeiter' is, if that's how you pronounce it.

*What about you?* pl.

15-AT-NIKI-'Guest worker' means that when you are a guest and... help working.

Maybe there are some... Ahm... in Klosterneuburg maybe... or in Carinthia or... don't know.

17-IL-YUVAL-Foreign workers means someone you don't know and he's with you at work.

14-AT-LILLY-'Guest worker'? I think... means... I have never heard of it.

*And you?* pl

17-IL-YUVAL-'Gastarbeiter' means... maybe it's the name of a movie, but I don't know what it is.

13-AT-FILIP-'Guest worker' means when a guest comes to your place and then he works, well, for example does the laundry... the laundry or... cooks or... cleans the dishes or... he does such things... ah... at your home, where you live.

18-IL-MINA-‘Gastbeiter’? Hmm... Yes they build us houses and also shops they build everything we need, they even built this place.

14-AT-LILLY-What does ‘mother tongue’ mean?

18-IL-MINA-Mother’s tongue? It is just like... it is just like that every mother has a language that she knows.

13-AT-FILIP-‘Mother tongue’, that means... mm, when you are... your mother comes or dad, both of them, when they’re from... come from another country, then it is your mother tongue.

16-IL-IMRI-A mother tongue, is the language that you learn from when you’re a baby, that people talk near you since you were a baby.

15-AT-NIKI-‘Mother tongue’ means for me is the language of the mother.

14-AT-LILLY-‘Mother tongue’ means that you got your language from your mother... and not from your father.

17-IL-YUVAL-A mother tongue is the language Mom speaks, but I don’t know if I’m right.

My mother tongue is Hebrew.

13-AT-FILIP-Serbian... my mother tongue is Serbian.

16-IL-IMRI-*What is God?*

17-IL-YUVAL-God is... a person who is everywhere, not really a human. He’s more... a kind of spirit that knows how to do everything.

16-IL-IMRI-In my opinion, religion is a belief.

17-IL-YUVAL-Religion is... something you believe in... you... for example, the Judaism of Israelis. It’s that... there’s a God, and He gave us the Torah... and there are, there are all sorts of holidays... and that’s Judaism.

18-IL-MINA-Religion? Religion means that there are many languages that each one knows. I mean that my religion is Arabic religion and my, and my two friends that speak Hebrew they have Hebrew religion.

17-IL-YUVAL-*And you?* pl.

16-IL-IMRI-Emm... God, in my opinion, is a god, that the Jews, ah, believe in, and that’s it.

18-IL-MINA-God... God we do not see, God He is in heaven, He is in heaven and beyond earth.

No one can see God, we can only feel Him in our heart.

16-IL-IMRI-Ah... Ah I don’t think that God exists... because earlier I said I want to be a scientist, so... there are... in my opinion, scientific explanations which in my opinion are better for explaining how the world was created, let’s say, than that God created it.

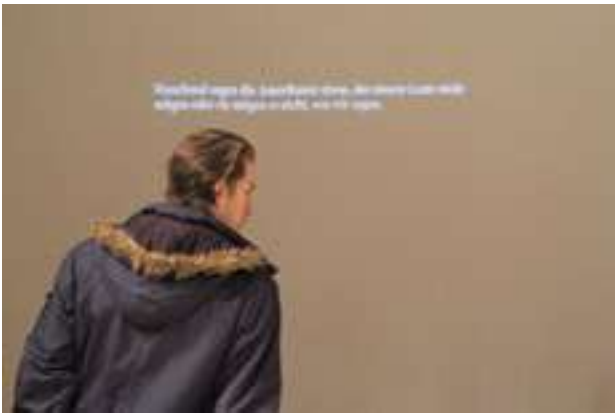
17-IL-YUVAL-I believe, yes I believe that God exists, because I believe in Israeli Judaism.

16-IL-IMRI-I don’t know, but it’s like, in my opinion... there are all sorts of explanations that I believe in and I believe in them more than I believe in God.

17-IL-YUVAL-It depends whom you ask. You can now ask someone in English, and he’ll tell you that God doesn’t exist, because he’ll have a different Judaism.

18-IL-MINA-He really exists! Because, I know that He exists because of my name. Mina means the gift of God.

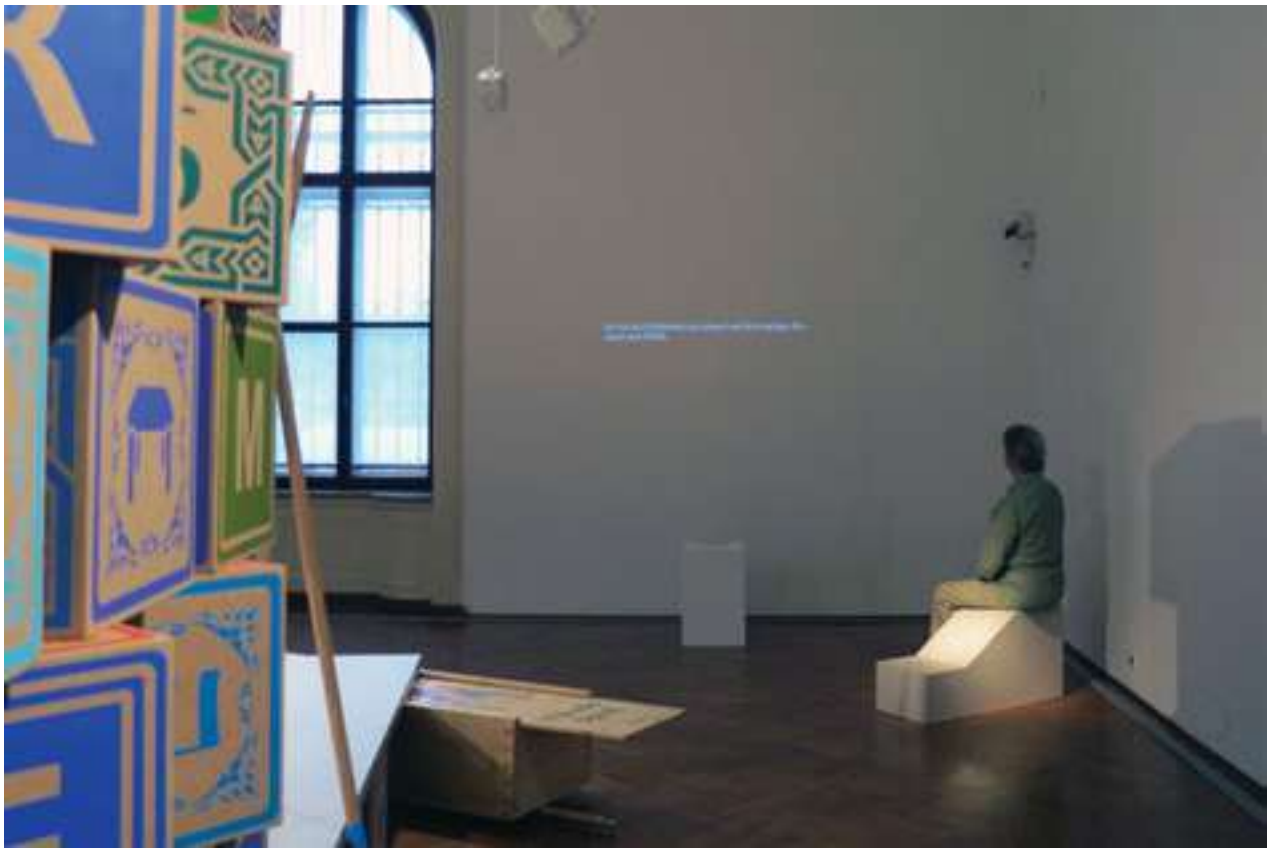














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## Vienna



  
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Und wenn es in ihrem Land ein Problem mit ihrem Haus gibt, wenn  
es dort Mühsamkeit für Wasser und Strom nicht bezahlen können.

Dejan Kaludjerović, *Conversations WMW*, from the series *Conversations: Hula Hoops, Elastics, Marbles and Sand* (2017)  
Site-specific installation, 18-channel sound, four-channel video, 2:56:15 hours.  
Courtesy of the artist and Weltmuseum Wien, Vienna.

Curator: Mandana Roozpeikar

Exhibition Architecture: Anton Stein

Recording Studio: META Struktura

Audio–Video Production: META Struktura

Translations: META Struktura, Bashar AlHadla, Feri Ravanan,  
Valentina Bulatović, Yair Arama Gosic

Sound Editor: Srdjan Bajski

Subtitles: Nataša Pantić

Sound and Video Installment: Thomas Sandri

Proofreading: Eric Dean Scott

Producer: Dejan Kaludjerović

Objects Production and Mounting: Dejan Kaludjerović,  
duroton, Inženjering servis and MUSEOM

