

# Rehabilitative Postsocialism

DISABILITY, SEX, AND RACE IN EASTERN EUROPE



Kateřina Kolářová

## Rehabilitative Postsocialism

# **Corporealities:** Discourses of Disability

Series editors: David T. Mitchell and Sharon L. Snyder

## **Recent Titles**

*Rehabilitative Postsocialism: Disability, Sex, and Race in Eastern Europe*

by Kateřina Kolářová

*Light of the Everlasting Life: Disability and Crip Eschatology in Old English Literature*

by Leah Pope Parker

*By Touch Alone: Blindness and Reading in Nineteenth-Century Culture*

by Vanessa Warne

*Down Syndrome Culture: Life Writing, Documentary, and Fiction Film in Iberian and Latin American Contexts*

by Benjamin Fraser

*Crippling Girlhood*

by Anastasia Todd

*The Disabled Child: Memoirs of a Normal Future*

by Amanda Apgar

*Blind in Early Modern Japan: Disability, Medicine, and Identity*

by Wei Yu Wayne Tan

*Cheap Talk: Disability and the Politics of Communication*

by Joshua St. Pierre

*Diaphanous Bodies: Ability, Disability, and Modernist Irish Literature*

by Jeremy Colangelo

*Embodied Archive: Disability in Post-Revolutionary Mexican Cultural Production*

by Susan Antebi

*Beholding Disability in Renaissance England*

by Allison P. Hobgood

*A History of Disability, New Edition*

by Henri-Jacques Stiker

*Vitality Politics: Health, Debility, and the Limits of Black Emancipation*

by Stephen Knadler

*Blindness Through the Looking Glass: The Performance of Blindness, Gender, and the Sensory Body*

by Gili Hammer

*HandiLand: The Crippest Place on Earth*

by Elizabeth A. Wheeler

*The Matter of Disability: Materiality, Biopolitics, Crip Affect*

by David T. Mitchell, Susan Antebi, and Sharon L. Snyder, editors

*Monstrous Kinds: Body, Space, and Narrative in Renaissance Representations of Disability*

by Elizabeth B. Bearden

*Autistic Disturbances: Theorizing Autism Poetics from the DSM to Robinson Crusoe*

by Julia Miele Rodas

A complete list of titles in the series can be found at [www.press.umich.edu](http://www.press.umich.edu)

# Rehabilitative Postsocialism

---

*Disability, Sex, and Race in Eastern Europe*

Kateřina Kolářová

*University of Michigan Press*  
Ann Arbor

Copyright © 2025 by Kateřina Kolářová  
Some rights reserved



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License. *Note to users:* A Creative Commons license is only valid when it is applied by the person or entity that holds rights to the licensed work. Works may contain components (e.g., photographs, illustrations, or quotations) to which the rights holder in the work cannot apply the license. It is ultimately your responsibility to independently evaluate the copyright status of any work or component part of a work you use, in light of your intended use. To view a copy of this license, visit <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>

For questions or permissions, please contact [um.press.perms@umich.edu](mailto:um.press.perms@umich.edu)

Published in the United States of America by the  
University of Michigan Press  
First published May 2025

A CIP catalog record for this book is available from the British Library.

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication data has been applied for.*

ISBN 978-0-472-07743-4 (hardcover : alk. paper)

ISBN 978-0-472-05743-6 (paper : alk. paper)

ISBN 978-0-472-90502-7 (open access ebook)

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3998/mpub.11732880>

The University of Michigan Press's open access publishing program is made possible thanks to additional funding from the University of Michigan Office of the Provost and the generous support of contributing libraries.

Cover image: The image on this book's cover is a painting of a white wheel attached to a white swivel yoke and a flat mounting plate. The background is an abstract blue and green pond with a ripple radiating from the wheel where it rests on a green leaf above the water. The book's title "Rehabilitative Postsocialism: Disability, Sex, and Race in Eastern Europe" is at the top left of the cover in green and white type. The author's name, Katerina Kolářová, is at the bottom right in the same green type.

Authorized Representative: Easy Access System Europe, Mustamäe tee 50, 10621 Tallinn, Estonia, [gpsr.requests@easproject.com](mailto:gpsr.requests@easproject.com)

*For Aly and Maru Božka*



## Acknowledgments

Acknowledgment writing is a happy moment of a closure (and new directions) in a process that was only made possible by many encounters, conversations, gestures and pointers offered generously by colleagues, reviewers, friends and even nonhuman beings that share the world with us. It is impossible for me to do justice here—so to all of you named and unnamed—thank you, you have written the book with me. The book has started from a short essay written for the special Cripistemologies issue of *The Journal of Literary and Cultural Disability Studies* lovingly edited by Merri Lisa Johnson and Robert McRuer. It was your commentary, Robert, that there might be a full book somewhere there that steered me to explore how the postsocialist project was made possible by specific iterations of disability. So many taught me to think and be (in solidarity) with cripness and disability, guided me what it could mean to ‘do’ crip acts that might make space for yet unnamed forms of resistance, and push against ableist subjections: Dean Adams, Misha Appelt, Cynthia Barounis, Liat Ben-Moshe, Jennie Brier, Susan Burch, Mel Chen, Radu-Harald Dinu, Eva Egermann, Julie Passanante Elman, Antke Engel, Rod Fergusson, Margaret Fink, Lezlie Frye, Michele Friedner, Kelly Fritsch, Jonah Garde, Michael Gill, Dan Goodley, Rob Gould, Rachel Gorman, Sara Parker Harris, Marty Huber, Gabriele Jähnert, Edyta Just, Alison Kafer, Ronak Kapadia, Johnna Keller, Eunjung Kim, Redi Koobak, Gundula Ludwig, Maria Mayerchuk, Anne McGuire, Sushila Mesquita, Rob Michalko, Julie Avril Minich, David Mitchell, Akemi Nishida, Riva Lehrer, Renate Lorenz, Olga Plakhotnik, Bogdan Popa, Margaret Price, Jasbir Puar, Gayatri Reddy, Eva von Redecker, Hadley Z. Renkin, Carrie Sandahl, Anja Schwarz, Susan Schweik, Margrit Shildrick, Lukáš Senft, Sharon Snyder, Robert Stock, Tereza Stöckelová, Sandy Suffian, Eszter Timár, Tanya Titschovsky, Philip Tuxbury-Gleissner, Cynthia Wu, Sibel Yardimci, Sandie Yi, Hyaesin Yoon, Katharina Wiedlack. Susan Nussbaum, I miss you.

It was a joy to see the disability community and disability studies in Eastern Europe flourish. I am so grateful to have found collaborative companionship with Frances Bernstein, Maria Bucur-Deckard, Maria Galmarini, Cassandra Hartblay, Frank Henschl, Filip Herza, Dana Hradcová, Daniela Komanická, Agnieszka Krol, Teodor Mladenov, Katarzyna Ojrzyńska, Natalia Pamula, Sarah Phillips, Hana Porkertová, Michael Rassel, Lucie Storchová, Michal Synek, Magdalena Zdrodowska, Martina Winkler. I owe much for friendship, support and collaborations to Ondřej Císař, Karel Chlouba, Karolína Chloubová, Jaroslava Hasmanová Marhánková, Petra Hynková, Dita Jahodová, Zuzana Jakalová, Hana Janečková, Eva Koťátková, Alicija Kowalska, Marek Skovajsa. Dear thanks to my colleagues and friends within my Gender studies program Jana Dvořáčková, Petra Ezzeddine, Ivy Helman, Lubica Kobová, Tereza Jiroutová Kynčlová, Blanka Knotková Čapková, Dagmar Lorenz-Meyer, Petr Pavlík, Michal Pitoňák, and Věra Sokolová.

Sabine Schülting and Silvia Mergenthal, I am still so grateful for your support and friendship then, it is still now.

I am full of gratitude to Sara Cohen, the editor every author dreams of. Haley Winkle, thank you too, for all your work and support.

Thank you to Zuzu, Pavel, Agnes, and Róza, Dita, Ala, Kilián, Robert and Santy, Zuzana, MaruLaru and BožkaLožka, Mirek and Manča, Miriam and Vojta, Štěpán, Dáňa and Kája, Markéta and František, Klárka, Hěďa, Dominik, Miki and Anička, Emi, Max, Marta and Kuba, Kelsey and Max, Sara, Fernando and Elisabeth, Addison and Aaron, Antkek, Margrit. And most of all, Aly, Lego, Scooby, Cyrano and Stitch—you are all my cripqueer home.

The work on this book has been supported by several grants and fellowships. In 2014, the Department of Gender and Women's studies at University of Illinois at Chicago hosted me during my sabbatical. The Department of Disability and Human Development at University of Illinois at Chicago has been an institutional home away from home for more than a decade now. Substantial amount of the research has been supported by the international joint grant provided by The Grant Agency of the Czech Republic and Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft ((Post)socialist Modernity and Social and Cultural Politics of Disability and Disablement, 17-12454J). The book has been further supported by the DAAD fellowship (2018) that allowed me to work at the Center for Transdisciplinary Gender Studies at Humboldt University and at the Global Modernities project at Universität Potsdam. And lastly, Faculty of Humanities at Charles University in Prague supported the work at various stages through internal funding.

Parts of the book has been previously published. The introduction is reworked and extended version of a text that first appeared as “The Inarticulate Post-Socialist Crip. On the Cruel Optimism of Neoliberal Transformations in the Czech Republic,” in *The Journal of Literary & Cultural Disability Studies*. The original text also appeared in German translation as “Die\_Der\* unartikulierbare postsozialistische CRIP” in *Eine emotionale Geschichte: Geschlecht im Zentrum der Politik der Affekte*, and in Czech translation as “Neartikulované Postsocialistické Crip vize“ in *Odvaha nesouhlasit: feministické myšlení Hany Havelkové a jeho reflexe*. Short section of chapter 1 appeared as “Public Pedagogy and Toiling for Civil Society” in *Sowing Unrest*. Chapter 2 reworks earlier texts that appeared as “Mediating Syndromes of Postcommunism: Disability, Sex, Race, and Labor,” in *JCMS: Journal of Cinema and Media Studies*, and as “Crip Genealogies from the Postsocialist East,” in *Crip Genealogies*.



