

SONIC DESCRIPTION

*CRYSTALS OF THIS

SOCIAL SUBSTANCE

BY JAY BERNARD

ANNOTATIONS BY

KERRY HUDSON

This text is derived from a series of intimate workshops staged during summer 2021, in which the artist Jay Bernard invited eight young people to talk about money. Kerry Hudson has added annotations of her interpretation of the conversation.

[Music plays]

Young Person 1: I live roughly within, like, mid-Herne Hill and Brixton so I'd say round here roughly.

Young Person 2: I live up in West Norwood.

Young Person 3: I live in Tulse Hill.

Young Person 4: I was born and first grew up living around Wandsworth area and then moved up to Brixton and now I'm at a school in Dulwich.



Young Person 5: I went to school in Tulse Hill and I grew up 10 minutes down the road, near the Hootananny.

Young Person 6: I live in a bungalow. A couple of steps - you walk into like a really nice area. Then two steps later, boom, you're back into like a not so nice area, you know, where the pavement's bumpy and stuff.

Young Person 7: I feel like the nicest place where I live is most probably Dulwich. You got the college there, you got the running track, you got the park.

Young Person 8: I live in this area, here, Herne Hill.¹

[Music plays]

Young Person 6: Money is quite abstract, so when I hear money, I don't really think of money. As in itself.

Young Person 8: Like it's not a real thing, but we give it a purpose and that it's something different to everyone.

Young Person 3: Because, like, appearance is, like, it kind of has something to do with money, kind of like a little connection.

Young Person 2: The richer you are, the harder it is to imagine not having that surplus money. It's harder to imagine like having - wanting things and not being able to have them.

¹ A quick Rightmove.com search for 2-bedroom houses for sale tells me that within a 1-mile radius of Herne Hill the most expensive is a £2,275,000 maisonette which lists local private schools in the area. The cheapest at, £275,000, in an ex-council flat advertised as an 'investment opportunity'.



Young Person 7: I think you see with people from, like, with less money, they value like, going out and experiencing things for yourself. Like, when I was younger, I was always with my dad, everywhere he goes like his shadow. But, when I want to go and explore and adventure it's not like I can just ring up my dad and say: 'Let me get two hundred pound because I just want to have an adventure,' you get?

Young Person 5: Money is human greed personified in paper.

Young Person 4: I guess it's only difficult to talk about money when it is difficult. You know, when you have money, it's so easy to just talk about how well you're doing in life. Privilege multiplies I guess, it is an exponential power.

Young Person 3: Where does the money come from? Well, I feel like - obviously they make it and they print off in factories and stuff. From my point of view, I feel like it's fake but at the same time kind of not.²

² The young people's voices range across my imagined social spectrum. Some sound affluent and others have voices I think I recognise from the working-class streets I grew up in. But as I hear them talk about their lives, my assumptions are proven incorrect. I wonder how they have shaped their voices to suit their circumstances and what is expected of them. All, however, sound sincere and engaged in the project and this opportunity to express themselves.



Jay: So I grew up in this area, you grew up in this area - we're all from the same place, right? We all have very different socioeconomic experiences, but I'm also just really interested in like, how you've experienced and kind of view the place, right? So, you both close your eyes. I'm watching you [laughs]. If you just like zone in to a particular journey that you take a lot. So it could be something super simple, like just the journey to school, journey to the corner shop, journey to your friend's house, you know, really simple, journey. And start at your front door, when you open it, what's the first thing you see? What do you smell? What do you hear? And as you get to the street, do you turn left, right? And you begin the journey.

How would you describe that area? And think about like each stage, so the landmarks. Is it the corner shop that's always there? Is there a person with a cup always asking for money? Is there a really beautiful building every time you think 'oh, wow!'.³ Think about people that you're passing, what kind of people are they? Think about people that you're interested in, and the people that you try to avoid. What's the difference between them? Do you fit into the area? Do you feel like everyone's like you, or do you feel like they're very different? Once you're done, turn around. Imagine, really imagine yourself leaving. Be sure to look up and look down as well as you travel back. What's the weather like in your imagination? Are there parakeets or are there pigeons? If you grab your pens and free write everything that came to mind during that journey.⁴

³ Jay is softer spoken than I might have imagined. They guide the discussion, and this visualisation, thoughtfully and sensitively. They are clearly fully in control but I sense they're treading lightly, aware this is a complex dynamic in which to be thinking and talking about complex, often taboo, matters.