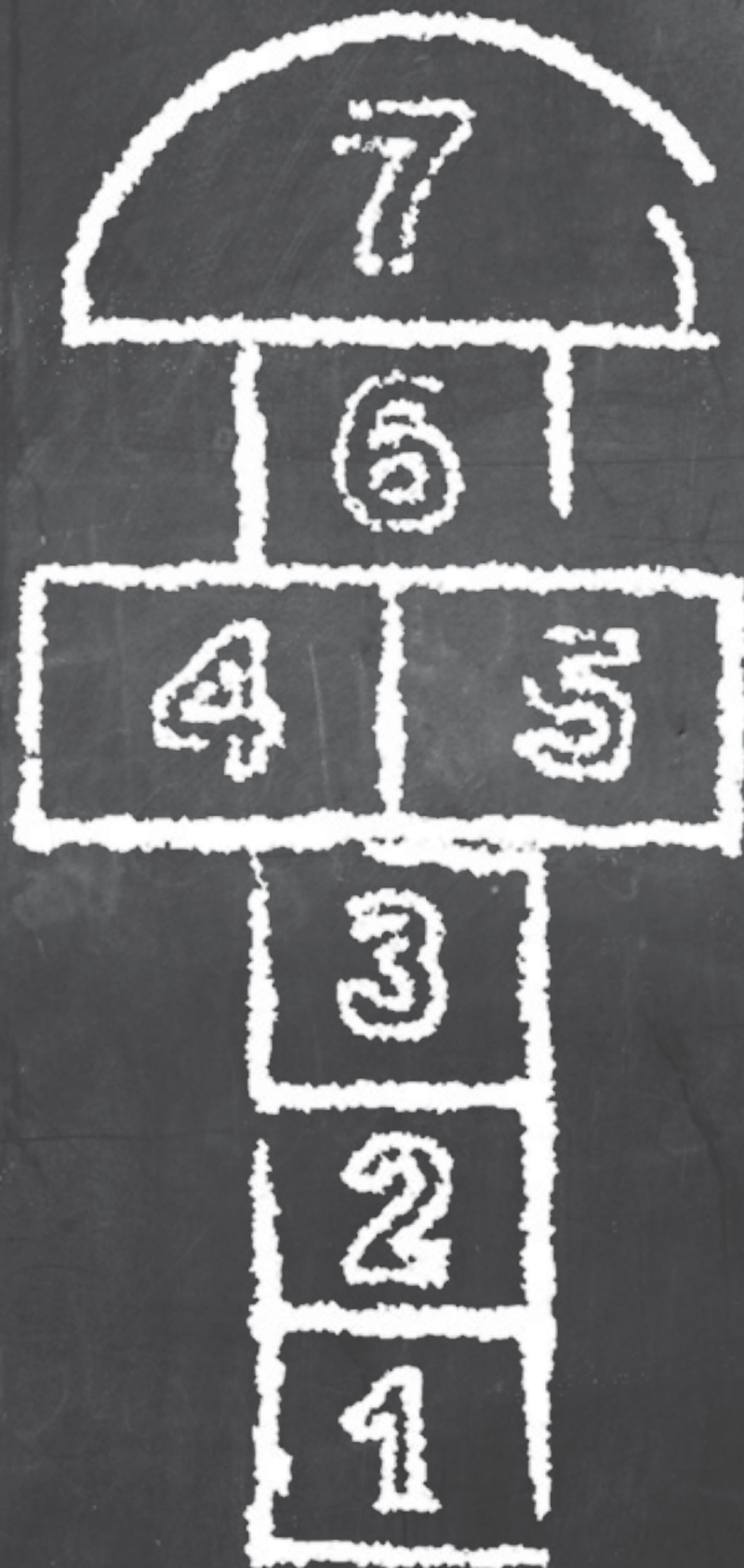
Photographs: Dejan Kaludjerović, James Newitt,  
Jelena Kaludjerović, Martin Bilinovac

The Project was commissioned by the Weltmuseum Wien









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# Vladikavkaz

## Russia



Founded in the 12th century, the Principality of Muscovy was able to emerge from over 200 years of Mongol domination (13th–15th centuries) and to gradually conquer and absorb surrounding principalities. In the early 17th century, a new ROMANOV Dynasty continued this policy of expansion across Siberia to the Pacific. Under PETER I (ruled 1682–1725), hegemony was extended to the Baltic Sea and the country was renamed the Russian Empire. During the 19th century, more territorial acquisitions were made in Europe and Asia. Defeat in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–05 contributed to the Revolution of 1905, which resulted in the formation of a parliament and other reforms. Repeated devastating defeats of the Russian army in World War I led to widespread rioting in the major cities of the Russian Empire and the overthrow in 1917 of the imperial household. The communists under Vladimir LENIN seized power soon after and formed the USSR. The brutal rule of Iosif STALIN (1928–53) strength-

ened communist rule and Russian dominance of the Soviet Union at a cost of tens of millions of lives. After defeating Germany in World War II as part of an alliance with the US (1939–1945), the USSR expanded its territory and influence in Eastern Europe and emerged as a global power. The USSR was the principal adversary of the US during the Cold War (1947–1991). The Soviet economy and society stagnated in the decades following Stalin's rule, until General Secretary Mikhail GORBACHEV (1985–91) introduced glasnost (openness) and perestroika (restructuring) in an attempt to modernize communism, but his initiatives inadvertently released forces that by December 1991 splintered the USSR into Russia and 14 other independent republics.

Following economic and political turmoil during President Boris YELTSIN's term (1991–99), Russia shifted toward a centralized authoritarian state under the leadership of President Vladimir PUTIN (2000–2008, 2012–present) in which the regime seeks to legitimize its rule through managed elections, populist appeals, a foreign policy focused on enhancing the country's geopolitical influence, and commodity-based economic growth. Russia faces a largely subdued rebel movement in Chechnya and some other surrounding regions, although violence still occurs throughout the North Caucasus.

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/rs.html>

## CONTEXT

### **HOPSCOTCH** (2013)

from the series: *Conversations: Hula Hoops, Elastics, Marbles and Sand*

six-channel sound installation, ready-made school blackboard, acrylic, 31 min.

204,5 × 104,5 × 4 cm

The work *Klassiki/Hopscotch* has been conceived for the 7th International Contemporary Art Exhibition in Vladikavkaz, is one of the site-specific installations from the series *Conversations: Hula Hoops, Elastics, Marbles and Sand*, which is painted on an old school blackboard and placed on the floor. The school board was a direct reference to the 2004 terrorist action in the school in Beslan where almost 400 people, among which 156 were children, were killed.

It is accompanied by a sound piece coming out of six speakers where children from Vladikavkaz - in their own words - are narrating / answering questions about political issues of social exclusion and inclusion, about foreigners, language, war, money, poverty.

Listening to the sound of the installation the spectator has the impression that he/she is listening to a conversation between these seven children.

## CHILDREN

1. **AMINA, 11-year-old girl**  
Mother: social worker;  
Father: university degree
2. **CHERMEN, 8-year-old boy**  
Mother: high school; Father: high school
3. **DANIL, 11-year-old boy**  
Mother: university degree;  
Father: university degree
4. **LILIANA, 6-year-old girl**  
Mother: housewife; Father: high school
5. **RUSLAN, 7-year-old boy**  
Mother: translator; Father: historian
6. **ZALINA, 7-year-old girl**  
Roma girl. Lives in slums.  
Parents with no education.



## QUESTIONS

**Each child needs to be interviewed separately in the sound recording studio. The questions shall be posed in the same order. Every answer is valid.**

List of questions:

### FEAR, DREAMS

- 1 What are you dreaming about?
- 2 What is your favourite thing to do?
- 3 Do u know what is fear?
- 4 Are you afraid of something, of what?
- 5 Are grownups also afraid, and of what?

### MONEY

- 6 What is Money?
- 7 Why do we need the money?
- 8 What is to be poor or to be rich?
- 9 How much money you would like to have?
- 10 If you would have 1 million what would you do with it?
- 11 Would you share the money you have with others?
- 12 Would you like to buy big car?
- 13 Would you have more friends?
- 14 Would people love you more?

### WAR (war enemy death)

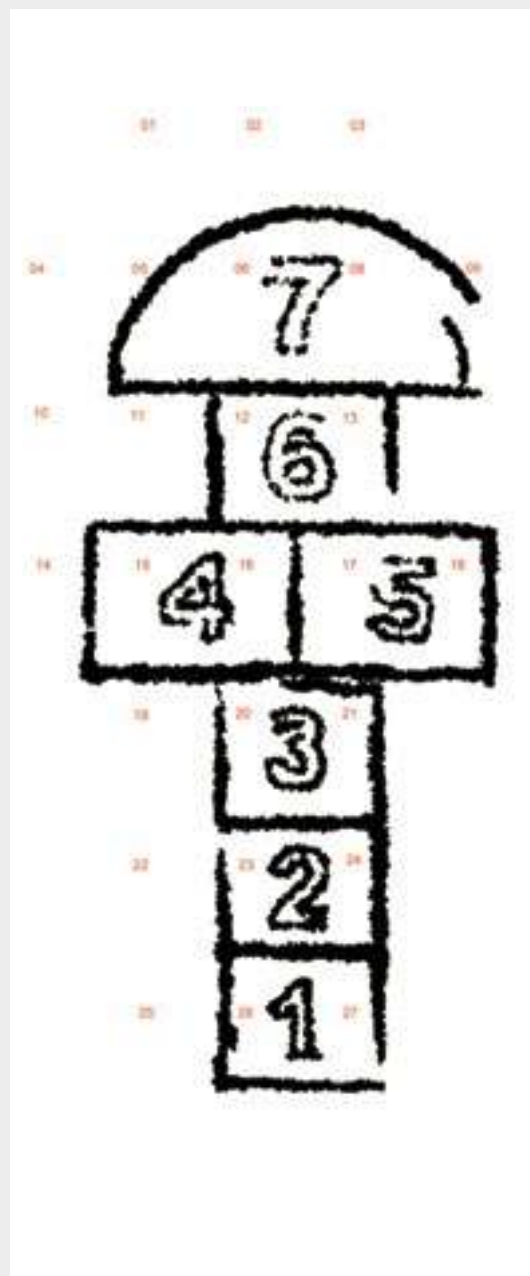
- 15 Do u know what is war?
- 16 Why people go to the war?
- 17 What do u think when people are fighting, are they solving some problems?
- 18 What adults are doing in the war?
- 19 Do we need to have the wars?
- 20 What is the meaning of the enemy?
- 21 Do you know who is the enemy?
- 22 What is terrorism?
- 23 What is death?

### BEING DIFFERENT

- 24 What it means to be a girl?
- 25 What it means to be a boy?
- 26 Do you have the girlfriends / do you have boyfriend (are you friend with opposite sex)
- 27 Who do you play with the most?

### FOREIGNERS

- 28 Do you know what is foreigner?
- 29 Is it nice to be a foreigner?



- 30 Who are the foreigners?
- 31 Do we need foreigners?
- 32 Should they go home?
- 33 Why do they come to our city?
- 34 Why do they speak different language?

**At the end of the interview, record each child asking the same questions (plural/singular/ m./f.) in order to create fictional dialogue among themselves.**

# Dejan Kaludjerović

## *Hopscotch*

by Beral Madra

Dejan Kaludjerović was one of the artists who produced a new work for Alanica 2013, the 7th International Contemporary Art Exhibition in Vladikavkaz, North Osetia.

The artists of the *Alanica 2013 Contemporary Art Symposium* tried to not only gain access into the daily life of the city but also to gain insight into the historical, cultural, economic and political facts and factors behind that daily life. The only way to see beyond this peaceful environment and to grasp the effects of past and present ordeals, wars and sufferings alongside the prevailing problems and visions for the future was to find possibilities for dialogue with the people of the city. Thus, this was the goal and task of the artists.