# Contents

Introduction: Rehabilitative Citizenship, the Inarticulate Crip Horizons, and the Cruel Optimism of Postsocialist Imaginaries	i
1 The Idea of Civil Society and Lessons in Minority Citizenship	43
2 Sex, Syndromes, and Mixed Feelings	75
3 Intellectual Disability and Rationalities of Chronic Abandonment	103
4 The Inadaptable (Non)citizen: The Racialized Capital of Abandonment	135
5 Avatars and Gifts of Freedom: Aspirational Exceptionalism and Impossibility of Belonging	167
Coda: Viral Postsocialisms	201
<i>Notes</i>	227
<i>Works Cited</i>	253
<i>Index</i>	293

Digital materials related to this title can be found on the Fulcrum platform via the following citable URL: <https://doi.org/10.3998/mpub.11732880>



## Introduction

### *Rehabilitative Citizenship, the Inarticulate Crip Horizons, and the Cruel Optimism of Postsocialist Imaginaries*

---

#### Crip Horizons Open

If I were to choose between the rule of communists and being able to walk again, I would take the chair.<sup>1</sup>

I open this book with the words of Jan Potměšil, a disabled actor and a public figure, to illustrate how the change of regimes continues to hold an unquestionable moral worth in the postsocialist Czech Republic. Potměšil's words ring out even more because he became disabled in a car accident during his active involvement in the revolutionary autumn of 1989. As a representative of students, Potměšil traveled around Czechoslovakia to secure workers' support for regime change. The importance of life in freedom, his words claim, exceeds the worth of personal able-bodiedness. In these words, he posits his own personal sacrifice, his acceptance of what most people perceive as a tragic loss of individual freedom, independence, or even human worth in exchange for the collective life in "freedom." Could there be anything more appealing, more convincing to document the importance of the events in 1989? Can anyone doubt their historical importance when they are worth one's giving up able-bodied, masculine privilege?

*Rehabilitative Postsocialism* starts from this moment of affectively laden juxtaposition of disability and life in freedom, disability, and a sacrifice for collective good to explore how disability functions as the easily intelligible and morally unquestionable signifier of the moral substance of social, economic, and political changes instituted with the 1989 takeover of power.

Exploring the postsocialist “transition” and “transformation,” the decades-long social restructuring and reshaping of the social imaginary, I am guided by Sara Ahmed’s note that “it matters *how* we arrive at the places we do” (*Queer Phenomenology* 2). What power does the signification of disability—turned into a metaphor of an individual sacrifice for life in freedom—hold over the collective memory of the socialist regime’s fall and of the new democratic state-building? In order to understand the present social realities and relations, this introduction reaches back to the early years of the postsocialist transformation and looks for a “structure of feeling,” Raymond Williams’s term for the residue of shared historical experiences (*Marxism and Literature* 128; cf. Jelača and Lugarić 12), or what the queer cultural theorist Lauren Berlant termed “a structure of relationality” (*Cruel Optimism* 13). I wish to capture the complicated affective attachments formed in the early post-1989 moments as a way to shed light on how we have arrived at the present austerity that disperses the residues of solidaristic collectivity (the effects of which we been living through intensely during the Covid-19 pandemic), how the hurtful discourses on “backwardness” of Eastern Europe and the imperative desire to “catch up” to the “civilized world” keep hold over presents and futures, and how they produce their own “ugly feelings” (Ngai) of resentment and anger.

Tracing how we arrive at places and feelings we do brings me to inquire about what social imaginaries are intelligible, what social imaginaries can be shared collectively, as much as what remains unimaginable. The sociologist Deborah Gould points to the political horizon—“what is politically possible, desirable, and necessary”—as the force that demarcates the limits of what “gets established, consolidated, stabilized, and reproduced over time” (*Moving Politics* 3). Building on the tension between what is imaginable and what remains beyond imagination’s limits, this book explores how the political horizon is being set and confined through the specific curative impetus that I propose to call *rehabilitative postsocialism*. *Rehabilitative Postsocialism* explores the role of disability as an organizing principle of the processes of postsocialist reconfigurations, unearths how the idea of postsocialist transformation depends upon ideologies of cure and overcoming, and argues that the ideological framework of cure, with its normative notions of recuperation and rehabilitation, in fact situated *all* visions of the social during this period.

Asking how disability—as an analytic—functions to study and challenge discourses and processes of postsocialist reconfiguration, *Rehabilitative Postsocialism* expands and challenges the meanings of “political horizon.” I adapt the queer-of-color theorist José Muñoz’s notion of utopian horizon (*Cruis-*

ing *Utopia*) and—by bringing in critical disability epistemologies—imagine what is im/possible, what expands and what breaks through pragmatic, rational, and linearly curative political horizons. I reach to imagine alternative political horizons of postsocialist social imaginaries that would accommodate the voices of the unheard, lives not imagined worthy of living, too twisted, too feeble, too disabled, too addicted, too excessive and self-absorbed, too infectious. I reach to imagine utopian *crip horizons* that reveal the logic of, and the hurtful affective attachment to, political horizons (for postsocialism, emotions and politics see also Svašek).

The word, concept, and notion of *crip* has a long history as a derogative term that teems with references to charity, as in “phony crip” (Lewis, “Crip” 140), and with histories that call up disability’s difference. As Robert McRuer notes, there is “no way of saying ‘disabled’ without hearing ‘cripple’ (or freak, or retard) as its echo” (*Crip Theory* 141). Yet, rather than shunning the stigma-filled word, parts of the disabled community<sup>2</sup> united in a powerful stigmaphilic gesture of reimagining politics (cf. Clare, *Brilliant*) and reclaimed *crip* as their own. “To crip” has become a critical and analytical move that remakes the world by centering the disabled experience and perspective, a move that makes the abled world pause with discomfort, a move that “shake[s] things up, jol[ts] people out of their everyday understandings of bodies and minds, of normalcy and deviance” (Kafer, *Feminist* 15).

The usage of *crip* here is not a move away from *disability*. Rather, I understand and use both terms as conjoined and inseparable—and this does include mutual tensions and conflicts—attempts at imagining the world otherwise. *Disability* and *crip*, each in its own way, yet referencing each other, contribute to making world more encompassing to lives often seen as too troublesome, too demanding of resources while contributing too little to society, lives assumed to be lived in a perpetual (economic, moral, and symbolic) “debt to society.” Some of these lives are recognizable through perspectives of disability and are already included in disability collectivizing; others are not and need *crip* (and other) challenges to break open the established understandings of disability to become recognizable.

The Czech term currently most widely used for disability/impairment—*postižení*—makes people uncomfortable, as it calls up notions of “infliction,” “suffering,” and “tragedy” that we no longer like to reference so directly. To soften the majority discomfort slightly and to safely depoliticize the term, the institutionalized usage adds reference to health—*zdravotní postižení* (health impairment), or even follows the people-first policy in phrases such as *osoby se zdravotním postižením* (people with health impairment/disability).

Alternatively, the concept of handicap is applied and disabled people referenced as “the handicapped”—*hendikepovaní*, or *lidé s hendikepem* (people with handicap), but even here the reference to health is often added—*osoby se zdravotním hendikepem*. Expert discourses and even occasionally social studies now adopt *disability* in its untranslated, only slightly adjusted form—*disabilita*—as a supposedly “objective,” “neutral” term. However, the fact that this particular term traveled from the register of the functional classification of disabilities should not be covered over.

*Crip* in Czech context so far appears mostly in activist intersectional coalitions that seem to be largely forged outside of the established disability platforms, such as the Czech National Disability Council (Národní rada osob se zdravotním postižením). For instance, the first Mad Pride<sup>3</sup> that was organized in April 2023 invoked in its poster “crip punk” along with “queer punk,” “community healing,” “civilisation as a cause of distress,” “radicalising care,” and other radical and politicizing keywords (albeit all in English). There is another, older history of how “crip” inhabits Czech cultural imaginaries and vocabulary—through the domesticized echoes of the German *krüppel* (cripple) as *kripl*. Even though it functions as a self-preferred term for some disabled people, or as a tongue-in-cheek vocabulary referencing prosthetics (*kriplkára* for a wheelchair) or forms of official identification (*kriplkarta* for disability ID), it does not—as yet—seem to function as a term of collective and chosen self-appellation.

Given the different histories, genealogies, and affective mapping of these vocabularies, the apparent victory of *crip* raises questions of the politics of translation and of the transnational travel of disability/crip epistemologies and political imaginaries—one of the themes that is central to the book’s explorations. In particular, because *crip* is not safe from appropriation that affected other complicated concepts and originally “bad” words. Some authors caution against attempts to replace *disability* with *crip* because it might seem smoother on the social palate (Chen et al.). Such flattening happens more easily when *crip* (like *queer*) arrives (untranslated) as a “traveling concept” in new languages. Kept in its foreign form, it is appropriated as a fancy and progressive alternative to the local vernacular that makes people wince at the constant reminder of the symbolic violence connected to the word.