⁴ A gentle scuffle of pens and paper.



Young Person 7: I was doing drawings because I prefer to visualise things, but my house, like where I actually live, it's like, it's not an estate, but it's like a miniature estate, it's like a little walk. But there's houses. There's not no big blocks or anything... house underneath, house on top, house underneath, house on top. And then about, what I don't know, about 15, just like that.

Young Person 4: Walk out, roads littered with leaves, pavements ruptured with the roots of trees. The bus stop where at one end you can stare straight down to see St. Mark's Church, Lambeth Town Hall and just perhaps a glimpse of the Shard.

Young Person 5: And then there are these boys on scooters that pass me then crane their necks back if I'm wearing a low cut top that day, drive like you have kids on the floor in chalk in blue, and I think about these white families and their kids and how in ways I wanted to be their kids, I wanted to be white and pure, and I feel a rizz and 10 pound in my pocket.

Young Person 7: When you come out of the walk on the road there's beautiful houses, like, very big, maybe like five bedrooms and just walk down the road, the other road, very similar, walk down. When I've reached the bottom of that hill, it's like, not saying there's a change, but then you see the change, it's more, there's more, like, more people, a lot more people, like more hectic and loud. And, you're not just seeing one type of person you're seeing all different types of people. Different mindset, different religion, just different in general.⁵

⁵ There's a sense of struggle. Things he wants to say but cannot or would not.



Young Person 4: And then as the bus turns, you see blocks of flats rise high around, towering over the boy rushing towards the bus stop.

Young Person 5: I'm passing a wake, nine nights. Everyone's standing outside talking. Go back inside your mother it's too dangerous for you out here.

Young Person 4: And it turns again. The towers melt down into semi-detached houses made of brick. Where the only sound is parents who can afford to drop their kids off at school, where parents can talk of earning 20 times more than my own parents.

Young Person 7: Then when you walk up the hill; silence, no car driving up and down, no, everyone just seems to be in their house. There's no one on the road, but when the people you see on the road, they're not like normal people, you see, they just - it's like they been out on the road for the whole day, maybe weeks, just lost the plot. Crazy people really and truly. Back at my house and it's quiet, and sometimes in the winter, the lights outside of the house don't work.⁶

[Music plays]

Young Person 1: I feel like there's obviously, like, progression in terms of housing. Where I live, it's like working class. Because of gentrification, even the market over the last 20 years I've seen huge - well obviously not 20 years, because I'm not 20 - from what I recall.

Young Person 8: [Laughs] When you came out the womb [laughs].

⁶ Many of these recollections understandably touch on the privilege and safety money can provide in an urban environment. Police statistics show there were 1451 street level incidents of crime in June 2021 in Brixton. Of these, 393 were classified as 'violent crime'.

⁷ He sounds much older and more authoritative than you'd expect for someone not yet 20.



Young Person 1: It was more hood, I would say, more like more raw in terms of like - now I say it's more like, it's more cultural in fact. Obviously, because, yeah, yeah, I can't really - it's hard to describe it, but yeah, I feel like I'm seeing more like even Guinness Trusts, like round here roughly for example, completely changed. Like nine years ago it was, it was, it was terrible. But now I can see like gentrification has been actually, yeah put in place and a lot of changes have happened. I feel like after the riots happened, that's when gentrification obviously soared, literally, house prices obviously decreased, so we see more wealthy people, obviously poor houses here, then it just [exhales] do you hear what I'm saying?

Young Person 7: Yeah you see, so people in urban areas - there's like a fight for space. You get? So, especially when you live in like a capitalist society, you have to pay your way.

Young Person 8: I mean, to be honest, I don't know, I, I wouldn't have as much to say as you, with the kind of change. But what I've noticed is Brixton just getting this cool, like trendy, funky place. And it's a really cool place to be. Um, and I think maybe that's because it has such a blend of people and culture and...⁸

Jay: So you both sort of wrote down your, um, the income that you think would be really good for you and your parent's income. Do you want to share the one that says what you think would be a good, a good salary? Who's going to go first?⁹

⁸ <https://www.savenour.com> – Petition to save a beloved Brixton grocery store being evicted so the plot can be used for an office block. As their petition says, 'This November, we saw Lambeth Council callously dismiss over 8,000 objections through petition signatures, emails, and letters from our community in favour of ONE millionaire'

⁹ Even Jay, usually so composed, sounds a little tentative, hesitant. In the Britain I know, no one discusses salary. We are implicitly, acutely aware of class and hierarchy but money is not discussed.