Dejan Kaludjerović fulfilled this task with a child's game and a sound installation, produced in situ.

A few years ago, the Beslan neighborhood of the city endured a terror attack and hundreds of school children were killed mercilessly. A memorial cemetery remains, reflecting the scale of this tragedy.

Kaludjerović's concept of focusing on the children of the city was not unintentional. In his body of work, he is dealing with questioning how society perceives children in different periods and how this is connected with the ideologies of society. He looks at the ways in which and strategies of how the image of children is exploited for socio-political, economic purposes.

His work in Alanica 2013 consisted of a *hopscotch* grid, which was drawn with chalk on an old, school blackboard and placed on the floor of the museum. This common child game was accompanied by a sound installation, which was produced in collaboration with invited local six- to ten-year-old school-children. He interviewed the children, treating them as grown-ups. They were asked serious questions about political issues of social exclusion and inclusion, about foreigners, language, money, poverty, cartoons, as well as about what it means to be a local, what it means to be a foreigner, what it means to be rich or poor, what it means to speak a different language, what it means to be a boy or a girl.

Kaludjerović's intention was not only to explore the socio-political, ideological configurations of the families of this city, but also to make the children aware of their identity and their position. The playful character of the installation was attractive for the children as well as their parents. The sound installation, however, revealed the tensions, conflicts and burdens of the neo-capitalist, mass media society and its reflections on the educational systems.



## CREDITS

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**Curator:** Beral Madra

**Transcriptions:** Ana Khukazova

**Translations:** Madina Shanaeva, Ana Khukazova

**Recording Studio:** Christian Radio Vladikafkaz

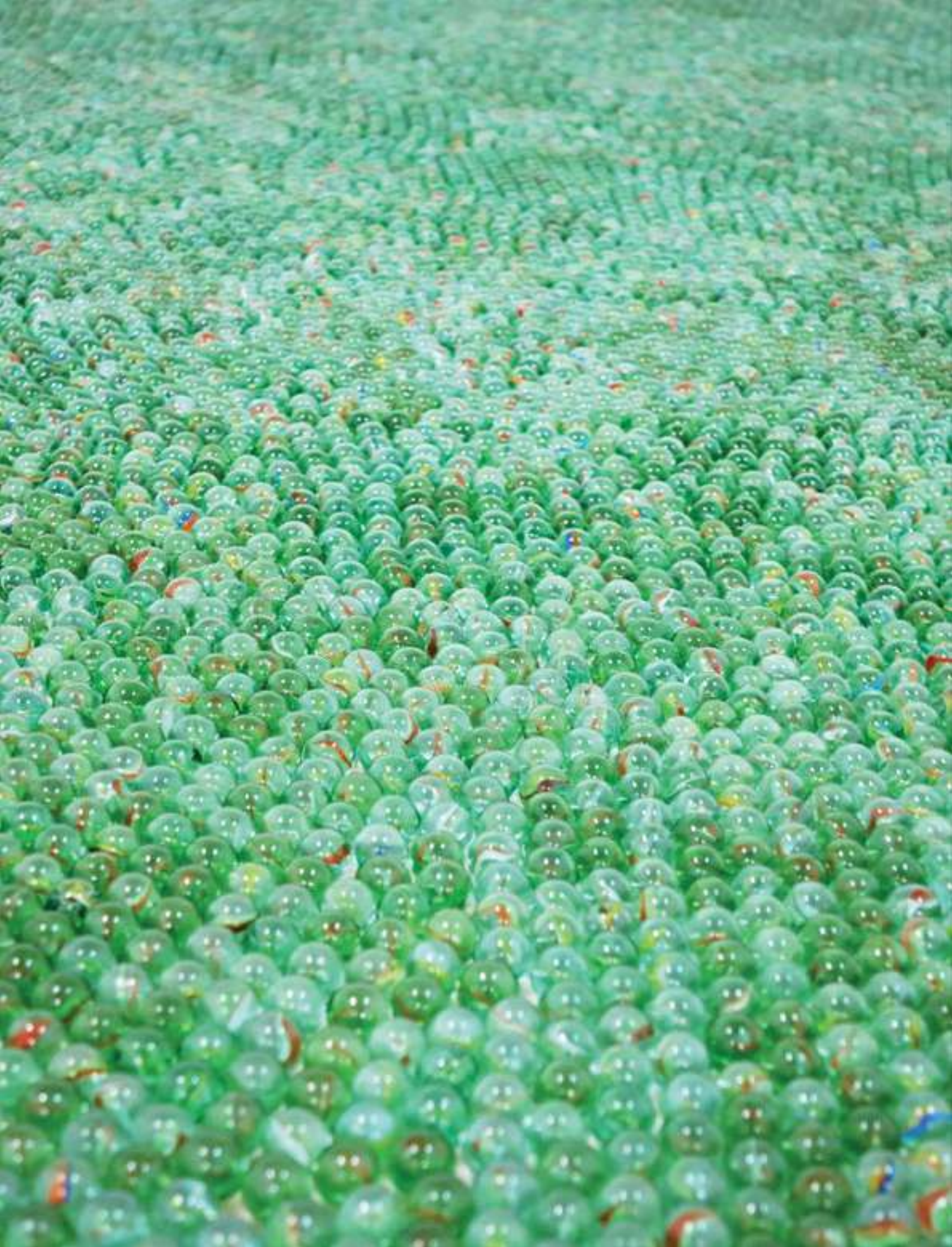
**Sound Editor:** Christian Radio Vladikafkaz

**Producer:** Gala Tebieva

**Photographs:** Dejan Kaludjerović

**Production:** North Caucasian branch of the  
Russian National Center for Contemporary Art  
(NCCA)

The Project was commissioned by the ALANICA  
2013 – 7th International Contemporary Art  
Exhibition in Vladikafkaz, North Osetia,  
August–September 2013







# Belgrade Serbia



The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was formed in 1918; its name was changed to Yugoslavia in 1929. Communist Partisans resisted the Axis occupation and division of Yugoslavia from 1941 to 1945 and fought nationalist opponents and collaborators as well. The military and political movement headed by Josip Broz “TITO” (Partisans) took full control of Yugoslavia when their domestic rivals and the occupiers were defeated in 1945. Although communists, TITO and his successors (Tito died in 1980) managed to steer their own path between the Warsaw Pact nations and the West for the next four and a half decades. In 1989, Slobodan MILOSEVIC became president of the Republic of Serbia and his ultranationalist calls for Serbian domination led to the violent breakup of Yugoslavia along ethnic lines. In 1991, Croatia, Slovenia, and Macedonia declared independence, followed by Bosnia in 1992. The remaining republics of Serbia and Montenegro declared a new Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) in April 1992 and under MILOSEVIC’s leadership, Serbia led various military campaigns to unite ethnic Serbs in neighboring republics into a “Greater Serbia.” These actions ultimately failed and, after international intervention, led to the signing of the Dayton Peace Accords in 1995.

MILOSEVIC retained control over Serbia and eventually became president of the FRY in 1997. In 1998, an ethnic Albanian insurgency in the formerly autonomous Serbian province of Kosovo provoked a Serbian counterinsurgency campaign that resulted in massacres and massive expulsions of ethnic Albanians living in Kosovo. The MILOSEVIC government’s rejection of a proposed international settlement led to NATO’s bombing of Serbia in the spring of 1999. Serbian military and police forces withdrew from Kosovo in June 1999, and the UN Security Council authorized an interim UN administration and a NATO-led security force in Kosovo. FRY elections in late 2000 led to the ouster of MILOSEVIC and the installation of democratic government. In 2003, the FRY became the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro, a loose federation of the two republics. Widespread violence predominantly targeting ethnic Serbs in Kosovo in March 2004 led to more intense calls to address Kosovo’s status, and the UN began facilitating status talks in 2006. In June 2006, Montenegro seceded from the federation and declared itself an independent nation. Serbia subsequently gave notice that it was the successor state to the union of Serbia and Montenegro.

In February 2008, after nearly two years of inconclusive negotiations, Kosovo declared itself independent of Serbia – an action Serbia refuses to recognize. At Serbia’s request, the UN General Assembly (UNGA) in October 2008 sought an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice (ICJ) on whether Kosovo’s unilateral declaration of independence was in accordance with international law. In a ruling considered unfavorable to Serbia, the ICJ issued an advisory opinion in July 2010 stating that international law did not prohibit declarations of independence. In late 2010, Serbia agreed to an EU-drafted UNGA Resolution acknowledging the ICJ’s decision and calling for a new round of talks between

Serbia and Kosovo, this time on practical issues rather than Kosovo's status. Serbia and Kosovo signed the first agreement of principles governing the normalization of relations between the two countries in April 2013 and are in the process of implementing its provisions. In 2015, Serbia and Kosovo reached four additional agreements within the Brussels Dialogue framework. These included agreements on the Community of Serb-Majority Municipalities; telecommunications; en-

ergy production and distribution; and freedom of movement. Prime Minister Aleksandar VUCIC, has promoted an ambitious goal of Serbia joining the EU by 2020. Under his leadership, in January 2014, Serbia opened formal negotiations for accession. Serbia has opened 8 chapters of the EU acquis and provisionally closed 2 chapters.

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/rs.html>

## CONTEXT

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### **MARBLES** (2014)

from the series: *Conversations: Hula Hoops, Elastics, Marbles and Sand*  
seven-channel sound, one-channel video,  
30,777 glass marbles (ø15mm), cardboard, 46 min.

The installation *Marbles* conceived for the exhibition *Invisible Violence* at Museum of Contemporary Art Belgrade is one of the site-specific installations from the series *Conversations: Hula Hoops, Elastics, Marbles and Sand*, produced in different parts of the world.

This installation is produced with 30,777 glass marbles, which are equal to the number of boys and girls born in the same years and the same towns as the seven interviewed children. These are 7- to 9-year-olds, school children with different ethnic, social and cultural backgrounds. In the post-production of the recorded material, the questions asked are omitted and only the children's answers are edited to create a narrative. Listening to the sound of the installation the spectator has the impression that he/she is listening to a conversation between these seven children.