The opening epigraph has indicated that the progressive impetus of the postsocialist transformation maps onto the forms, articulations, and epistemologies of disability. In some contexts, disability and other forms of recognized “minority identities” become incorporated into the institutionalized politics of inclusion and commodified in the transnational (and to signifi-

cantly lesser degree in national) policies implemented in the process of and as a gesture affirming the establishment of democratic society. In this iteration, *disability* does not necessarily represent an expansive and generative platform for politics of inclusive recognition, affiliation, and/or coalition-building. On the other hand, *crip* as “fluid and ever-changing, claimed by those whom it did not originally define” (Sandahl 27), offers valence for intersectional theorizing and for coalition work. *Crip*—as in “crip horizon”—opens space for “political orientations, affiliations, and solidarities still emerging” (Chen et al. 3). I am thus bringing crip into the postsocialist context to hold a place for new concepts to take over once they are imagined, formed, and articulated by a collective voice of people that recognize that they are being called. I use crip in *Rehabilitative Postsocialism* to refer to a wide range of impairments, disabilities, and forms of infirmity, exhaustion, and debility that largely remain outside the scope of identity recognition articulated through, and in proximity to, the recognized and circulating terms in Czech, such as *postižení*, *hendičep*, and *invalida*, or even the more careful and caring term *znevýhodnění* (disadvantage). This book aims to explore crip as a positionality overflowing and not confined to and by the identarian logic but formed through intersections of disability, race, and gender/sexuality, and materialized through (proximity) to experiences of vulnerability, precarity, and abandonment in the specific conditions of postsocialist transformation. Thus, my own use of crip echoes the words of the editors of *Crip Genealogies*, who offer the concept as an expression of

a wish for histories and recognitions to be held differently; a love for movements and orientations seldom recognized as part of disability studies; a commitment to *crip* as a form of praxis; and a belief in the transformative possibilities of knowledge, regardless of whether it is part of an academically recognized field or discipline. (Chen et al. 2)

I map what crip as an analytical perspective (alongside of disability and at times alongside other terms such as *debility*) offers to studies of postsocialism. To gesture to what I explore in more depth below and across this book, crip lenses primarily disrupt the normative temporality that buttressed much of the postsocialist restructuring as well as the knowledge production on postsocialism. *Rehabilitative Postsocialism* chronicles how the dominant framing of events in the years after 1989 (and post-1991, after the dissolution of the USSR) as *transition* or *transformation* from one state of being to another reflects the normative “time” of modernity, and a notion of a “civilizational

slope” (Melegh 32) against which Eastern Europe and its “progress” are measured and ultimately fail. Similarly, the grand narrative of historical rupture posits the 1989 Velvet Revolution (*Sametová revoluce*)<sup>4</sup> as the national myth of new beginning: “The moral values and ideas of the Velvet Revolution can be taken as the unshakeable foundation [of the postsocialist history]” (cited in Pfister n.p.).

I therefore offer *cripping postsocialism* as an instrument to push primarily against the temporal framing of the postsocialist transformation, development, and general notions of “catching up” with the West. The presumed linearity that defines the logic of rehabilitation produces what Eunjung Kim calls “folded time” (*Curative Violence*), a particular temporal framework in which only the “nondisabled past and [the] cured future become meaningful” (1). In the postsocialist variations of folded time, the socialist state was seen as a source of pathology and colonized servitude to the Soviet Union that resulted in (moral) sickness and disability that now need to be painfully and painstakingly cured. Kim’s framing of the violence of curative logic resounds strongly with my own analysis of postsocialist Czechoslovakia (and later Czech Republic) because it goes beyond pointing out how disabled bodies become saddled with the symbolism of a bad past. As Kim’s analysis highlights, folded time folds past and future in such a way that the present becomes impossible to inhabit, while “the promised transformation through cure is enticing enough to make losses and hastened death acceptable, even expected” (18).

In contrast, building on the work of other scholars that work to cripple time (e.g., Baril; Kafer; Price, *Mad* and “Crip Time”; Samuels, “Six Ways”), I approach postsocialism via crip epistemological disorientation of temporality. This highlights the structural and affective residues and continuities with the pre-1989 times, and—as importantly—the persistent, lingering effects of the shockingly swift therapy of the post-1989 transition. Accordingly, it allows for reevaluation of the moments of “being stuck” and an exploration of such postsocialist “stuckness” grounded in the transnational power dynamics of postsocialism and in the postsocialist/post(neo)colonial complexities.

One of the distinctive features of crip time is, according to Ellen Samuels, “broken time.” Crip time, Samuels explains:

requires us to break in our bodies and minds to new rhythms, new patterns of thinking and feeling and moving through the world. It forces us to take breaks, even when we don’t want to, even when we want to keep going, to move ahead. It insists that we listen to our bodyminds

*so* closely, *so* attentively, in a culture that tells us to divide the two and push the body away from us while also pushing it beyond its limits. Crip time means listening to the broken languages of our bodies, translating them, honouring their words (n.p.).

The crip time of postsocialism has indeed been a broken time—time that broke histories and genealogies—as much as it broke bodies, minds, and lives. Each of us coming of age in postsocialism know someone who did not survive or did not survive well the transition to postsocialism. Living in postsocialism required breaking the formerly socialist bodies and minds to inhabit new moral economies and subject them to new patterns of living against new orientations, while it did not entail space and time for listening closely and attentively to what these new bodyminds required. Crippling postsocialism, then, also wants to create a space in which we could collectively listen to broken languages of our disabled and crip bodies and honor the ways in which they move through, inhabit, and remake their crip worlds, and wants to grieve individually and collectively those whose bodies and minds broke too much to survive.

*Rehabilitative Postsocialism* reverberates with Robert McRuer’s claim that we live in “crip times” (*Crip Times* 13). McRuer sets the conceptualization of crip time/s to explore and talk back to austerity and the cultural politics of neoliberalism. My own analysis follows the postsocialist transformation as it took us to our own version of “crip times” and leans into chronicity. This book wants to make note of forms of violence, archive the hurt, and stand witness to the fact that under the curative times of postsocialism some bodies and lives cannot be embraced by the rehabilitative, affirmative, and positive promises of future, and that they remain inarticulate as the material traces of the chronic past.

Bringing the chronic into discussions of how disability and race intersect or, as Mel Chen terms it, “interarticulate” (“The Stuff” 236), *Rehabilitative Postsocialism* does not think about chronicity as primarily a category of diagnostic temporality but proposes to understand chronicity as a *chronospatial biopolitical regime* that configures and conditions disabled and crip lives and their un/livability. Conventionally, chronicity is understood as a temporal term referencing a failure in time’s expected course. The *Oxford English Dictionary* describes *chronic* thus:

- (1) Of, or relating to time; chronological . . . ; (2) a. Of diseases, etc.: Lasting a long time, long-continued, lingering, inveterate; opposed

to acute. b. So with *invalid*, and the like. (3) *transferred*. Continuous, constant. Used colloquially as a vague expression of disapproval: bad, intense, severe, objectionable; also **something chronic** adverbial phr., severely, badly.

*Chronically* is then defined by *OED* as something happening “in a chronic manner; inveterately” or as “having (1) the quality of being inveterate; the state of being strong or deep-seated from long persistence; (2) In pregnant sense: Deep-rooted prejudice, hostility, or hatred; enmity of old standing.”

As a temporal frame, chronicity is, as these quotations highlight, defined mostly through its social or embodied effect, be it through its associations with “invalid,” “delicate” bodies (as one of the examples listed in the *OED* states: “Chronic invalids and persons of a delicate habit of body”), or through assumed associations with negative affects and socially averse, “objectionable” phenomena (see the discussion of “objectionable phenomena” in chapter 4). In this sense, chronicity is time that frustrates social norms and social structures. These definitions describe chronicity as situations when time gets “stuck” and frustrated in/by bodies that resist and defy the rehabilitative/normative imperative. Chronicity is imagined as an impasse, a state of inveterate, obstinate, deep-seated complication in normative time and social order; it is temporality out of bounds. Hence, by pointing out the failure to comply with normative time, the notions of chronicity signify a temporality that conditions (and legitimizes) the abandonment of various “invalid” and “delicate” bodies.

At the same time, though, the examples discussed throughout the book explore the conflictual and ambivalent nature of chronicity and examine its potential for critical epistemologies. Chronicity breaks down the teleological linearity of the passage of time, the linearity of transformation and transition into “the (rehabilitated) same.” Accordingly, we might read the figure of the chronic as a disruption of the normative chronopolitics of the “nation-state” and “capitalist and heteronormative structures” (Lorenz 17), in this case the structures that underwrote and were further reinforced in the project of rehabilitative transformation of the Czech Republic (and Eastern Europe). The ambivalence of chronicity as temporality out of bounds can hence be also used for a critical project destabilizing frameworks of what the anthropologist Johannes Fabian called “the colonialist-imperialist chronopolitics” (144) that situates the East as inveterately, chronically stuck in the past and in the never-ending process of catching up and falling behind.

The concepts of the “time afterwards,” or “the long-lasting and seemingly

permanent situations of stasis” (Lorenz 17) that the queer theorist and artist Renate Lorenz offers as a contribution to explorations of the critical potential of theorizing chronicity are helpful for my own analysis of postsocialism. Focusing on the “time afterwards” shifts the attention away from the fantasy of the dynamic and temporal event of “transition” and centers the complex and ambiguous temporal frames of that which “lingers” and becomes “inveterate” after the big “history-defining” event. *Rehabilitative Postsocialism* explores how focusing on the chronic, the stuck, and the lingering frustrates the “schemes of a one-way history” (Fabian 144), articulated in notions of “progress, development, modernity and their negative mirror images: stagnation, underdevelopment, tradition” (Fabian 144). Such frustrations of linear and progressive time are crucial for thinking about the interarticulations of disability, race, sexuality, and postsocialism in the context of Eastern Europe.

Explorations of chronicity can thus serve us in carving out epistemologies of racialized disability that do not comply with the compulsory imperative of improvement, change, personal initiative, and rehabilitation on the way to a good life that so powerfully define the affective landscape of postsocialism. Furthermore, staying “stuck” might be necessary to reveal how affects of optimism and positivity are, in fact, constitutionally linked to racialized forms of chronic abandonment.