Young Person 8: I don't know if this is right, but I think, um, so my dad's a doctor and I think he earns 400K.

Young Person 1: Um, I said under 50K. Well, that's because, it's a single parent household, yeah.

Young Person 5: My dad's on furlough, um, and he also has his, he has like a side hustle. He's trying to be a tennis coach. I probably say my dad's on like 25K? before tax, and my mum's on like... 35K before tax um and...

Young Person 5: On my dad's side hustle of being like a tennis coach there's just unfortunately been some barriers because of like his language ability, and like his confidence. And then just, yeah, I feel guilty because it's like I want to help you, but I can't put English in your mouth.

Young Person 4: So I'm really used to my parents finances because I have to fill out all my scholarship forms and stuff like that, so I'm always having to look over like the bank accounts and stuff, and so my dad's an Uber driver and, and he earns about 25K a year. And my mum has recently been like going on looking for like nanny jobs. And I guess, like you said, 'I can't put English into your mouth'. Sort of struck me there because I'm always worried about, 'oh, what if...' My mum, you know, she's been learning the language for years, and sometimes she stumbles, I don't know whether that will hold her back from getting a job or not. Even though she's extremely capable at what she does.¹⁰

¹⁰ All the young people approach this subject with hesitation. Differing volumes of speech. Mouth noises. The strain and discomfort about this subject are palpable.



Young Person 3: My mum is a carer and she still had to work during covid, but she's not working right now because she's due to have a baby on Friday.¹¹

Young Person 6: When I was younger, I more thought, the more you get paid, like your wage, the higher it is, is the more valuable your job is maybe to society or to the person who's paying you. When I've gotten older I do think that that's kind of not true because obviously, a nurse doesn't get paid a lot, a lot, even though they are helping people.

Young Person 7: I don't think they're in a position of power, but if a nurse for some reason might want to call in sick, she gets sick pay and things like that. But there might be consequences for your actions depending on how much time, how much days she's taken off.

Young Person 3: Well, luckily, my mum didn't really have to go to care homes, but rarely, she did. But some of the times on the weekends she was mostly at the care homes. But she would mostly go to people's houses and I was actually really upset and scared about that because, um, it's more germs and more like stuff that's going on. So I'm doing this job for this, certain money, but it's actually my life could be taken away from it.¹²

[Music plays]

¹¹ This suggests she worked while pregnant as a carer during Covid. I take a moment to think about the many low-wage workers who kept society going at great potential cost to themselves with no tangible acknowledgment or financial reward.

¹² She delivers this in a very practical, even tone. This is life. This is reality.



Young Person 8: I don't know, I guess it's sort of, you know, going to a private school and coming from a very rich family, it's just, you know, I was born and there you go, I just got it, I didn't have to work for it. I just have it, and it feels so wrong. But then I'm also not going to push it away because obviously it's an amazing thing to have and I'm really lucky to have it. But, yeah, it's quite weird.¹³

Young Person 1: Obviously, I... I don't know... Sometimes, sometimes I do... Because like, I obviously was raised in a working class background. So I understand the hardships and I see obviously the negative sides of not having money, if you get what I'm saying, and obviously the effects, so in terms of providing my family financial freedom, exposing them to like crazy, like crazy quality of life, you get what I'm saying, and amazing opportunities. Feel like, yeah, I want to be that person that obviously gets my family financially free.¹⁴

Young Person 2: Like I go to a private school. So I'm very lucky in life. So I thought that I, I'm not sure why, I thought that my privilege would be something that's good to talk about. I'm not sure how to put it exactly.

Young Person 3: Do you have enough, or too much or too little?

¹³ The young person's voice wobbles slightly as she speaks here. We sense her grappling with the unfairness of her privilege, with the ramifications of it even while acknowledging her own luck.

¹⁴ There is difficulty here too. It feels tentative. But perhaps the embarrassment in speaking these words is more about daring to imagine, to utter these hopes aloud.