## CHILDREN

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1. **ELMA, 9-year-old Roma girl**  
Single mother with no education.
2. **FILIP, 8-year-old boy**  
Parents are architects.
3. **IVA, 7-year-old girl**  
Mother is graduated Pedagogue.  
"Father has Master in Military Science, he is an Army Officer.
4. **MARIJA, 8-year-old girl**  
Parents finished high school.
5. **MARTIN, 9-year-old Roma boy**  
Father finished elementary school.  
Mother finished high school.
6. **ALEKSA, 8-year-old boy, 2006**  
Parents finished high school.

## QUESTIONS

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**Each child needs to be interviewed separately in the sound recording studio. The questions shall be posed in the same order. Every answer is valid.**

List of questions:

### **DREAMS, FEAR**

- 1 What are you dreaming about?
- 2 What is your favourite thing to do?

- 3 Do u know what is fear?
- 4 Are you afraid of something, of what?
- 5 Are grownups also afraid, and of what?

**MONEY**

- 6 What is Money?
- 7 Why do we need the money?
- 8 What is to be poor or to be rich?
- 9 How much money you would like to have?
- 10 If you would have 1 million what would you do with it?
- 11 Would you share the money you have with others?
- 12 Would you like to buy big car?
- 13 Would you have more friends?
- 14 Would people love you more?

**WAR**

- 15 Do u know what is war?
- 16 Why people go to the war?
- 17 What do u think when people are fighting, are they solving some problems?
- 18 What adults are doing in the war?
- 19 Do we need to have the wars?
- 20 What is the meaning of the enemy?
- 21 Do you know who is the enemy?
- 22 What is terrorism?
- 23 What is death?

**BEING DIFFERENT**

- 24 What it means to be a girl?
- 25 What it means to be a boy?
- 26 Do you have the girlfriends / do you have boyfriend (are you friend with opposite sex)
- 27 Who do you play with the most?

**FOREIGNERS**

- 28 Do you know what is foreigner?
- 29 Is it nice to be a foreigner?
- 30 Who are the foreigners (strangers)?
- 31 Do we need foreigners?
- 32 Should they go home?
- 33 Why do they come to our city?
- 34 Why do they speak different language?
- 35 And who are Serbs?
- 36 What is politics?
- 37 Do you know who are politicians?
- 38 Who are Roma people?
- 39 Who are Gypsies?

**At the end of the interview, record each child asking the same questions (plural/singular/ m./f.) in order to create fictional dialogue among themselves.**



# Dejan Kaludjerović

## *Marbles*

By Zoran Erić

The seven-channel sound installation *Marbles* was conceived for the project *Invisible Violence*<sup>1</sup> and was presented for the first time in Belgrade in 2014. The work is part of the ongoing series titled *Conversations: Hula Hoops, Elastics, Marbles and Sand* that Dejan Kaludjerović produces while on residencies or for specific projects and exhibitions worldwide. Each version, therefore, is context-specific to the society where it is being produced as it involves local children of different ethnic, social and cultural backgrounds who are invited to respond to simply formulated yet very complex and telling questions about the social conditions in each of the countries where the interviews are being conducted. The topics that these questions open up concern political, social or economic issues such as social exclusion and inclusion, relations to foreigners, language, war, money, poverty, etc.

Through the responses and narration of the children, mostly six to ten years old, one can detect the state of affairs in a particular society, analyse the way in which cultural differences are produced and generated, who is perceived and identified as the Other and, finally, how a set of values is established in that particular social context. While following the presumably “innocent” stories of the children, we are able to comprehend what it means to belong to a particular local community or to find yourself “alien” in it, what the difference is between being rich or poor, being a boy or a girl, etc. The responses of the children thus point to the ideological, cultural and socio-political matrices that they adopt in their families or educational system, through the media, and through the global consumerist society, which also has a strong influence and effect. Through the eyes of the schoolchildren, at an age before their subjectivisation and individuation, the artist actually observes the world of the adults and the models of normative and socially constructed, “predetermined” identities that are imposed on children, thus revealing the manipulative potential each society is prone to in this process.

The visual articulation of each installation from this series contains specific elements deriving from the local context wherein the work is produced. In Belgrade, for example, the conceptualization of the installation is based on the exact number of glass marbles – 30,777 – that matches the same exact number of children born in the same years and same cities as the seven children that were interviewed. The installation thus creates a metaphoric tension between the stereotypically “naïve” position of children and their games, which are the basis for the materialization of the installation, and the “seriousness” of the political context in the background that is being echoed in the children’s interviews. Through these games – which are sometimes very popular in the given local contexts, like marbles in Serbia – and their visually vibrant arrangements in the installations, the observer is entering the field of analysis of social and political problems pertinent to a local context, each of which can be inserted into the broader global network of references and symptoms of the world we are living in.

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<sup>1</sup> The curators were Blanca de la Torre, Zoran Erić and Seamus Kealy.



## CREDITS

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**Curators:** Zoran Erić, Blanca de la Torre,  
Séamus Kealy

**Interviewer:** Vera Večanski

**Transcriptions:** Jelena Kaludjerović,  
Dejan Kaludjerović

**Translations:** Dubravka Štrbac-Vukojević

**Sound Recording and Editing:**  
Danijel Milošević

**Video editor:** Veljko Vukasović

**Producer:** Ksenija Đurović

**Photographs:** Ana Adamović,  
Dejan Kaludjerović

**Production:** Museum of Contemporary Art,  
Belgrade



The Project was commissioned for the exhibition *Invisible Violence* by the Museum of Contemporary Arts, Belgrade, May–June 2014. With the support of the Austrian Cultural Forum Belgrade.





# Baku

## Azerbaijan



Azerbaijan – a nation with a majority-Turkic and majority-Shia Muslim population – was briefly independent (from 1918 to 1920) following the collapse of the Russian Empire; it was subsequently incorporated into the Soviet Union for seven decades. Azerbaijan has yet to resolve its conflict with Armenia over Nagorno-Karabakh, a primarily ethnic Armenian-populated region that Moscow recognized in 1923 as an autonomous republic within Soviet Azerbaijan after Armenia and Azerbaijan disputed the territory's status. Armenia and Azerbaijan reignited their dispute over the area in 1988; the struggle escalated militarily after both countries attained independence from the Soviet Union in 1991. By May 1994, when a cease-fire took hold, ethnic Armenian forces held not only Nagorno-Karabakh but also seven surrounding provinces in the territory of Azerbaijan. The OSCE Minsk Group, co-chaired by the US, France, and Russia, is the framework established to mediate a peaceful resolution of the conflict.

Corruption in the country is widespread, and the government, which eliminated presidential term limits in a 2009 referendum and approved extending presidential terms from 5 to 7 years in 2016, has been accused of authoritarianism. Although the poverty rate has been reduced and infrastructure investment has increased substantially in recent years due to revenue from oil and gas production, reforms have not adequately addressed weaknesses in most government institutions, particularly in the education and health sectors, as well as the court system.

| <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/aj.html>

## CONTEXT

**ALPHABET CUBES** (2014)  
 from the series: *Conversations: Hula Hoops, Elastics, Marbles and Sand*  
 seven-channel sound, one-channel video,  
 45 wooden cubes, acrylic, 72 min.,  
 40 × 40 × 40 cm each cube

The installation *Alphabet Cubes* conceived for the solo exhibition *Conversations: Azerbaijan* at

YAY Gallery, Baku is one of the site-specific installations from the series *Conversations: Hula Hoops, Elastics, Marbles and Sand*, produced in different parts of the world.

This installation is made out of 45 wooden cubes painted with different alphabets that are being used in Azerbaijan (Azeri, Russian, Lezgi). Listening to the sound of the installation, the spectator has the impression that he/she is listening to a conversation between these seven children.

## CHILDREN

1. **SELIN, 8-year-old girl (2006)**  
**upper middle class family**  
She speaks Russian. Her mother works as a Marketing Account Manager at Sinteks MMC. Her father is a director at JTI Azerbaijan.
2. **AMIL, 8-year-old boy (2006)**  
**upper middle class family**  
He speaks Russian. His father works as a managing director at Softline Azerbaijan. His mother is a housewife.
3. **AYLIN, 6-year-old girl (2008)**  
**middle class family**  
She speaks Lezgian. Her mother is an artist (She teaches drawing in the kindergarten). Her father is administrator in the restaurant.
4. **RAIL, 7/8-year-old boy (2006)**  
**middle class family**  
He speaks Azeri. His mother is a schoolteacher. His father is a serviceman (is in the military).
5. **NURAY, 9-year-old girl (2005)**  
**working class – refugee from Armenian part**  
She speaks Azeri. Her mother is a housewife. Her father works in construction (he is a regular construction worker).
6. **AYTAC, 9-year-old girl (2005)**  
**poor family**  
She speaks Azeri. Her mother is a housewife. Her father is unemployed. He is very ill. Their family fled from Karabakh during the war.
7. **FIDAN, 8-year-old girl (2005)**  
**upper middle class family**  
She speaks Russian. Her mother is a housewife. Her father is a businessman.