If *Rehabilitative Postsocialism* pushes against the negative pathology ascribed to chronicity and reimagines chronicity as a part of our critical vocabulary, it does not lose sight of the ways in which chronicity becomes a new temporal regime of the present global economy. If chronicity was previously explored predominantly within medicine and disability discourses, it has been over the last decades incorporated in the vocabulary of critical theories as well as in the broader public debates about neoliberalism. Memes cautioning us “Feeling sad and depressed? You might be suffering from capitalism” that started to circulate on social media and other venues around the 2008 global financial crisis illustrate this shift in interest in the chronic states of ill-being and their structural causes. Similarly, the interest and response attracted by theoretical concepts of “living on” (Shildrick), “slow violence” (Nixon), “slow death” (Berlant), “debility” (Livingston; Puar; Knadler), “abandonment” (Povinelli), and “affliction” (Das) reflect a growing acuteness within the debates around chronicity, and thus also signal an opening for more generous dialogues between critical theory and critical disability studies.

However, while we seek to critique the endemic forms of debilitating violence of neglect and abandonment, it is essential to rethink the normative framings of chronicity as a negative mode of being stuck within a particu-

lar chronospace. This is particularly important because the a priori negative meanings of chronicity have always relied on the negative teleology of temporal progress and the intersections of disability, race, and gender. In this way, gendered, ableist, and racialized understandings of chronicity are often the reasons why certain populations are hit by a politics that both brings particular forms of debilitating chronicity and directs them against bodies of specific populations. Therefore, new modes of crip and queer analysis need to devise chronicity as a critical framework and start first with detaching negative meanings from both “the chronic” and disability.

### (Post)socialism No More: The Victory of Overcoming

The end of the postcommunist era in the Czech Republic finally arrived in the fall of 2021. At least many argued so and cheered the outcome. The celebrations of the supposed end of the era were prompted by the election debacle of the Communist Party of Czechia and Moravia (*Komunistická strana Čech a Moravy*). For the first time in the modern history of Czechoslovakia and of the Czech Republic after the 1993 dissolution of Czechoslovakia into two independent republics, the Communist Party failed to achieve parliamentary representation; a failure that was celebrated nationally and internationally as a truly historic event signifying the final break with communist past (Tait, “Czech PM’s Party”).

“They will be no more” (“Už nebudou!”) was the chant of the election campaign that featured prominent figures of the pre-1989 dissident cultural front to gain support for the liberal parties.<sup>5</sup> The chant communicated the euphoric release from a historical burden and national shame. To call up the early post-1989 optimism, the chant played on one of the most clichéd images of rejected state socialism: the ever-present exhausting long queues for scarce commodities. The “they will be no more” that recalls the refrain of “there is no more” hence points to disappointment and frustration of the everyday life in state socialist economy. The symbolic “triumph for liberal democracy” (cited in Tait, “Czech PM’s Party”) is—oh, so fittingly—articulated through the celebration of the market economy and consumers’ satisfaction.

The international interest in the Czech election results, like the national exhilaration, indicates that the 2021 debacle of the Communist Party was imbued with importance greater than a single election outcome. It was widely interpreted as a confirmation of postsocialist developments toward liberal democracy, the significance of which transgressed national borders. As one prominent Czech political commentator assured himself:

The results of the Czech elections represent *a change in the trends we have witnessed in Central Europe*. The victory of parties defending liberal democracy . . . sends an important message to Europe. *Fears that [the Czech Republic] will follow in the footsteps of Hungary and Poland seem to have been allayed* (Pehe, “Volby”; emphasis added).

The victory of the “liberal-conservative coalition” (Tait, “Czech PM’s Party”) was interpreted as a confirmation of postsocialist developments toward liberal democracy and arguably signaled a stop to troubling developments in Eastern Europe. This resonates with Dace Dzenovska and Larisa Kurtović’s observation that media have a particular vested interest in (post)socialist histories. It is either to position the (post)socialist subject as the source of knowledge about totalitarianism/authoritarianism and fascism/nationalism—as if these particular (ly) bad “-isms” had some intrinsic link to Eastern Europe—or to look there for a possible “prefiguration of the future of the West” (“Introduction,” n.p.).

Hence, the exemplary story of one election performs more than a rehabilitative gesture that distances the Czech Republic from “bad” Eastern European subjects and confirms Czech affiliation with “Europe proper” (Dzenovska, “Eastern Europe”); it also affirms the political trajectory of Europe itself. This perspective allows us to read claims about the historic significance of the 2021 election results differently. Rather than a simple statement about liberal democracy’s victorious status, the celebratory proclamations resound as somewhat anxious as observers await (post)socialism’s end. But what if waiting for the (never arriving) closure *is* the defining feature of postsocialism? What if postsocialism *is* the cruel hope of overcoming, getting better, being finally cured and over “this”? *Rehabilitative Postsocialism* argues for the importance of staying engaged with the postsocialist trouble and attend to what Dijana Jelača and Danijela Lugarić call “the unfinished business of postsocialism.”

The wait for *postsocialism* to be finished started as soon as the sweeping and complex processes of regime change were in motion. The collapse of state socialism across Eastern, Central, and Southeastern Europe and parts of Asia was—even though many predicted it, many awaited it, many could not wait for it—a surprise. The anthropologist Alexei Yurchak famously talks about “a break in consciousness” when he describes the end of the USSR: a shock created by the end of something that was assumed to be “forever, until it was no more” (*Everything*). As soon as this “forever” was no more, scholars were pointing out the transient relevance of postsocialism as a category of

analysis. They noted that it “is likely to break apart and disappear . . . as the generations brought up under socialist regimes disappear from the political scene” (Humphrey 13). They predicted the “socialist collapse” would be gradually “eclipsed” by other social, economic, and cultural dynamics (Müller, “Goodbye” 7).

These critical reflections presume that “postsocialist studies in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union . . . have a vanishing object” (Boyer and Yurchak 9). And indeed, in our recent discussions, students in my postsocialism classes did share that they did not perceive themselves as “postsocialist” and were not (mostly and overtly) regarded as such in their interactions with foreign friends or contacts. Let’s not forget that for many, postsocialism is experienced as an ascribed appellation from “outside” that carries stigma and shame by referencing the “failed past” and a form of determinism that limits present and future developments. All this—the expectation of a “transient nature” linked to moralizing discourses attached to this “post”—indicates that “postsocialism” has never been a simple and simply descriptive appellation. The affective distancing from, and impatience about, overcoming (post) socialism highlights the importance of lingering with postsocialism. If instead postsocialism is framed as always already vanishing, what are the effects for countries emerging from state socialism and from Soviet domination?

The Covid-19 pandemic, Russia’s war against Ukraine, and the current economic crises illustrate that the discourses on (post)socialism and echoes of the Cold War (some scholars even talk about Cold War 2.0) continue to carry political, ideological, and affective force on national as well as transnational/global scales. Decades after the revolutionary year 1989 (or 1991, respectively), Shu-mei Shih’s claim that “postsocialism ought to be considered as a condition affecting the entire world” (28; cf. also Suchland, *Economies*; Atanasoski and Vora; Koobak, Tlostanova and Thapar-Björkert) continues to be relevant.

Keeping with the postsocialist trouble includes finding ways to employ postsocialism against the epistemic domination in which it is embedded. The orientaling gaze of the “West” safeguards itself from the critical implication and the analytical force of postsocialism by exceptionalizing it as exclusively an attribute of countries that must recover from their failed socialist pasts. In this use, postsocialism becomes a depoliticized signifier, a descriptor of a *region* (as in “area studies”), or a term referencing specific *temporal* and *developmental conditions* of that region and *only* of that region.

In this diagnostic application, postsocialism reinforces epistemic injustice and domination. It comfortably homogenizes huge and dissimilar geographical areas into one zone of historical pathology. It obfuscates the divergence of

the historical experience of countries as diverse as Poland, Albania, Kazakhstan, China, Cuba, and Tanzania, whose “postsocialist” paths (not to mention other parts of their respective histories) differed “in crucial matters such as the way ‘democracy’ operated, attitudes to private property in land, the relation of the individual to the state, and the role of law” (Humphrey 13) and by now may have diverged “to the point that no one discursive lens . . . can be applied in an even manner to their very different present realities” (Platt 10).

The ideological subjection of the “East” mirrors the fact that reconfigurations of the liberal democracy terminology, the updated meanings and culturally specific enactments, are not recognized as an autonomous part of the postsocialist transformation and possibly a valuable recasting of the political and civic horizons. More pointedly, formerly socialist states have been continually measured against how well and how precisely they adopt the presumably universal (and not specifically “Western”) notions and institutions of liberal democracy. Consequently, postsocialist states have been repeatedly judged as failing to enact liberal democracy. This evaluation reveals the colonial hierarchies and the ways in which the hegemonic framework of postsocialism reestablishes epistemic coloniality (e.g. Atanasoski; Gržinić, Kancler and Rexhepi; Luciani and Luntumbue). Against this context, the belief that postsocialism is not able to advance new critical perspectives and the desire to move away from it are understandable.

As an analytic, however, postsocialism highlights ways through which Western dominance has been reinforced. Katherine Verdery argues that the collapse of socialism “presented not only a formidable political and economic challenge but also an intellectual one” (38). The dramatic social, political, and economic reconstructions happening across the formerly socialist states posited a challenge to the dominant understandings of (Western) modernity, its institutions as well as knowledge production. Yet the seemingly clear meaning of the terms through which the postsocialist processes were defined—democracy, civil society, liberalism, privatization, property rights—was put under pressure and renegotiated (cf. Lóránd) in the process and fed back into the ways Western societies understood these terms. “One begins to see that these terms do not label useful concepts: they are elements in a massive political and ideological upheaval that is by no means restricted to the ‘East’” (Verdery 38).

Perhaps in a stigmaphile gesture (Warner 43) that reflects my own positionality as a subject made “postsocialist” when moving in and through Western academia, *Rehabilitative Postsocialism* argues for further engagement with postsocialism, with the complex and complicated affects attached to the

socialist past, revolution, and transformation in order to engage the power hierarchies posited in the terms through which postsocialist reconfigurations were first implemented, measured, and evaluated, and then subsequently coined as partial, too specific and limited to a specific region and/or time-scale, and to map out the lingering hurtful effects of these processes.