Young Person 2: I'm not sure that it's too much, because of how, it's like this idea that if you have money, you'll want more of it because your expectations, like you, cause you have, say you have a million pounds, you're like: 'Oh, so getting a million pounds is possible. Why don't I get two million, why don't I get three million?' I think, I'm not like, I don't have that much money, but I'm lucky and privileged, I get to go to this really, really good school. I'm not like corrupted by it. I'm not like fueled by the need for money.¹⁵

Jay: And do you feel that your parents earn more money than other people?

Young Person 2: Uh, definitely, yes, they get to, uh, especially, since they're both relatively high up in like where they work, in the, in their industries.

Jay: You just said, for example, you don't have a job yet. I know that you're doing some shady underground stuff, but we're not going to talk about that. What else do you think you are receiving from your parents at this point?

Young Person 2: Uh, like a guarantee to try and - in all of their ability to keep me safe and to keep me comfortable within reason, like they're not going to buy like a whole new apartment or anything, but like that I'll never feel uncomfortable or unsafe, wherever I am, is like what the aim is.¹⁶

¹⁵ The sound of dice skittering across a table.

¹⁶ 'Dwayne Simpson – another young Londoner - was also stabbed to death. He lost his life in 2014. He was trying to defend a young boy who was being chased down the street. Dwayne didn't have an easy start to life. And he received a criminal record for robbery at a young age. But when he came out of prison he turned his life around. He went to college, had a bright future, and secured funding to set up a local boxing club – now called Dwaynatics - to keep others away from criminal gangs. Due to the level of violence in his neighbourhood, Dwayne once told his mum that he didn't know if he'd reach his 21st birthday. Tragically, he never did.' Sadiq Khan, 2019.



Young Person 8: Well, I think the fact that there are big, big differences can, you know, be really linked to sort of emotions and like because it does affect people's lives really greatly, that it can, you know, be linked to things other than just, you know, material money.

Young Person 1: Um yeah, so like obviously there's a significant gap between middle and working, and obviously, for those who are middle, well not middle, but like working class, being exposed to that type of quality of life, makes, I don't know like, just feel like a G or I don't know. So, yeah. So yeah there's a huge gap between the two.¹⁷ Nobody wants to be poor, like, everybody wants to, do you get what I'm saying, enjoy life [laughs]. But yeah, so like, having, like going through hardships or like going without - nobody wants to go through that, do you know what I'm saying?

Young Person 8: I guess you've devalued something that can't be valued in the first place.

Jay: On a global scale. Do you feel rich or poor?

Young Person 1: Poor

Young Person 8: Rich.

[Music plays]

Young Person 6: I was just in my head really, I don't know, it really hurts my head when I think about happiness, like what is it actually, what does it come down to? Like I really cannot describe what happiness is. I can't even think about what makes - well obviously I

¹⁷ Audibly exhales.



know what makes me happy but - why am I happy? I don't know, and you end up actually going into a loophole of like, what is happiness? What is life? Like, you know, if I'm laughing with one of my friends, I didn't buy that. But it just happened, I guess.

Young Person 2: I feel like there is especially... It's like an English thing about class in England is such a big part of the United Kingdom I feel like, but especially in England, I feel like it's such a big part of England - English society. It's class, it's almost like a taboo to ask how much people earn because it's such a... yeah such a like a fundamental part of, yeah, and even though it's not like a feudal system, it's like; 'you have to do this, this is how you have to live'. It's more of like uh, I don't know what, what it is, but it's like a, certain structure where like... I think maybe because people they don't want to... Because if you acknowledge that you have more, then you have... at one point under British rule in India, a bunch of Hindus got shot. It was called the something massacre, but then they, we still haven't acknowledged - like made a formal complaint, because that means that then if we did that, we would have to, like, acknowledge it - and to give money is like a: 'Sorry here's like a our way of kind of kind of like making it up to you monetarily', like to make up for what you've lost with this person, so they haven't - like we haven't acknowledged that that ever happened formally because it's like, uh, that means that then we would have take put aside all of this money to give to them and put aside all of these resources to like acknowledge it and apologise for it and stuff. And I say it's partially like that. Like if you acknowledge that, say you have like tons and tons of money, and then like somebody else is like they can only just scrape by, they can't even - that means that then you have to like, give them something - you don't want to give away that money is part of it. But even if you do notice it and then you give that money, then that like other people, uh, it makes them look bad as well. It's like it's a whole different



systems of guilt as well, maybe.