## QUESTIONS

**Each child needs to be interviewed separately in the sound recording studio. The questions shall be posed in the same order. Every answer is valid.**

List of questions:

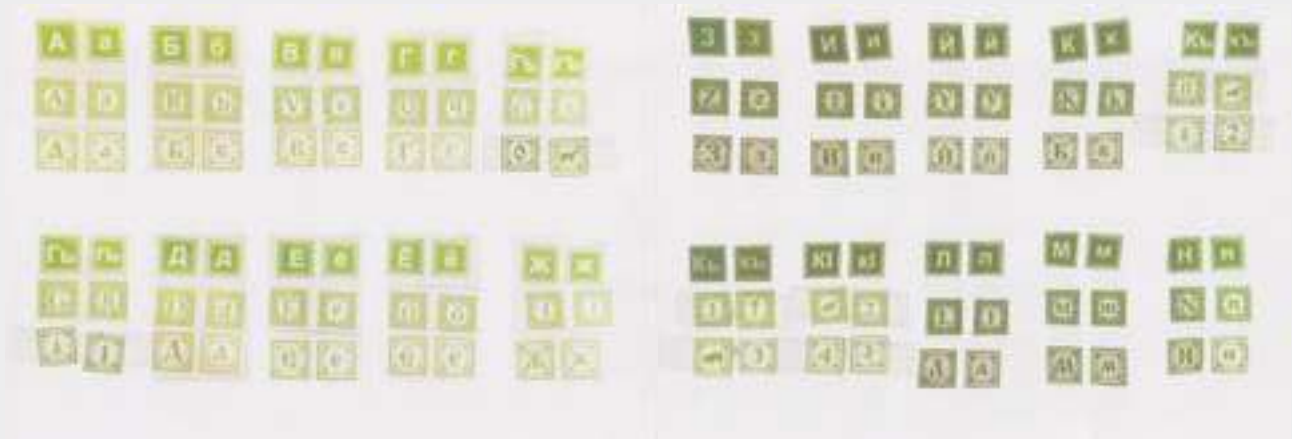
- 1 What are you dreaming about?
- 2 What is your favourite thing to do?
- 3 Do u know what is fear?
- 4 Are you afraid of something, of what?
- 5 Are grownups also afraid, and of what?
- 6 What is Money?
- 7 Why do we need the money?
- 8 What is to be poor or to be rich?
- 9 How much money you would like to have?
- 10 If you would have 1 million what would you do with it?
- 11 Would you share the money you have with others?
- 12 Would you like to buy big car?
- 13 Would you have more friends?
- 14 Would people love you more?
- 15 Do u know what is war?
- 16 Why people go to the war?
- 17 What do u think when people are fighting, are they solving some problems?
- 18 What adults are doing in the war?
- 19 Do we need to have the wars?
- 20 What is the meaning of the enemy?
- 21 Do you know who is the enemy?
- 22 What is terrorism?
- 23 What is death?
- 24 What it means to be a girl?
- 25 What it means to be a boy?
- 26 Do you have the girlfriends / do you have boyfriend (are you friend with opposite sex)
- 27 Who do you play with the most?
- 28 Do you know what is foreigner?
- 29 Is it nice to be a foreigner?
- 30 Who are the foreigners (strangers)?
- 31 Do we need foreigners?
- 32 Should they go home?
- 33 Why do they come to our city?
- 34 Why do they speak different language?
- 35 What are Americans like?  
(what do you think about Americans?)
- 36 What are Russians like?  
(what do you think about Russians?)



- 37 What are Azeri likes?  
(what do you think about Azeri?)
- 38 What are Armenians like?  
(what do you think about Armenians?)
- 39 What are Europeans like?  
(what do you think about Europeans?)
- 40 What is politics?

- 41 Who are politicians?
- 42 What are minorities?

**At the end of the interview, record each child asking the same questions (plural/singular/ m./f.) in order to create fictional dialogue among themselves.**



# Dejan Kaludjerović

## *Conversations Azerbaijan*

by Anastasia Blokhina

The project “Conversations: Azerbaijan” by Dejan Kaludjerović took place in Azerbaijan in 2015 at Yay Gallery in the heart of the Old City in Baku. Dejan was invited by YARAT – Contemporary Art Space to have a solo exhibition and do an artist residency in Baku. The artist was willing to talk to children that spoke one of the three languages that are spoken in Azerbaijan: Azeri, Russian and Lezgi. As a result of the research, Dejan made an installation of 45 wooden cubes specially designed paintings of the different alphabets that are used in Azerbaijan. Listening to the installation audio, the spectator has the impression that he/she is listening to a conversation between seven children being held in different languages. The Lezgian language is spoken in southern Dagestan and northern Azerbaijan. Russian is still very common in Azerbaijan as a lot of literature and education is taught in that language. However, the country is making a lot of effort at preserving the national language, which is obligatory in schools, and a lot of literature is being translated into Azeri and there are as well multiple events aimed at supporting the language. It is a normal situation in Azerbaijan that kids speak one language at home and another one at school. *Conversations* was particularly important as it was the first attempt to analyze how children from different regions of the country and of different social status perceive the information that surrounds them. The responses the children gave were based on different opinions and statements that they had received from all over – school, playground, grandmother’s village, other kids, their families, etc. It was a poetic and touching picture of a citizen’s thoughts as shown through the eyes of little children.





## CREDITS

---

**Curator:** YARAT – Contemporary Art Space

**Transcriptions:** Ulvia Akhundova,  
Leyla Aghayeva

**Translations:** Ulvia Akhundova,  
Leyla Aghayeva

**English proofreading:** Ben De Courcy Jones

**Graphic designer:** Fakhriyya Mammadova

**Sound recording and editing:**

Baku Media Centre

**Video editing:** Baku Media Centre

**Producer:** Umay Mammadzada

**Photographs:** Fakhriyya Mammadova,  
Jelena Kaludjerović

**Production:** YARAT – Contemporary Art Space

The Project was commissioned by the YARAT – Contemporary Art Space, with the support of the YARAT – Contemporary Art Space and Austrian Embassy Baku.

I don't know who is freedom.





# Tehran

## Iran



Known as Persia until 1935, Iran became an Islamic republic in 1979 after the ruling monarchy was overthrown and Shah Mohammad Reza PAHLAVI was forced into exile. Conservative clerical forces led by Ayatollah Ruhollah KHOMEINI established a theocratic system of government with ultimate political authority vested in a learned religious scholar referred to commonly as the Supreme Leader who, according to the constitution, is accountable only to the Assembly of Experts (AOE) – a popularly elected 86-member body of clerics. US-Iranian relations became strained when a group of Iranian students seized the US Embassy in Tehran in November 1979 and held embassy personnel hostages until mid-January 1981. The US cut off diplomatic relations with Iran in April 1980. During the period 1980–88, Iran fought a bloody, indecisive war with Iraq that eventually expanded into the Persian Gulf and led to clashes between US Navy and Iranian military forces. Iran has been designated a state sponsor of terrorism for its activities in Lebanon and elsewhere in the world and remains subject to US, UN, and EU economic sanctions and export controls because of its continued involvement in terrorism and concerns over possible military dimensions of its nuclear program. Following the election of reformer Hojjat ol-Eslam Mohammad KHATAMI as president in 1997 and a reformist Majles (legislature) in 2000, a campaign to foster political reform in response to popular dissatisfaction was initiated. The movement floundered as conservative politicians, supported by the Supreme Leader, unelected institutions of authority like the Council of Guardians, and the security services reversed and blocked reform measures while increasing security repression.

Starting with nationwide municipal elections in 2003 and continuing through Majles elections in 2004, conservatives reestablished control over Iran's elected government institutions, which culminated with the August 2005 inauguration of hardliner Mahmud AHMADINEJAD as president. His controversial reelection in June 2009 sparked nationwide protests over allegations of electoral fraud, but the protests were quickly suppressed. Deteriorating economic conditions due primarily to government mismanagement and international sanctions prompted at least two major economically based protests in July and October 2012, but Iran's internal security situation remained stable. President AHMADINEJAD's independent streak angered regime establishment figures, including the Supreme Leader, leading to conservative opposition to his agenda for the last year of his presidency, and an alienation of his political supporters. In June 2013, Iranians elected a moderate conservative cleric Dr. Hasan Fereidun RUHANI to the presidency. He is a longtime senior member in the regime, but has made promises of reforming society and Iran's foreign policy. The UN Security Council has passed a number of resolutions calling for Iran to suspend its uranium enrichment and reprocessing activities and comply with its IAEA obligations and responsibilities, and in July 2015 Iran and the five permanent members, plus Germany (P5+1) signed the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) under which Iran agreed to restrictions on its nuclear program in exchange for sanctions relief.

## CONTEXT

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### **SAND BOX** (2015)

from the series: *Conversations: Hula Hoops, Elastics, Marbles and Sand*  
 six-channel sound, one-channel video,  
 MDF, acrylic, 2T of local sand, styrofoam,  
 50 min 27 sec, 340 × 40 – 52 × 170 cm

The installation *Sand Box* conceived for the solo exhibition *Conversations: Iran* at Sazmanab – Center for Contemporary Art, Tehran is one of the site-specific installations from the series *Conversations: Hula Hoops, Elastics, Marbles and Sand*, produced in different parts of the world.

This installation is made out of a wooden sand box painted with acrylic and filled with local Iranian sand. Listening to the sound of the installation, the spectator has the impression that he/she is listening to a conversation between these six children.



## CHILDREN

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1. **ELINA, 10 y/o girl (2008)**  
 Her father is a cabinetmaker and her mother is a housewife but has a bachelor's in Persian literature.
2. **ANDIYA, 8 y/o girl (2005)**  
 Her father has a store for selling industrial colours and her mother is a housewife but has a degree in English literature.
3. **SOROUSH, 11 y/o boy (2004)**  
 His mother is a housewife and his father works as a seller of industrial machines for morgues.
4. **HASTI, 8 y/o girl (2007)**  
 Her mother has a bachelor's in German language translating and her father has a PhD in urban management.
5. **ALIREZA, 9 y/o boy (2006)**  
 Father: no info; Mother: no info.
6. **AVINA, 7 y/o girl (2009)**  
 Both her mother and father work as computer managers and have degrees in their profession.

## QUESTIONS

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**Each child needs to be interviewed separately in the sound recording studio. The questions shall be posed in the same order. Every answer is valid.**

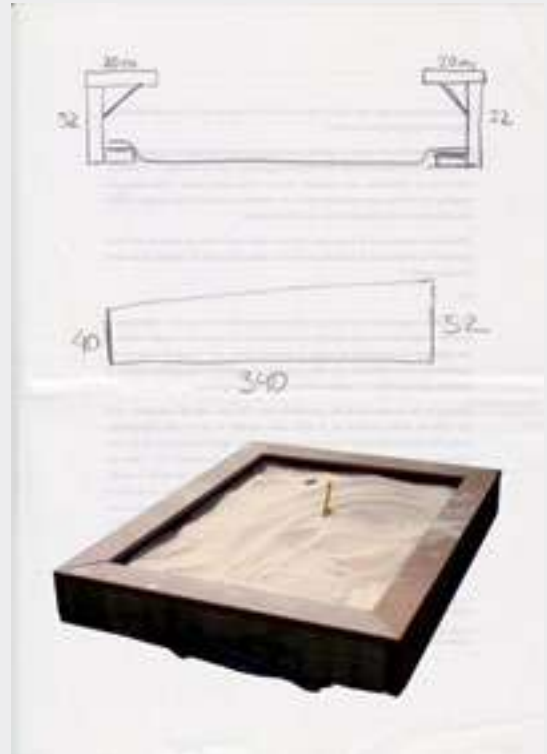
List of questions:

- 1 What are you dreaming about?
- 2 What is your favourite thing to do?
- 3 Do u know what is fear?
- 4 Are you afraid of something, of what?
- 5 Are grownups also afraid, and of what?
- 6 What is freedom?
- 7 What is Money?
- 8 Why do we need the money?