To take the Czech Republic as an example, the government formed after the celebrated 2021 elections uses the current coalescence of economic, political and cultural crises to refresh the austerity rhetoric that defined the 1990s. The moral clichés of the “transformation” era—which I will describe in some length shortly—resurface. Once again, the public is urged to “tighten their belts” so that the future generations are not burdened by the debts of their (grand)parents. Fiscal discipline is *again* invoked as *the* proof of moral recovery from socialism and state dependency. As the latest government proposals for austerity cuts announced in spring 2023 illustrate, fiscal morality is the only sphere ascribed significance that reaches beyond the logic of presentism and involves the “future.” The same moral and political gravity is never applied to recognition of “minorities,” social justice, ecological sustainability, or the impending environmental collapse. Briefly, the social and political imaginaries of the postsocialist 2020s continue to be “overdetermined by [the] victorious opposition” (Atanasoski and Vora 142), by the fantasy of the victorious capitalism. Hence, the cruel paradox of waiting for the supposedly transitory period to end lies in undervaluing how important that period and its dynamic and social processes would be for the following decades. Vladimír Špidla, a social-democratic politician recently noted that “the 1990s are the focal point of our present political debates” and that the axes of the polarized social divisions that Czech society experiences now emerged in the 1990s (cited in Buchtík et al 9).

*Rehabilitative Postsocialism* moves away from the overdetermined notions of exceptional historicity commonly associated with the post-1989 development across the “former Soviet bloc.” Even more importantly, it unpacks how these metanarratives contributed to the extended duration, even chronicity, of the effects of the “postsocialist” reorganization that were supposed to be taken care of by the natural development of the market economy and the organic onset of democracy. *Rehabilitative Postsocialism* argues that postsocialism—as an analytic—can suture critical projects and offer lessons drawn from the close experience with hypertrophied capitalism, free markets, and withdrawal of the state.

Even though socialist utopia was “never fully realised in any of the spaces that claimed to be socialist,” as a horizon of social imagination, “as a dream,

as an alternative to the capitalist liberal or neoliberal model,” it is still crucial (Koobak, Tlostanova and Thapar-Björkert 1–2). Even more pointedly, Thomas Piketty has recently argued that it is “time for . . . a new form of socialism, participative and decentralized, federal and democratic, ecological, multiracial and feminist” to go beyond capitalism and a way to search for new futures (2). Nina Lykke offers that with some critical imagination and redrafting, *postsocialism* can be adopted as a framework for anti-capitalist movements and critique, making use of countries’ specific experience with the forceful introduction of capitalist economy and its fusion with ideas of democracy.

The recently rekindled interest in the overlaps between postsocialism and postcolonialism has been driven by the focused explorations of the ways in which the two concepts and critical horizons can inform each other through coalition work. For instance, in their interrogation of affinities between the postsocialist, postcolonial, and decolonial thought, Redi Koobak, Madina, Tlostanova, and Suruchi Thapar-Björkert argue that “exploring the connections between the postcolonial and the postsocialist human experiences . . . can create a powerful force of global insurgency because the postcolonial and postsocialist conditions are shared by the majority of the people in the world” (*Postcolonial* 2). Moreover, (state) socialism, they remind us (cf. also Ghodsee), was an important support for the Left and anticolonial movements in the global South and in the West. Such attempts to open the avenue of dialogues and coalition-building across these *posts* are crucial so that the connections and alliances forged in the past are not overwritten by the present. They also challenge and undo the ways in which narratives of (post)colonialism and (post)socialism have been historically pitted against one another in Cold War ideological battles. As Bogdan Popa argues, the United States used stories of postcolonial subjects whose transformative changes, emancipation, and freed identity were held up against the “Soviet people” who were “stuck in a rigid communist role” (76). Regardless of the politically progressive and mutually profitable coalition potential, the dialogues have not been easy to conduct. In the eyes of transnational and postcolonial feminisms, postsocialist feminists “lack an established agenda of their own” (Tlostanova, Thapar-Björkert and Koobak, “Postsocialist” 82). It remains painfully true. When Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak posed a question to postsocialist countries—“Are you postcolonial?”—it was one of the few moments when leading representatives of postcolonial transnational theory expressed interest in dialogue with scholars of postsocialism (“Conference Debates,” cited in Slačálek, “Postcolonial” 29). Similarly, other struggles for recognition and justice of marginalized

groups in the “East” are not readily recognized as the contestation of partners in the fight. Disabled people’s struggles against precarity, marginalization, and abjection have been reduced to an application of frameworks and strategies developed by the disability rights movement in the West; Roma people of Eastern Europe are rarely considered part of the transnational black community, and racialized abandonment of the Roma communities is largely not recognized as a part of globalized whiteness. Postsocialist “feminist killjoys” (Ahmed, *The Promise*) and crip queer scholars and thinkers repeatedly point out the indifference and misrecognition of dominant streams of feminism toward feminist, queer, crip knowledge and theories founded on and formulated from experiences of socialism and postsocialism (cf. Caixeta; Cerwonka, “Traveling”; Duhaček; Hendl, Burluk, O’Sullivan and Arystanbek; Kašić; Musliu; Navickaite; Parvulescu and Boatcă and so many more).

However, barriers in communication within transnational feminisms are, at the same time, equally reflective of the postsocialist context and conditions. Offering his own answer to Spivak’s question, political scientist Ondřej Slačálek points out that one of the most significant “barrier[s] to the transfer of postcolonial concepts at the analytical level, and in terms of the development of solidarity, on the level of political action [is] the fundamental . . . fear of being expelled from the West and put on the same level as the colonised countries” (“Postcolonial” 40). The hesitancy to identify with the (other) colonized subjects further intersects with Eastern Europeans nations’ “unspoken insistence on their whiteness” (Imre 82). This investment in whiteness supposedly secures an imaginary return to Europe and translates into projecting the racialized optics on the “Others.” This reluctance to think through how race and ethnicity underwrite feminist discourses and feminist agendas in Eastern Europe is further linked—as *Rehabilitative Postsocialism* argues—to a reluctance to acknowledge and analytically engage with disability and cripness and their racialized politics. The insistence on whiteness and the ability to perform normative whiteness is, as this book lays out, constitutionally dependent upon the ability to perform rehabilitative citizenship and showcase able-bodied/able-minded fitness.

The figure of “the postsocialist feminist [antiracist queer crip] missing other,” therefore, marks the failure of transnational scholarship and of transnational feminism with its “presumably egalitarian and inclusive frame” (Tlostanova, Thapar-Björkert and Koobak, “Postsocialist” 82). To assume—despite the rich archive of feminist scholarship<sup>6</sup>—that there is not an “agenda of [our] own” that has grown out of the experience of dramatic (and often violent) political, social, and cultural changes, or to believe that such an agenda

would be identical throughout a vast region with varied histories, religions, cultural identities, and social conflicts, reiterates orientaling perspectives on “Eastern Europe.”

### Rehabilitative Citizenship and the Disability Semantics of “Transition”

Exploring the “post-” of state socialism in Romania and Eastern Europe, the anthropologist Katherine Verdery prefaces her canonical book *What Was Socialism, and What Comes Next?* with a short, ironic retort: “Q: What is the definition of socialism? A: The longest and most painful route from capitalism to capitalism” (n.p.). Verdery captures here the sentiment that underwrote the understanding of the historical moment. It is echoed—without irony this time—in one of the studies of the Czechoslovak history across the twentieth century, *The Road from Capitalism to Socialism and Back (Z kapitalismu do socialismu a zpět*, Kabele). In this logic of the “return journey’ from socialism to capitalism” (Kornai cited in Buden 31), twentieth-century Eastern European history becomes a disgraced fall from and a painful return to a natural course of history that equals capitalism.

The notions of return or recovery have been “the driving metaphor[s] of the postsocialist transformation” (Dunn 162). The postsocialist transition in Czech/oslovakia was thus motivated by the “socially non-emphatic and sober attempt” to replicate the development of the capitalist West (Havelka and Müller 143). As Czech sociologist Miloš Havelka noted, the desire to “catch up” eventually closed up the space for “new mobilising ideas” in the Central European postcommunist states (73). Moreover, as Elizabeth Cullen Dunn illustrates in her study of privatization in Poland, the economies of the postsocialist states were praised for a success in transitioning when they “became similar” to the United States and Western Europe (162). The German philosopher Jürgen Habermas ironizes the expectations held out to the postsocialist societies, calling the transformation processes “rectifying” or “catching up” (*nachholende* in the German original) revolutions (“What Does Socialism”).

The notion of a return was readily adopted to recharge and radically redirect the discursive frameworks of transitology—an ideological framing that interpreted the changes in postsocialist societies as a simple evolution and predictable development, a transition from less to more developed state of being—and its interpretation of the collapse of the state socialist regimes in Eastern Europe. The Croatian philosopher Boris Buden observes that with

the end of the 1980s and focus on postsocialist spaces, transitology reproduced its own version of historical determinism: “To be free meant to understand the iron rules of history and be subject to them” (39). The deterministic logic posited by the newly formed transitology doxa claimed that the “progress” from the socialist authoritarian states to liberal democracies was not only inevitable but a “natural tendency” (Buden 39).

Indeed, the ideologues of transitology believed that capitalism “does not need to be imposed on society,” does not need to be “artificially implanted” by a political entity (Kornai cited in Buden 32). In contrast, the socialist revolutions did not “arise by organic development . . . , from the intrinsic, internal forces of the economy” (Kornai cited in Buden 32). Socialist regimes must be “imposed on society . . . with brutal force” (Kornai cited in Buden 31). Thus, transitologists believed that once the constraints of communism were removed, “natural tendencies towards economic rationality, profit maximization, entrepreneurship, work ethics and consumption patterns” (Dunn 3) would spontaneously lead to the creation of a market economy.