Young Person 5: So I got like 50 pound a month, which is quite good. That's really good. But then it's like everyone's always going out in college so it's like that 50 a month suddenly turns into nothing because everyone's going out, you're buying stuff, illegal stuff [laughs].

Like a benz is like ten pounds, um... yeah people would do ket and then go to politics, and be like 'yeah man, my mind is so open man'. Um my friend actually fell off her chair in politics because she was so stoned. Yep, that's the story [laughs].

And then there's stuff like parties, and getting the older years to go buy you, if you don't have ID, or you look like a child, and you give money to them. And then there's TFL, which is like, I don't know, you didn't hear me say this, but I do try to bunk train as much as I can because it's really it makes me sad to see TFL take out money, every day.

Jay: Who would you rather had your money? A drug dealer or TFL?

Young Person 5: Um, a drug dealer. I mean, I don't spend money on drugs anymore. It just takes you to a different place, um, as like an experience. And I sort of like - well in the group that I was in, it was sort of like, if you didn't do drugs, then it's like it's kind of hard to fit in. So like you're doing it, you're spending money to fit in and be accepted and liked, and you need this money to be accepted and liked, and bring something to the party. You go for a smoke break - that's where all the cool people hang out anyway, especially in the creative industry, everyone smokes, all the actors smoke [laughs].



That's how you meet people because you went to the shop and you bought like, fags.

Young Person 4: I have never had an interaction with drugs, but I guess from the experience of other people, I guess people usually think that, you know, drugs are for working class people who don't know anything better to do with their money. And then, you know, whilst there were people at my old school who used to do, who smoked weed or whatever, I come to this school and it's ketamine in the toilets, or whatever. And I guess it's all about who plays it off better, um, and also who people care about because, you know, rich people don't get searched for their drugs. And yet poorer communities, ethnic minorities are over policed.

Young Person 5: I actually know a guy who carries a tote bag instead of like a bum bag because of a tote bag, you won't get stopped and searched, but with like a bum bag or whatever, it's like, you automatically, police have this idea of what a drug dealer looks like so he carries like a tote bag to look like a yuppie. And it works, like he looks like he came here two years ago and is like working for an advertising agency in Shoreditch. But he doesn't [laughs].¹⁸

[Music plays]¹⁹

Jay: So that's you...

¹⁸ 'Between April 2019 and March 2020, there were 563,837 stop and searches in England and Wales...Almost half of all stop and searches took place in the Metropolitan Police force area in London.' The stop-and-search rate per 1000 people saw 54 black people stopped for every 6 white people. (<https://www.ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk/crime-justice-and-the-law/policing/stop-and-search/latest>)

¹⁹ More dice.



Young Person 6: I thought you said left of the diva, so I was like....
[Laughter]

Jay: [Laughs] left of the diva? No left of the dealer. So I'm going to be the banker. How many hotels?

Young Person 6: OK, this is just my dream guys

Jay: How much do they cost? 1000 each.

Young Person 3: I think it's six million something. That's not enough, that's too little because then when I buy a house I'm gonna be left for poor. I need to be able to buy the most expensive clothes, food, everything. I'm going to have five jobs, five different jobs that pay a lot of money – an artist, a nurse, a carer, um, um, um, I work in a garage. And I'll help you with your homework, but you have to pay me. All six of the jobs - on one day - I have to be rushing to the other job - it's 24 hours then I can have like 10 hours at each job, no actually I can't - I could have just under five hours, like four hours and 30 minutes - and not have time for me to eat at a restaurant.²⁰ Once I bought the house and the Ferrari. and put me inside of it - I'll sleep on the floor or in the pool until I can get a better job - until the next day when I get more money or I can stay at my mum's house, I can take my mum's bed and bring to my bed, bring to my house.

²⁰48% of gig workers in the UK also have a full-time job. Women earn an average of 10% less than men in the gig economy.' (<https://standout-cv.com/gig-economy-statistics-uk#key-statistics>)



Young Person 2: I think the person who invented this, uh, I don't know the name, but basically she made two versions and it was about - the game was meant to look at society and, one was communist and one was capitalist - but then the capitalist version became quite popular then no one really liked the communist version because working together so it wasn't really fun to play with people.

Young Person 5: Pornography, so, is that...Won't that be making money, though?

Jay: Yeah you're the worker though.