- 9 What is to be poor or to be rich?
- 10 How much money you would like to have?
- 11 If you would have 1 million what would you do with it?
- 12 Would you share the money you have with others?
- 13 Would you like to buy big car?
- 14 Would you have more friends?
- 15 Would people love you more?
- 16 Do u know what is war?
- 17 Why people go to the war?
- 18 What do u think when people are fighting, are they solving some problems?
- 19 What adults are doing in the war?
- 20 Do we need to have the wars?
- 21 What is the meaning of the enemy?
- 22 Do you know who is the enemy?
- 23 What is terrorism?
- 24 What is death?
- 25 What it means to be a girl?
- 26 What it means to be a boy?
- 27 Do you have the girlfriends / do you have boyfriend (are you friend with opposite sex)
- 28 Who do you play with the most?
- 29 What are restrictions for?
- 30 How it feels to be restricted?
- 31 Do you know what is foreigner?
- 32 Is it nice to be a foreigner?

- 33 Who are the foreigners (strangers)?
- 34 Do we need foreigners?
- 35 Should they go home?
- 36 Why do they come to our city?
- 37 Why do they speak different language?
- 38 What are Americans like? (How would you describe Americans) (what do you think about Americans?)
- 39 What are Russians like? (How would you describe Russians) (what do you think about Russians?)
- 40 What are Europeans like? (How would you describe Europeans) (what do you think about Europeans?)
- 41 What are Afghans like? (How would you describe Afghans) (what do you think about Afghans?)
- 42 What are Israelis like? (How would you describe Israelis) (what do you think about Israelis?)
- 43 What is politics?
- 44 Do you know who are politicians?
- 45 What does the minorities mean?

**At the end of the interview, record each child asking the same questions (plural/singular/ m./f.) in order to create fictional dialogue among themselves.**





## CREDITS

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**Curators:** Sohrab Kashani

**Interviewers:** Afra Mirfasi

**Transcriptions:** Afra Mirfasi,  
Rouzbeh Zabihian

**Translations:** Afra Mirfas,  
Rouzbeh Zabihian, Sohrab Kashani

**Recording Studio:** Sazmanab

**Sound Recording and Editing:**  
Mohamad Zarinmehr

**Subtitles:** Mahsa Biglow, Sohrab Kashani

**Producer:** Sohrab Kashani

**Objects production and mounting:**  
Sazmanab Team, Soheil Soheili

**Photographs:** Masha Biglow,

Dejan Kaludjerović

**Production:** Sazmanab Center for Contemporary  
Art, Tehran

The Project was commissioned for the exhibition *Conversations: Iran* by SAZMANAB – Center for Contemporary Art, Teheran, Iran, July–August 2015. The project was also supported by the Arts and Culture Division of the Federal Chancellery of Austria.



their eyes...and from top to their eyes. Their eyes are only visible. They for example wear the scarves too well.



Some, I imagine for example events they come down: we see them from the top of their heads from the ceiling to the floor.







# Vienna

## Austria



Once the center of power for the large Austro-Hungarian Empire, Austria was reduced to a small republic after its defeat in World War I. Following annexation by Nazi Germany in 1938 and subsequent occupation by the victorious Allies in 1945, Austria's status remained unclear for a decade. A State Treaty signed in 1955 ended the occupation, recognized Austria's independence, and forbade unification with Germany. A constitutional law that same year declared the country's "perpetual neutrality" as a condition for Soviet military withdrawal. The Soviet Union's collapse in 1991 and Austria's entry into the EU in 1995 have altered the meaning of this neutrality. A prosperous, democratic country, Austria entered the EU Economic and Monetary Union in 1999.

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/au.html>

## CONTEXT

### **MIKADO SPIEL** (2016)

from the series: *Conversations: Hula Hoops, Elastics, Marbles and Sand*

six-channel sound, one-channel video, wooden box, 41 wooden sticks, acrylic, varnish, 92 min, 174 × 38 × 22 cm, ø 2.7 cm × 162 cm each

The installation *Mikado Spiel* conceived for the exhibition *Crises as Ideology?* at Kunstraum Niederoesterreich, Vienna is one of the site-specific installations from the series *Conversations: Hula Hoops, Elastics, Marbles and Sand*, produced in different parts of the world.

This installation is made out of a wooden box painted with acrylic and filled with 41 wooden painted Mikado sticks. It is a ninefold (with reference to the nine Austrian provinces) enlargement of the game 'Mikado'. Listening to the sound of the installation, the spectator has the impression that he/she is listening to a conversation between these six children.

## CHILDREN

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1. **FILIP, 9-year-old boy**  
(Serbian background)  
Father: mechanic; Mother: childcare worker
2. **LILLY, 8-year-old girl**  
Father: lawyer; Mother: unknown
3. **NIKI, 8-year-old boy**  
Father: lawyer; Mother: unknown
4. **CECILIA, 7-year-old girl**  
(Aristocratic background)  
Father: property investor;  
Mother: fashion designer
5. **ARTHUR, 9-year-old boy**  
Father: musician; Mother: stylist
6. **ZARA, 7-year-old girl**  
(Turkish background)  
Father: mechanic; Mother: dental assistant

- 14 Would you have more friends?
- 15 Would people love you more?
- 16 Do u know what is war?
- 17 Why people go to the war?
- 18 What do u think when people are fighting,  
are they solving some problems?
- 19 What adults are doing in the war?
- 20 Do we need to have the wars?
- 21 What is the meaning of the enemy?
- 22 Do you know who is the enemy?
- 23 What is terrorism?
- 24 What is death?
- 25 What it means to be a girl?
- 26 What it means to be a boy?
- 27 Do you have the girlfriends / do you have  
boyfriend (are you friend with opposite sex)
- 28 Who do you play with the most?
- 29 What are restrictions for?
- 30 How it feels to be restricted?
- 31 Do you know what is foreigner?
- 32 Is it nice to be a foreigner?
- 33 Who are the foreigners (strangers)?
- 34 Do we need foreigners?
- 35 Should they go home?
- 36 Why do they come to our city?
- 37 Why do they speak a different language?
- 38 What are Americans like? (How would you  
describe Americans) (what do you think about  
Americans?)
- 39 What are Russians like? (How would you  
describe Russians) (what do you think about  
Russians?)
- 40 What are Europeans like? (How would you  
describe Europeans) (what do you think about  
Europeans?)
- 41 What are Israelis like? (How would you describe  
Israelis) (what do you think about Israelis?)
- 42 What is politics?
- 43 Do you know Who are politicians?
- 44 What does the minorities mean?
- 46 What do you think its gatarbeiter?
- 47 What it means mother tongue?

## QUESTIONS

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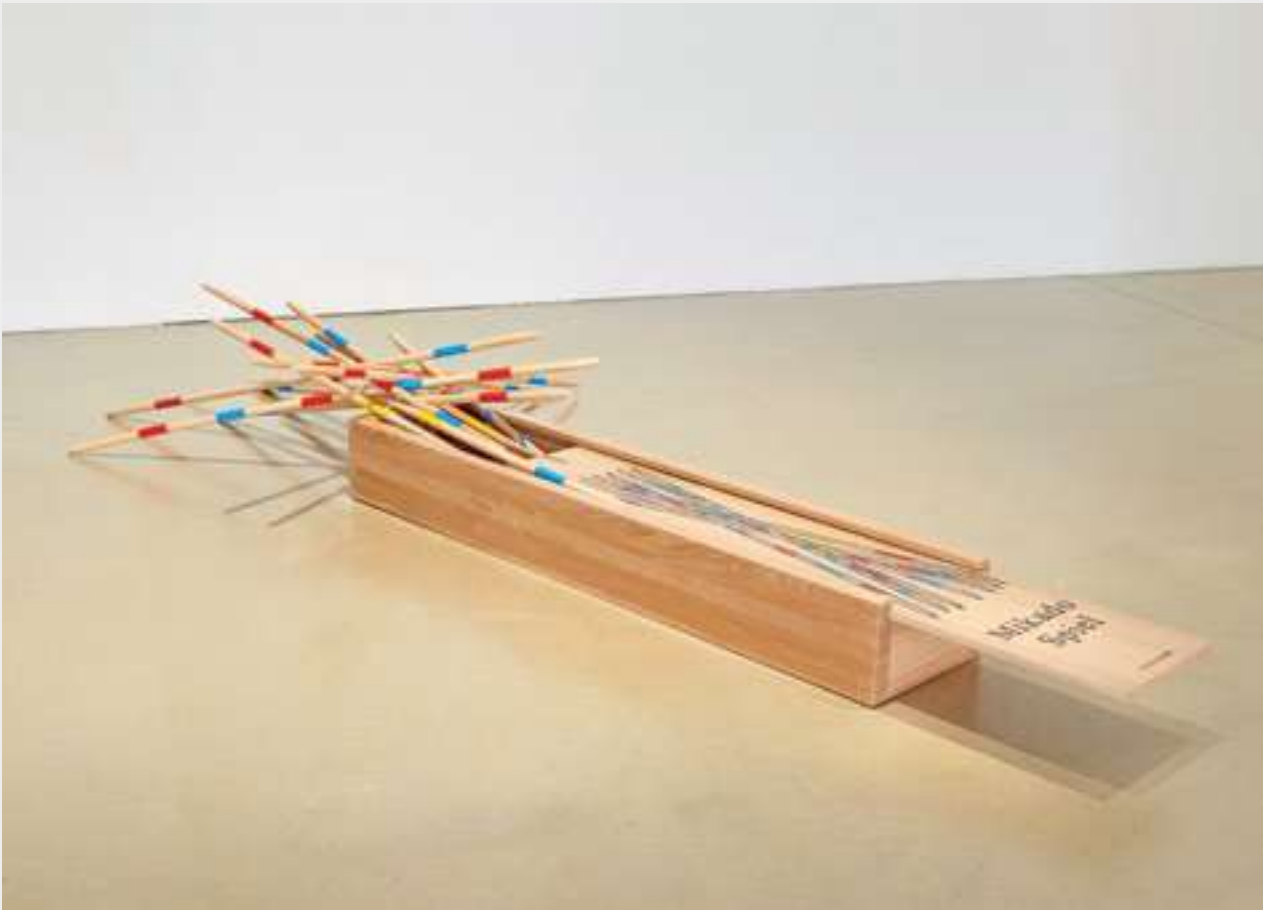
**Each child needs to be interviewed separately in the sound recording studio. The questions shall be posed in the same order. Every answer is valid.**

List of questions:

- 1 What are you dreaming about?
- 2 What is your favorite thing to do?
- 3 Do u know what is fear?
- 4 Are you afraid of something, of what?
- 5 Are grownups also afraid, and of what?
- 6 What is freedom?
- 7 What is Money?
- 8 Why do we need the money?
- 9 What is to be poor or to be rich?
- 10 How much money you would like to have?
- 11 If you would have 1 million what would you  
do with it?
- 12 Would you share the money you have with others?
- 13 Would you like to buy big car?