The market was further trusted to bring with it a democratizing social change: The process of complex social, economic, institutional and cultural changes was understood simultaneously as “the transition to democracy *and* to the market” (Machonin 26). The trust in the democratizing power of private property—“Privatization lays down the foundations to open society” (Ježek cited in Baladrán and Havránek 523)—facilitated a remarkable transfer in the country’s riches from the formerly state-owned and state-run businesses to services and property into private hands. “Privatization” was, however, not framed as primarily a property and financial transfer albeit of immense proportions, but first and foremost as “a moral act” endowed with religious meaning, as reestablishing private property achieved the status of “God’s plan” (cited in Roubal 190). The flattened understanding of democracy as an effect that will “likely occur” (Przeworski cited in Buden 39) once a free market reigns, nearly as its byproduct, was embraced even by “emancipatory” projects. For instance, a prominent feminist sociologist and former dissident, Jiřina Šiklová, predicted that awareness of women’s “essential interests as women [will] *emerge hand in hand* with our society’s endeavor to create, or *assimilate* itself in, a capitalist social order” (77; emphasis added). Liberation from the state socialist past, establishment of democratic representation, and the success of social reforms were imagined as possible only after “a complete break-down of economic power of the communist state” (cited in Roubal 188). This perfect binary oppositionality that organized the dominant significations of the two regimes in the 1990s is presented by the neatly illustrative table assembled by Elaine Weiner (58):

Planned economy	Market economy
Evil	Good
Failure	Success
East	West/Europe
Past	Future
Constraint/Captivity	Opportunity/Freedom
Premodernity/Uncivilized	Modernity/Civilization
Stagnation/Regression	Development/Progress
Abnormality/Artificiality	Normality/Naturality
Human design	Human nature
Irrationality	Rationality
Immorality	Morality
Collectivism	Individualism

Weiner's scheme captures brilliantly the sentiment that ran through pop culture, public discourses, and academic representations of the transformation process, both national and transnational. It also highlights that the imagined success of capitalism depended on ascribing failure to socialism/communism. Furthermore, the ideological juxtapositions of socialism and capitalism are hoisted upon a negative semantics of disability in phrases such as "stagnation/regression," "constraints/captivity," "abnormality/artificiality," "irrationality," and "human design"—all of which call up disability as the other to healthy development and to life that can survive and thrive on its own without "human design," artificial prosthetics, and intervention. Critical works on postsocialism have not yet grappled with the fact that transitology was guided by what disability studies scholar Eli Clare calls the "ideology of cure" (*Brilliant 3-17*). In fact, the extent to which US economic and political experts and media drew on metaphors of medicine when describing the changes in postsocialist societies that were in "emergency room" undergoing "shock treatment" led the crip scholar Anastasia Kuyiatos to talk—tongue-in-cheek—about "capitalist cures for postsocialist perversities" (33, 37).

The imaginaries of the passage from the failed experiment in communism—as a reminder, let's remember the frequency with which phrases such as "the return to Europe" and the "rediscovery of civil society" (Hann 10) populate(d) the postsocialist imaginary—correspond to semantic and ideological structures that, drawing on the work of the historian Henri-Jacques Stiker, Robert McRuer terms a "cultural grammar of rehabilitation" (*Crip Theory 108-16*; for the term 112; see also Stiker). The reestablishment of the natural laws of history, then, was a return to the "assumed prior, normal state"

(Stiker cited in McRuer, *Crip Theory* 111). As I demonstrate in detail below, the complex, complicated, and often-ambivalent processes of *transition* and *transformation* were judged against the notion of *rehabilitation* and measured against the ability to return to the imaginary *normal*.

Semantics of illness and disability crop up everywhere in early postrevolution reflections in Czechoslovakia. Already in the first New Year's presidential address in 1990, Václav Havel, the first president elected after the handover of power, famously opened his speech by stating that the country was unwell: "Our country does not flourish. We ruined our soil, rivers, and forests [. . . we] live in the worst environment in the whole of Europe. People in our country die sooner than in most of European countries" ("Novoroční" n.p.). Disability metaphors also pervade the State of the Czech Republic Address from March 1990 delivered by the Czech prime minister, Petr Pithart. In his words, the socialist regime bestowed a health risk, "the most dangerous bomb ticking away in our organisms," on the population that experienced "the loss of general immunity" ("Zpráva" 9). Thus, it follows that visions of "transition" and the immense social restructuring inscribed in the program of the first post-1989 government of the Czech Republic were literally dubbed the "path to recovery" and a "cure" (Pithart, "Programové"). In this sense, the Czech Republic and its "transformation" echo Naomi Klein's revealing description of how moments of crisis and reconstruction are exploited for introduction of new mechanisms of capitalization, often legitimized as a form of "shock cure" and treatment (*Shock Doctrine*).

The government took it upon itself to cure the nation, its ailing bodies and souls. It warned the populace, "The path to recovery will be very difficult. . . . Every step of the reforms will cause a shock from which we will have to learn again and again how to recover" (Pithart, "Zpráva" 10). The process of recovery, as is suggested here, was expected to hurt since the cure meant both overcoming the sickness and moral cleansing of the taint of socialism. The postsocialist cure was also a moral imperative.

[In socialism] *we have become morally sick*, as we have learned to think one thing and say another. We have learned not to believe in anything, not to pay attention to one another, take care only of oneself. Notions such as love, friendship, empathy, humility, and forgiveness have lost their depth, and to many of us they mean merely psychological oddities or foregone signs of times long past, somewhat laughable in the era of computers and cosmic rockets (Havel, "Novoroční" n.p.).

The already quoted feminist Jiřina Šiklová, too, leaned on metaphors of pathology to impart ethical lessons: “We are like an *obese person* who forgets that he [*sic*] is loaded down with several dozen extra kilos and that these are an *extra burden for his heart* and ultimately *shorten his life*” (cited in Eyal 56; emphasis added). The morally loaded metaphor of obesity belonged, as Michaela Appeltová shows, to the contemporary repertoire of moral panic discourses (“*Tlusté*”). More importantly, the fat cripp metaphor highlights how central disability discourses were to the newly articulated moral horizon of postsocialism. Šiklová mobilizes notions of responsibility that liken the postsocialist subject to “an obese” person because it allows her to make the bridge between the two modes of ill health—obesity and moral morass. Both can then be redefined as outcomes of life in a morally corrupt environment that planted the ticking bomb into people’s bodies. Yet they both also *can* be—and must be—changed by one’s assuming the responsibility offered by life in freedom. All these examples highlight how overdetermined the post-1989 moment was by the imperative to *overcome* the harming effects of the socialist past as a way of building new futures, and how significations of cure obtained spiritual and metaphysical interpretations (Eyal).

Suffice this to underscore my argument that the moral and political horizons of postsocialist transformation rely on the “cultural grammar of rehabilitation.” The descriptions of the process of transformation literally call up the definition of “rehabilitation” as the need

to restore or re-establish the reputation or merit of; to vindicate . . . ,  
to restore [the society, the economy, as well as the individuals] to a  
*former* capacity, . . . to a *previous* condition; to *return* (something) to its  
*normal or proper* condition; to improve the character, skills, and behav-  
iour . . . to aid *reintegration* into society. (*OED*; emphasis added)

The postsocialist “necessary cure,” the importance put on one’s moral cleansing and one’s change of behavior, echoes the analysis offered by Julie Pasanante Elman of the reframing of the US citizenship under the onslaught of neoliberal capitalism (*Chronic*). To capture these changes, Elman coins the concept of “rehabilitative citizenship” and argues that “rehabilitation has become attached to what it means to be a good citizen, often through seemingly apolitical discourses of ‘health’ or ‘growth’” (16).

Even though the promise of cure figures as the ultimate point of the postsocialist transformation, *Rehabilitative Postsocialism* highlights that

recuperation from the taint of socialism is a project that truly never ends. Indeed, Elman argues, rehabilitation is fortuitous for governance, as it “produces the [subject] as forever incomplete,” inviting “endless enhancement, flexibility, and self-regulation as voluntary, desirable, and liberating” (16). “Rehabilitative citizenship” reframes the idea of citizenship, not as guaranteed by the state but rather as a tenuous promise that needs to be permanently renegotiated and reaffirmed by the subject’s “healthy (read: normative) behavior” (Elman 16).

Elman’s emphasis upon the open-ended negotiation as the basis of rehabilitative citizenship is fruitful for the examination of postsocialist articulations of citizenship. Beyond the national political horizon, this notion of postsocialist citizenship as flexible and always in need of improvement and surveillance worked fortuitously for structures of “repressive infantilization” (Buden 35) and transnational power dynamics. They were strategically mobilized by the global North to reinforce the power imbalance and domination over the East (Buden 36–37). In this paradox of “postcommunism,” “people who had managed to carry out regime change alone and on their own” (Buden 35), were perceived as children needing to learn and be taught how to grow up.

In *Rehabilitative Postsocialism*, I trace how—throughout the last three decades and more—the rehabilitative understanding of citizenship has molded “the social” and shaped notions of individual responsibility as well as imaginations of collective belonging and limits thereof. The above-quoted commentary on obesity adds another layer to the ethical and metaphysical imperative of postsocialist rehabilitation: the curative, purifying self-transformation becomes a condition of life, survival, and a good life that fulfills its potential.

Furthermore, the use of disability metaphors accentuates what is missing in analyses of the moral and spiritual dimension of postsocialist transformations. For instance, Gil Eyal maps out the connections between the political, economic, and cultural aspects of postsocialism and discusses references to health and (moral, societal) purification as technologies of the self, as forms of governance and self-fashioning. Yet his take leaves out the material, embodied effects of governance (which in consequence remains devoid of gendered, racialized, and classed significance).<sup>7</sup> *Rehabilitative Postsocialism* focuses on how the rhetoric of “health” and “ascetic techniques” (Eyal) produces concrete material effects and indeed *becomes* gendered, racialized and crip bodies; in other words, this book draws out and chronicles how rehabilitative logics co-constitute the postsocialist consensus *and* the individual and collective postsocialist bodymind.