Young Person 3: But I get money from my pornography.

Jay: Do you know, this game is from the 70s and they had a different outlook.

Young Person 5: They have quite radical porn? [Laughter].

Jay: Well no actually, for socialists and communists, pornography was generally seen as ultra capitalism, as the literal commodification of the body. So the sale of pornography was the sale of people.

Young Person 5: So OnlyFans wouldn't have gone down well.²¹

Jay: The communists would not have approved of OnlyFans.

Jay: I never met a capitalist with like no money before actually.

Young Person 8: Well, here I am.

²¹ More laughter. Rich or poor, OnlyFans is truly universal.



Young Person 5: When I was a kid I used to cry when I lost. Um. It's just like everyone had all these houses. I just wanted to be able to put up a hotel, so badly.

Young Person 7: So where's prison in this one, there's no jail. You always have to be aware of where's prison, because if you ain't aware of it...

Young Person 6: I probably won't go to jail. I'm a law abiding citizen.

Jay: Do you think that this game would catch on?

Young Person 4: Maybe. I feel like nowadays, especially on social media, there's a lot of discussion around the way capitalism functions.

Young Person 5: If there was a way to combine Cards Against Humanity and this, I feel like it would be very popular.

Young Person 4: Maybe you should make it - and then, it would be like: 'Oh no your OnlyFans got leaked... [laughs] go into debit'

Young Person 5: You are a white TikToker influencer and someone just found your Live from two years ago when you said a racial slur. Now two companies have like docked your pay. Minus two debits - like a worldwide domination, like, you sign Syco records, you get like a music contract, the YouTuber book deal, you get your play at the Court?²² and international stardom, um, BBL, [laughs] yeah, a deal

²² Average income of a social media influencer: £30,409 per year in the United Kingdom. YouTuber Zoe 'Zoella' Suggs was reportedly paid £100,000 for a two-book deal with Penguin. The median income for a professional writer in 2018 was £10,497 a year.



with Boohoo and Pretty Little Thing [laughs]. A chance to make a single with Ariana Grande and be like, Megan Thee Stallion, one of her City Girls. Hot Girl Summer.

Young Person 4: This is rolling like credits at the end.

Young Person 5: The ultimate influencer package. Yeah.²³

Young Person 4: I guess even though I don't see like it's sort of like a zero sum game, someone else has to benefit and someone has to suffer - eventually, I think - in our drive to have the most luxurious life, we will forget about the others who have had to sacrifice it and even though I don't imagine that having to do with money, something has to be sacrificed for the quality of life of the others.

Young Person 5: I feel like those people like, who like, I don't know like, Tom and Jerry on the same rugby team, Tom and Jerry are in the same society at uni. Tom gets Jerry this job, at the banking place. What I'm saying is not anything new, and it's just a really scary thought that these people who are going to his school are like the people that might be the prime minister over my kids one day, and have a choice in what my kids pension or the cuts that might go to my kid's school, or even my pension and what, they get to be in those positions just because they can pay 20 grand for a school that has like a big rugby field?

Young Person 3: I feel like maybe one day in the future, money might be replaced with youth? Like and time, um, instead of exchanging money, people might start exchanging like their, youth, like collagen, or like a bone or like a kidney just to stay alive.



Young Person 4: I guess I don't see a future in money. A couple of weeks ago, I was working with NCS doing that like a local action project where we made packs for homeless people and gave them sandwiches and water and stuff. And something that really stuck with me was when we were in Leicester Square, and there was a woman (we also bought pads for women) and the most striking thing was she gave it back and she, she was like, oh, I don't need these because I'm dying anyway.

[Music plays]

Jay: Do you think you two would ever have met outside of this room?

Young Person 1: Obviously, I haven't really met somebody within her parent's financial bracket, if you get what I'm saying,

Young Person 5: I probably would have seen him passing in the street, maybe, person on the bus, getting the 3 to Dulwich. No, I don't think we would have met.

Young Person 4: Yeah, I think the way our communities are structured that sort of, some people aren't destined to meet.²⁴

[Music plays to fade]

²⁴There is no surprise or anger in these responses. Instead, there is an acceptance of the system, the roll of the dice that might or might not improve their prospects, the shape of the game. This is probably not the end in reality, but here I imagine them putting on their coats, leaving the building, saying goodbye with warmth and friendliness but walking towards home in opposite directions.

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