**At the end of the interview, record each child asking the same questions (plural/singular/ m./f.) in order to create fictional dialogue among themselves.**





## CREDITS

---

**Curator:** Anamarija Batista,  
Dejan Kaludjerović

**Assistant Curator:** Karolina Radenković

**Interviewer:** Jelena Kaludjerović

**Transcriptions:** Katharina Neuner

**Translations:** Martina S. Häfele

**Recording Studio:** Orange Radio

**Sound Recording and Editing:**

Kai Maier-Rothe

**Subtitles:** Lea Manoussakis

**Producer:** Dejan Kaludjerović

**Photographs:** Jelena Kaludjerović,  
Eva Würdinger, eSeL

**Production:** Kunstraum Niederoesterreich,  
Vienna

The Project was commissioned for the  
exhibition *Crises as Ideology?* by Kunstraum  
Niederoesterreich, Vienna, June–July 2016









# Jerusalem Israel



Following World War II, Britain withdrew from its mandate of Palestine, and the UN proposed partitioning the area into Arab and Jewish states, an arrangement rejected by the Arabs. Nonetheless, an Israeli state was declared in 1948, and Israel subsequently defeated the Arab armies in a series of wars that did not end deep tensions between the two sides. (The territories Israel has occupied since the 1967 war are not included in the Israel country profile, unless otherwise noted.) On 25 April 1982, Israel withdrew from the Sinai Peninsula pursuant to the 1979 Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty. In keeping with the framework established at the Madrid Conference in October 1991, Israel conducted bilateral negotiations with Palestinian representatives and Syria to achieve a permanent settlement with each. Israel and Palestinian officials on 13 September 1993 signed a Declaration of Principles (also known as the “Oslo Accords”), enshrining the idea of a two-state solution to their conflict and guiding an interim period of Palestinian self-rule. The parties achieved six additional significant interim agreements between 1994 and 1999 aimed at creating the conditions for a two-state solution, but most were never fully realized. Outstanding territorial and other disputes with Jordan were resolved in the 26 October 1994 Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty.

Progress toward a final status agreement with the Palestinians was undermined by Israeli-Palestinian violence between 2001 and February 2005. Israel in 2005 unilaterally disengaged from the Gaza Strip, evacuating settlers and its military while retaining control over most points of entry into the Gaza Strip. The election of HAMAS to head the Palestinian Legislative Council in 2006 temporarily froze relations between Israel and the Palestinian Authority (PA). Israel engaged in a 34-day conflict with Hizballah in Lebanon from July–August 2006 and a 23-day conflict with HAMAS in the Gaza Strip from December 2008–January 2009. In November 2012, Israel engaged in a seven-day conflict with HAMAS in the Gaza Strip. Direct talks with the Palestinians were most recently launched in July 2013, but were suspended in April 2014. The talks represented the fourth concerted effort to resolve final status issues between the sides since they were first discussed at Camp David in 2000. Three months later, HAMAS and other militant groups launched rockets into Israel, which led to a 51-day conflict between Israel and militants in Gaza.

## CONTEXT

### **SHELTERS** (2016)

from the series: *Conversations: Hula Hoops, Elastics, Marbles and Sand*  
seven-channel sound, one-channel video,  
six models for shelters made of concrete, 71 min  
three models are 36 × 48 × 90 cm each,  
three models are 36 × 48 × 98 cm each

The installation *Shelters* conceived for the solo exhibition *Conversations: Jerusalem* at Art Cube Artists' Studios, Jerusalem is one of the site-specific installations from the series *Conversations: Hula Hoops, Elastics, Marbles and Sand*, produced in different parts of the world.

This installation is made out of sculptures that make up the installation look like small models of local bomb shelters. They can be played with, moved around and used to sit upon. The artist was interested in the way in which the outer features of a shelter function as a place for playing, while its inside provides a safe space during times of war. Listening to the sound of the installation the spectator has the impression that he/she is listening to a conversation between these six children.



## CHILDREN

1. **GILAD, 7-year-old girl, speaks Hebrew**  
Father: math teacher;  
Mother: social worker
2. **IMRI, 8 and a 1/2-year-old boy, speaks Hebrew**  
Father: holds PhD in computational neuroscience;  
Mother: PhD candidate in the field of education
3. **YUVAL, 9-year-old boy, speaks Hebrew**  
Father: Director of the Alpert Music Centre of The Jerusalem Municipality;  
Mother: dance teacher and Yoga & Pilates coach
4. **YEHONATAN, 6 and a 1/2-year-old boy, speaks Hebrew**  
Father: director and scriptwriter;  
Mother: artist\ art lecturer
5. **HABIB, 8-year-old boy, speaks Arabic**  
Father: writer, translator and lecturer;  
Mother: Arabic teacher
6. **MINA, 7-year-old girl, speaks Arabic**  
Father: chef; Mother: beautician
7. **MALEK, 10-year-old boy, speaks Arabic**  
Father: driver;  
Mother: alternative medicine doctor

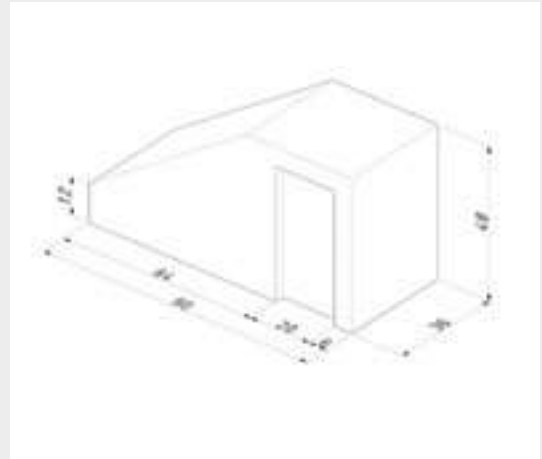
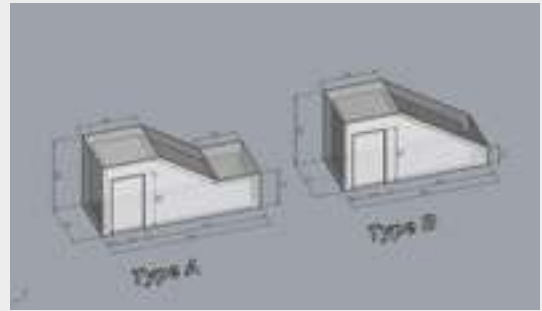


## QUESTIONS

**Each child needs to be interviewed separately in the sound recording studio. The questions shall be posed in the same order. Every answer is valid.**

List of questions:

- 1 What are you dreaming about?
- 2 What is your favourite thing to do?
- 3 Do u know what is fear?
- 4 Are you afraid of something, of what?
- 5 Are grownups also afraid, and of what?
- 6 What is freedom?
- 7 What is Money?
- 8 Why do we need the money?
- 9 What is to be poor or to be rich?
- 10 How much money you would like to have?
- 11 If you would have 1 million what would you do with it?
- 12 Would you share the money you have with others?
- 13 Would you like to buy big car?
- 14 Would you have more friends?
- 15 Would people love you more?
- 16 Do u know what is war?
- 17 Why people go to the war?
- 18 What do u think when people are fighting, are they solving some problems?
- 19 What adults are doing in the war?
- 20 Do we need to have the wars?
- 21 What is the meaning of the enemy?
- 22 Do you know who is the enemy?
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- 31 Do you know what is foreigner?
- 32 Is it nice to be a foreigner?
- 33 Who are the foreigners (strangers)?
- 34 Do we need foreigners?
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- 36 Why do they come to our city?
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- 38 What are Americans like? (How would you describe Americans) (What do you think about Americans?)
- 39 What are Russians like? (How would you describe Russians) (What do you think about Russians?)
- 40 What are Europeans like? (How would you describe Europeans) (What do you think about Europeans?)
- 41 What are Israelis like? (How would you describe Israelis) (What do you think about Israelis?)
- 42 What are Palestinians like? (How would you describe Palestinians) (What do you think about Palestinians?)
- 43 What is politics?
- 44 Do you know who are politicians?
- 45 What does the minorities mean?
- 46 What do you think it's gastarbeiter?
- 47 What it means mother tongue?
- 48 What is religion?
- 49 What is God?
- 50 Does God really exist?



**At the end of the interview, record each child asking the same questions (plural/singular/ m./f.) in order to create fictional dialogue among themselves.**

# Dejan Kaludjerović

## *Conversations: Jerusalem*

by Maayan Sheleff

As part of the Art Cube Artists' Studios new International Residency Program, Dejan Kaludjerović (Serbia/Austria) has created the project *Shelters*, from the series *Conversations: Hula Hoops, Elastics, Marbles and Sand* (2016), an installation and audio piece based on interviews he conducted with children from Israel in Hebrew and Arabic.

Previous projects in the series were created in Russia, Serbia, Iran, Azerbaijan and Austria. In each project, the interviews with children from local communities act as a litmus test as to the ways in which that respective society creates its cultural distinctions and value system, as well as identifies the "Other."