Figure 1. “Health, that is the most important thing” (“Hlavně, že jsme zdraví”)

Source: Baráčková, Daniela

“Health, that is the most important thing” (“Hlavně, že jsme zdraví”; Fig. 1) announces graffiti written in animal blood across the wall of a dilapidated cowshed. This art-piece is part of a series created by Czech artist Daniela Baráčková featuring clichéd phrases “with shallow meaning and absolute power.”<sup>8</sup> “Health, that is the most important thing” is one of them—Baráčková captures its affective force and satirizes its vacuousness. The stark contrast between the bright graffiti and its “truth” written in blood against the desolation of the space, the cruelty the walls hide, calls forth the ideological function of health yet simultaneously underscores how the morality of health customarily brushes over the actual material realities of health/illness and conditions of abandonment that are enabled precisely by the ideologies of health and rehabilitation.

*Rehabilitative Postsocialism* traces the extent to which ideologies of *ability* and *health* have been utilized to celebrate and legitimize the new social order. Through this focus, it articulates new sets of questions about the formative impact of *transformation* upon the present. I explore what the process of transformation has meant for the political and social horizon given that socialism (and communism) is signified as a harmful and unhealthy anomaly

in the healthy “nation” and its historical development. Consequently, I trace how the fact that postsocialist democracy was presented as the result of successful rehabilitative therapy falls on crip and disability projects, and indeed any critical political project.

The cultural grammar of rehabilitation that continues to serve as a moral discourse has not only produced an affective range of optimism (and even euphoria in the early years after 1989), but has also paired positive affects with their counterpart bad feelings. Thus, rehabilitated bodies and lives that managed to overcome the supposedly corrupting effects of socialism have been mirrored with bodies that have been abjected for their resistance or incapacity to rehabilitate. This brings forth the intersectional nature of the rehabilitative imperative. For instance, *Rehabilitative Postsocialism* records how the normative scripts of postsocialist citizenship, for all their ideological rejection of state socialism, paradoxically relied upon racialized discourses, articulated and developed under state socialism. Rehabilitative citizenship based in the open-ended demands of flexible adjustment, “catching up,” and sacrifice has strategically remobilized racialized scripts of (mal)adjustment (*ne/přizpůsobenost*) circulated and utilized by the socialist state. Simultaneously, the framework of compulsory rehabilitation allowed the concept’s postsocialist innovations to shift its meaning to inherent inflexibility and *inadaptability* (*ne/přizpůsobivost*) and thus cemented their identarian assignation to Roma people. Furthermore, in contrast to the socialist significations that uplifted the role of the state and society in countering the maladaptation of social groups, the postsocialist logic of moral rehabilitation and naturalization reduced the reference to the social and the state’s implication in the responsibility for social integration and thus cemented forms of racialized poverty and exclusion.

The idea of “inadaptability,” that is, the utter and chronic inability to change, to adjust to new conditions of life and new forms of responsibilities, has come to constitute a powerful category of postsocialist citizenship and its morality. Thus, the figure of “the inadaptable Roma” has been conjured up as the powerful negative foil to the ever-present investment in plasticity, self-change, rehabilitation, and transformation. Roma people have been made a visible—even spectacular—point of conflict in the process of the national reconstruction and rehabilitation. The publicly orchestrated visualizations of the Roma’s supposed failure to adapt to the moral economy of rehabilitated citizenship have served as performatives against which the “decent citizenship”/rehabilitated citizenship has been (re)articulated. The faux conflict between “the decent citizens” (*slušní občané*) and “the inadaptable”

(*nepřizpůsobiví*) has become the site onto which the political tensions and resistance to neoliberal and austerity politics are deflected. In other words, the postsocialist neoliberal social order relies on and feeds the dynamics of racialized tensions to safeguard its governing force.

The anti-Roma sentiments and racist structures that fall specifically onto Roma people and communities can hardly be attributed solely to the postsocialist states and spaces—despite the frequent tendencies to do so. As Étienne Balibar noted, the emergence of the “European apartheid” is linked to the reformulations of and emergence of new European citizenship (8) and of the Roma subject as the “internal other” (cf. Sigona and Trehan) within the already racialized and othered spaces of the “South” and “East.” Moreover, as Anca Parvulescu shows, the assumptions of Roma otherness are activated in the complex racialization dynamics that bring into play complex intersections of postcolonial and postsocialist axes of power and inequalities. The European “racial triangulation” (Parvulescu, “European”) speaks to how attribution of Roma identity overlaps and interacts with meanings of “Eastern European” identity. Ivan Kalmar argues that “Eastern Europeanism (5),” that is, racism against people from Eastern Europe, is construed through the persistent tension among the imperative of “becoming white” and the inevitability of always turning “not quite” European, not quite white (33-45). Kalmar also emphasizes that it was the Cold War and post-1989 global events that construed and retrenched the racialized difference of Eastern Europe and that the postsocialist transformation and the process of be(com)ing “properly” European and Western was one in which the formerly socialist states were expected to prove their ability to “becom[e] white.”

In other words, the Roma subject came to represent Europe’s “internal Other” as not properly European, as not really “of Europe.” I therefore trace throughout the book the ways in which the idea of Roma inadaptability relied for its affective force on the intersections of disability, race, gender, sexuality, and imagination of the nation. The figure of “the inadaptable Roma” subject/community is hence positioned as a conjoined twin of what I have called “the inarticulate postsocialist cripp” (“The Inarticulate”) to mark the impossibility of articulating/imagining certain cripp knowledges against the compulsorily positive capitalist visions of transition—both of whom embody the limits of postsocialist national and transnational belonging.

The mutual codependency of “the inarticulate cripp” and “the inadaptable Roma,” their folding together that upholds the ideological formations of rehabilitative citizenship, can be nonetheless turned into a starting point for critical revisions of disability theory more attuned to assemblages of disabil-

ity, gender, sexuality, and race. *Rehabilitative Postsocialism* imagines and strives to articulate a genealogy of disability/crip theory that frustrates the straight, linear notion of progress compulsorily prescribed for “Eastern Europe.” As the linear curative logic of rehabilitation is linked to racialized capitalism enhanced by the fall of former socialist “bloc,” as well as to ideologies of whiteness, such frustration is conditional for crip/disability theory to reimagine disability outside the limits of (white- and nation-centered) identities of recognizability (cf. Jina Kim; Minich, “Enabling”; Chen et al.).

Imagining new critical approaches to stories of postsocialist social, political, and economic changes, approaches that would center crip analytics (in its intersectional breadth), is key to our understanding why certain interpretations of the postsocialist moment have become hegemonic and continue to mold the present. More importantly, crip analysis draws out how these hegemonic interpretations that pose the postsocialist transformations in Eastern Europe as a process of recuperation and healing materialize on the bodies of precarious populations that are affected the most by the “postsocialist condition” (Fraser). Crippling postsocialism enables different interpretations and different perspective on formations of social inequalities and the moral economies that uphold them. As I argue throughout the book, the curative imperative of rehabilitative citizenship is linked to specific moral economy. Below I discuss how this moral rationale is defined by the idea of debt and produces a version of an affective bond—affectivity of debt.

### Velvety Cruel Promises and Affectivity of Debt

The “Velvet Revolution”—as the historical events of 1989 were dubbed—became the originary myth of the new democratic statehood and citizenship. Beyond that, “Velvet Revolution” stood as a promise of a new future that bequeathed the nation with promises of prosperity, normalcy, democracy, and health. For instance, many disabled people participated in the revolutionary events (as much as the barriers in the public spaces, other issues of access or mechanism of institutionalization allowed, see, e.g., Neumannová 96–104). The regime change generated hopeful expectations among people with disabilities that “even in our Czechoslovakia, everyone with a health impairment [will be able to] enjoy full rights” (Váchalová, n.p.). The Union of Invalids (Svaz Invalidů) the Czechoslovakian federal organization representing people with disabilities,<sup>9</sup> called on the government to cooperate on the “*shared mission*” to secure that “*every citizen* of this country fe[els] *content and happy*” (“Vážení” 2; emphasis added). The moment of reparation was imagined as the

moment when “the ideals of humanism *will again become* the inherent part of the [social] consciousness” (“El Rozhovor” 1–2; emphasis added).<sup>10</sup> Yet, as Lauren Berlant famously noted, some promises are cruel: “Where cruel optimism operates, the very vitalizing or animating potency of an object/scene of desire contributes to the attrition of the very thriving that is supposed to be made possible in the work of attachment in the first place” (*Cruel Optimism* 24–25). The Velvet promises that were simultaneously obligations tethered to the rehabilitative imperative indeed turned out to be cruel for many.

Years after, in his retrospective assessment of the past three decades of postsocialism, Petr Pithart noted that Czech society did not deserve a catharsis or to find itself in a better state, since it did not—as he argued—follow through on the curative demands to rehabilitate its past failures (cited in Burda, n.p.). Pithart might have spoken about the functioning of parliamentary democracy and other state institutions, but the link he makes between the rehabilitative imperative and the moral merit of the present illustrates the moral kitsch associated with the mythology of the revolution. This is perhaps best encapsulated by the “Thank you that we can” (*Díky, že můžem*) campaign<sup>11</sup> committed to the commemoration of the November 1989 revolution and its legacy. In November 2019, messages performing gratitude for the reclaimed, “rehabilitated” statehood and citizenship filled public spaces with billboards and other forms of public notification to mark the thirty-year anniversary of November 1989.

Thank you for our freedom.

Thank you that I can be my real self.

Thank you that I do not have to be afraid.

Thank you that I can read what I want.

Thank you that I can believe in what I want.

Thank you that I am able to work, to become an entrepreneur, to study.

These and similar slogans enact more than an affective attachment to the Velvet Revolution.