Based on individual interviews with children from different socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds, the artist has created an imagined conversation in which the children discuss among themselves issues such as social inclusion and exclusion, attitudes toward foreigners, language, war, money, friendship, and poverty.

In *Shelters*, the sculptures that make up the installation look like small models of local bomb shelters. They can be played with, moved around and used to sit upon. In each chapter of the series *Conversations*, Kaludjerović creates an installation that references a children's game, as a kind of personal interpretation of that particular society. In Israel, he was interested in the way in which the outer features of a shelter function as a place for playing, while its interior provides a safe space during times of war. The gap between the seemingly naïve everyday routine and the reality of conflict that can appear at any time adds a layer of meaning to the children's conversation.

Dejan Kaludjerović was selected to participate in the LowRes Jerusalem artist residency for 2016, along with Florencia Levy (Argentina). Levy's residency outcome can be seen on the wall opposite Kaludjerović's exhibition, *Pashkevils* based on interviews with locals, hung in Jerusalem's public sphere. The two were selected from 177 candidates from 45 nationalities. LowRes Jerusalem invites artists who explore social, political and economic conflicts to reflect upon their environment in a critical manner during their temporary residence in Jerusalem.



## CREDITS

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**Curator:** Maayan Sheleff  
**Assistant Curator:** Shira Barak  
**Transcriptions:** Hadar Tamir,  
Maria Miguel De Pina  
**Translations:** Judith Appleton,  
Maria Miguel De Pina, Michal Goldzweig, Shada  
Abu Okal  
**Recording Studio:** Alpert Music Center  
**Audio-Video Production:**  
PROAV – Integration & Installation  
**Sound Editor:** Yogev Freilichman  
**Subtitles:** Yaniv Eidelstein  
**Producer:** Shira Barak, Yali Reichert  
**Objects production and mounting:**  
Jacques Fhima  
**Photographs:** Yali Reichert, Itai Nadav,  
Dejan Kaludjerović  
**Production:** Art Cube Artists' Studios, Jerusalem



The Project was commissioned by the Art Cube Artists' Studios International Residency program LowRes Jerusalem. With the support of the Israel Lottery Council For Culture & Arts, the Arts and Culture Division of the Federal Chancellery of Austria, the Future Fund of the Republic of Austria and the Jerusalem Foundation.

# Biographies

**Anastasia Blokhina**, Executive Director, RIBOCA. She studied Journalism and Communication at St. Petersburg State University and graduated with honours. From 2011–2014, she was Director of External Communications at Erarta Museum and Galleries of Contemporary Art. From 2014–2016, Anastasia was Director of YAY Gallery in Baku, Azerbaijan, part of the Yarat foundation where she worked on various projects and organized exhibitions in New Delhi, Rome, Moscow, Perm, Dubai, Sharjah and Paris. Anastasia was also involved in Yarat's project *The Union of Fire and Water* at Palazzo Barbaro at the 56<sup>th</sup> Venice Biennale.

**Ilya Budraitskis** is a historian and curator based in Moscow, Russia. He is on the editorial boards of several print and online publications, including *Moscow Art Magazine* and *LeftEast*. For now, he is lecturing in the Moscow High School for Social and Economic Sciences and the Institute for Contemporary Art. With Ekaterina Degot and Marta Dziewanska, Budraitskis co-edited and authored the book *Post-Post-Soviet?: Art, Politics and Society in Russia at the Turn of the Decade* (University of Chicago Press, 2013). His book *Dissidents among dissidents* (FMP press, Moscow, 2017) was recently awarded the Andrei Bely prize.

**Zoran Erić** is a art historian, curator and lecturer. He holds a PhD from the Faculty of Media, Bauhaus University in Weimar. He is currently working as Chief Curator at the Museum of Contemporary Art in Belgrade. His research fields include the meeting points of urban geography, spatio-cultural discourse, and theory of radical democracy.

**Séamus Kealy** is currently Director of the Salzburger Kunstverein in Austria. Curated exhibitions there include the award-winning *Punctum*, *Invisible Violence*, *Überschönheit*, *The People's Cinema*, *A Painter's Doubt*, and *Floating Self*. Séamus Kealy completed his Master's in Art History and Bachelor's in Visual Arts, where he studied with Jeff Wall, at the University of British Columbia. After working as an artist, he went into curating, including institutional appointments at the Blackwood Gallery, University of Toronto; and The Model, Sligo, Ireland. He has worked with artists Stan Douglas, Bedwyr Williams, Paloma Varga Weisz, Geoffrey Farmer, Rabih Mroué, Nevin Aladag, Hans Schabus, Harun Farocki, Omer Fast, Ilya & Emilia Kabakov, Willie Doherty, Flaka Haliti, among many others.

**Beral Madra** is art critic and curator, lives and works in Istanbul, founder Gallery BM, BM Contemporary Art Centre [www.beralmadra.net](http://www.beralmadra.net) and Kuad Gallery [www.kuadgallery.com](http://www.kuadgallery.com). She coordinated the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 2<sup>nd</sup> Istanbul Biennale, curated exhibitions of Turkish artists in 43<sup>rd</sup>, 45<sup>th</sup>, 49<sup>th</sup>, 50<sup>th</sup> and 51<sup>st</sup> Venice Biennales. Since 1984, organized over 250 local and international exhibitions. She was Visual Arts Director of İstanbul 2010 ECOC, conducting the major projects ([www.supremepolicy.blogspot.com](http://www.supremepolicy.blogspot.com)). Currently, she is co-curator, 8<sup>th</sup> Bucharest Biennale, May 2018.

**Jelena Petrović** is a feminist scholar, theorist and art worker. (Co)author of texts, events and projects related to (post)Yugoslav subjects – particularly with regard to the (post)Yugoslav history, art theory and feminism. She completed her PhD at ISH Ljubljana Graduate School of Humanities (2009). From 2008 to 2015, she was an active member of the new Yugoslav art-theory group Grupa Spomenik. Co-founder and member of the feminist curatorial collective Red Min(e)d (2011–present). Since 2014, she has been teaching at the Academy of Fine Arts and Design, University of Ljubljana and from 2015 at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna, Austria (appointed as the Endowed Professor for Central and South Eastern European Art Histories 2015–2017).

**Mohammad Salemy** is an independent New York-based artist, critic, and curator who holds an MA in critical curatorial studies from the University of British Columbia. He has shown his works in Ashkal Alwan's Home Works 7 (Beirut) and Witte de With (Rotterdam). His writings have been published in *e-flux*, *Flash Art*, *Third Rail*, and *Brooklyn Rail*, and he has curated exhibitions at the Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery, Access Gallery, and Satellite Gallery in Vancouver as well as Transit Display in Prague. In 2014, he organized the Incredible Machines conference. Salemy's curatorial experiment "For Machine Use Only" was included in the 11th edition of the Gwangju Biennale (2016). He currently co-organizes the education programs at The New Centre for Research & Practice.

**Maayan Sheleff** is an independent curator based in Tel Aviv, as well as the artistic advisor of The Art Cube Artists' Studios in Jerusalem and the founder and curator of its international residency program, "LowRes Jerusalem". Her projects take a reflexive approach towards participation and activism. She is currently studying for a Practice-Based PhD at the Curatorial platform, the University of Reading (UK) and ZHDK (CH), exploring political choirs, or the use of the collective human voice in participatory practices.

**Klaus Speidel**, PhD, is a philosopher, art critic and curator specializing in art, images and narrative. Regularly crossing borders between countries and activities, he has taught classes on art, design, image theory and storytelling at various institutions, including the Sorbonne, Konstanz University, the University of Vienna, Strate. Ecole de Design, HDK Gothenburg, EDHEC Business School and many others. Klaus currently directs a research project on narrative pictures at the Lab for Cognitive Research in Art History at the University of Vienna and regularly writes about contemporary art for catalogues as well as *Spike Art Quarterly* and *artpress*. In 2015, Klaus was awarded the AICA France Prize for Art Criticism.



**Dejan Kaludjerović** was born in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. He gained an MA in visual arts at the Academy of Fine Arts in Belgrade in 2004. For his achievements in visual arts, Kaludjerović was granted an honourable Austrian citizenship.

He has exhibited internationally at numerous solo and group shows in Europe, USA, Australia and Asia: Salzburger Kunstverein, Salzburg; Kunsthalle Krems; Kunstpavillion Innsbruck; Landesmuseum, Linz; Kunstraum Niederösterreich, Kunsthalle Exnergasse, Essl Museum, Künstlerhaus and Weltmuseum Wien; 6<sup>th</sup> Athens Biennale; Artium Museum; Kunsthalle Museum Villa-Rot; CAC Vilnius; Museum of Contemporary Art Vojvodina; Cittadellarte – Fondazione Pistoletto; Museum of Contemporary Art Belgrade; 1st and 4th Beijing International Art Biennial; Museum of Contemporary Art Taipei; Tokyo Wondersite; 28th International Biennial of Graphic Art, Ljubljana; 45<sup>th</sup>, 46<sup>th</sup> and 55<sup>th</sup> International October Salon Belgrade; Museum of Modern Art Saint-Etienne; 2<sup>nd</sup> Bucharest Biennial of Young Artists; 2<sup>nd</sup> International Sinop Biennial, Sinop; Prague Quadrennial; Manifesta 4 (archive project) and 6<sup>th</sup> Moscow Biennale – “Special Project Alanica. The Experimental Method”.

Kaludjerović was nominated for the MUMOK – Kapsch Contemporary Art Prize 2017; Winner of 2018 Villa Lena Foundation Residency, Italy, as well as Tirana Art Lab Residency, Tirana; Winner of 2017 BKA Atelier Yogyakarta; Winner of 2016 CCA Andtrax Artist-in-Residence, Mallorca and LowRes Jerusalem Residency, Jerusalem; Winner of 55<sup>th</sup> October Salon Award, Belgrade, 2014; Winner of Sazmanab Contemporary Art Center Residency, Teheran for 2015 and YARAT Residency, Baku for 2014; Winner of BKA Atelier Tokyo for 2011; Winner of the CEC ARTSINK Scholarship for 2008, which included a residency at the Santa Monica 18th Street Art Center in the USA as well as the Unidee residency in Cittadellarte – Fondazione Pistoletto, Italy in 2005, and a three-month Kultur Kontakt Austria residency in Vienna in 2002.



Mikado





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