The “thank-you” is an expression of a moral obligation. One of the campaign’s founders underscores this: “The anniversary of the Velvet Revolution is not to be seen as a day to demonstrate one’s disagreements with the current political situation . . . , but rather as a day for inner reflection on the importance of freedom . . . and recognition that we are to be thankful to the events of 1989 for gaining freedom” (Černý in Pfister, n.p.). The quotation makes clear how the collective bond to the legacy of the revolution is called up to



Figure 2. 30 Years of Freedom (30 let svobody)

Source: Kateřina Kolářová

preclude critical reflections on the post-1989 actual enactments of “freedom” and “democracy” in the Czech Republic: the political horizon of rehabilitative postsocialism rests on an ethos of gratitude that obliges.

This ethos of gratitude has had repercussions for the political horizon as well as for disability politics. The price for disabled people for social belonging and the symbolic (self-)inclusion in the affective public thus became, in a cruel paradox, expressed through abandoning demands that would reveal the violence of ableism, racism, and other forms of structural marginalization. The moral weight of the affectivity of debt required that one’s critiques and demands be deferred and postponed, as the following quotations taken from early-1990s disability periodicals illustrate:

It is impossible to change everything by a blink of an eye and *even we, the disabled people, need to be patient!* (Juřenová 82; emphasis added)

This is *not* the most appropriate moment to . . . burden the state budget *further* [with requirements]. (“Náš mikrorozhovor” n.p.; emphasis added)

Both comments frame the demands of disabled people as burdensome to the collective; they foreground patience as a moral imperative that conditions



Figure 3. Since 30 years, it smells like freedom here (Už 30 let tu voní svoboda)  
Source: Kateřina Kolářová

disabled belonging.<sup>12</sup> The hopeful statements spoken on behalf of disabled people that opened this section hence stand as a reminder of how rashly postrevolutionary euphoria and positivity transmuted into a mode of “cruel optimism” that supported the rationality of obligation and debt and inhibited thriving (of the disabled, crip people, the racialized, and other marginalized communities). Perhaps, indeed, to go beyond Berlant, cruel optimism materializes even more rapidly in locations where capitalism had been least naturalized and whereto it enters as a supposed miracle cure for the failures of the past.

Debt has become *the* determining economic and social power relation in the neoliberal context. Miranda Joseph is one of the authors who pushes us to acknowledge the prominence of debt to “contemporary subjectivity and social relations,” and its status as “a fundamental and constitutive social fact” (x). This holds true also for the postsocialist context, where debt has become a key component of rehabilitative morality. Its significance, as I argue in this book, goes well beyond the fact that learning the financial discipline characteristic of market economies was termed one of the primary objectives of the economic transformation (e.g., Kornai).<sup>13</sup> Indebtedness and forms of credit have been used to create, sustain, or transform social relations in postsocialist society. Debt as much shapes history as it is its product. In parallel, I argue that the affectivity of debt I describe here is not only a product of postsocialist neoliberalism but very much contributes to its specific historical formations.

The postsocialist democratizing process in Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic is not exceptional in relying on the moral economy of debt and in how fast it fused optimistic outlooks on the postsocialist future with moral obligation, notions of indebtedness, and economic accounting of debt/credit. Clara Han points out the central role of debt in the post-Pinochet project of transitional justice in Chile: “The state owed a ‘social debt’ to the poor through the inequalities generated by the regime’s economic liberalization, while society owed a ‘moral debt’ to the victims of human rights violations” (12).<sup>14</sup> In the Czech context, the accounting for past debts was passed onto the society and its individual/ized members. The past failures became debts to the future. The scripts of rehabilitative citizenship were to rectify the moral debt supposedly accumulated through the comfortable but morally wrong life with false guarantees of social security offered by the totalitarian state. The statement of the first post-1989 government reflects this with shrill clarity and a “promise” of austerity: “The moral recovery of the nation will not be possible without wise social policy” (Pithart, “Programové”, n. p.).

There is hardly a better source to illustrate the cruelty of the curative logic of postsocialist debt/credit accounting than Václav Klaus himself, the main architect and ideologue of the Czechoslovak version of “shock doctrine.” In a text vindicating a vision of merit directed by the rationality of the “free market,” Klaus writes, “Only market relations will show us who really *deserves* what” (“Chiméra” 1). In a tellingly entitled essay—“The Chimera of Equality” (“Chiméra Rovnosti”)—he likens social equality to something “which is hoped for but is *illusory* or *impossible to achieve*” (*OED*, “Chimera”; emphasis added). The various figurative meanings of *chimera*<sup>15</sup> call up visions of abnormality, monstrosity, and bodily difference that are conceptually akin to disability. In fact, *chimera* is itself a disability metaphor, a figuration of monstrosity, where references to abnormality and deviation from the “natural order” connote its impossibility. As Michel Foucault elaborates in his lectures on the “abnormal,” the monster is a *mixture*, a combination of the human and the animal, a mixture of forms, two species, or two sexes (55–56, 63). Defying unity and coherence of various sorts, the monster—the chimera—produces confusion that threatens to overthrow the natural order.

By weight of such significations, equality becomes a monstrosity that both endangers social and natural laws and poses a threat to survival and (future) life. Conversely, inequality is legitimized as a natural part, and an inevitable consequence, of the healthy state/economy or—in this case—a result of rehabilitative recuperation. The full force of this diatribe against equality and the idea of social solidarity can be seen in Klaus’s comparison: social welfare

is “only at first sight less dangerous [than] inhuman *communist* and *social nationalist* experiments”<sup>16</sup> (“Chiméra” 1; emphasis added).

These examples offer context to the book’s analysis of the ways in which the initial optimistic celebrations of the new democratic and inclusive future allowed for a buildup of chronic abandonment and exclusions through affective attachment to notions of debt, indebtedness, and credit. Postsocialist optimism hindered critiques of the economic and social transformation led by the principles of “free market” and privatization. For nearly three decades, the hegemonic postsocialist consensus did not leave space for reflection on the growing social inequalities and exclusion. It is only recently that the consensus appeared to crack and fray. The investment in the (re)constitution of the collective memory of the revolution and its indisputable legacy in the “Thank you that we can” campaign thus reveals more than anything else the growing fissures in the postsocialist consensus and its ideological cohesion.

Symbolically, launching of the “Thank you that we can” campaign overlaps with the publication of several studies that zoom in on social, economic, and cultural disparities and that thus put under pressure the long-standing image of the Czech Republic as the model postsocialist transformation with a well-managed economic transition and functioning democracy (for a critical discussion of this see, e.g., True; Dunn).

*Poor Czechia (Chudé Česko)*, published in 2018, and *Divided by Freedom: Czech Society Thirty Years After (Rozdělení svobodou: Česká společnost po 30 letech)*, published a year later, caused a shock in the collective consciousness. For the first time, these studies zoomed in on social abandonment—including its gender and racialized dynamic—and the rapidly deepening poverty of certain sections of the population. And for the first time, the issues of growing and intensifying social inequality, poverty, and exclusion were represented by the mainstream media and by recognized social institutions that collaborated on these studies.

The assembled, large sets of quantitative data showcase that while “national economy and the state’s wealth . . . grew [. . . and] the quality-of-life and security rankings approximated the richest states in the world,” a significant portion of the Czech population already lived in, and other portions were threatened with falling into, poverty (*Chudé Česko*, n.p., see also *Chudé Česko 21*). According to these findings, up to 18 percent of the population (i.e., one in every six people) belong to a “destitute” (*strádající*) class that lacks capital and competencies (economic, social, cultural) essential for a “good life” (Prokop et al., n.p.). In other words, the study *Divided by Freedom* documents that the last thirty years dramatically changed the class and social outlook

of the previously relatively socially and economically homogenous society (Prokop et al., n.p.).

Corrective to the impression of the Czech Republic's economic success, the studies furthermore revealed the gravity and endemic nature of economic debt across Czech society. Even prior to the Covid-19 pandemic and the current financial crises, about 40 percent of the income of Czech households went toward debt payment (in 1998 it was 8 percent, *Chudé Česko*, n.p.). In 2017, every tenth citizen older than fifteen years of age was sent to collections or involuntary debt repossession.<sup>17</sup> Without state regulation, the debt economy in the Czech Republic developed into an extremely profitable business. Originally small sums of debt, often owed toward public institutions (public transport or libraries), multiplied into horrific amounts through the markups of private debt-collectors. In effect, the debt economy grew into an indenture system that the individuals caught within it could not break free from. The punitive nature of the debt repossession system, as was noted, "has no parallel in western Europe" (Tait, "Czech Democracy" n.p.). Thousands of underage children found themselves entangled in debt collections.<sup>18</sup> To add to the paradoxes, the debt-collecting system was codified in 2001 under the social-democratic government.<sup>19</sup> The fact that this cruel system was functioning unchallenged for so long indicates how strong the affectivity of debt has been and how deeply the moral imperative that "debts have to be repaid," which David Graeber describes as the "basic problem" of the notion of debt (3), has been ingrained in the rehabilitative morality that did not exempt underage or newborn children.

The discussed studies do not account in detail for how gender, sexuality, race, or disability and their complex intersections play into the debt economy in the Czech Republic. The study of poverty and social exclusion of persons with disabilities recently published by the European Human Rights Report does not indicate that the situation in the Czech Republic falls outside of the European average. However, the European statistics do not include the debt burden and do not necessarily reflect the barriers in the job market and other exclusionary peculiarities of the Czech social welfare system. Some indication of the economic feasibility and accessibility of independent lives and self-determined life-plans for people with disabilities in the Czech Republic can be gained from the simple fact that the highest welfare benefit currently allows for less than four hours a day of personal assistance. Even though the Czech Republic signed the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities in 2007, as I discuss in the following chapters, many of the rights remain empty promises. The state socialist regime is often positioned as the

source of society's debts to people with disabilities and the reason for their violent abandonment. This persistent narrative, however, too conveniently minimizes the abandonment exacerbated by the postsocialist transformations, or even caused by the framework of the new political regime.

Illustratively, 2010 was declared by the European Parliament and European Commission as the European Year for Combating Poverty and Social Exclusion with the claim that strengthening social cohesion and the eradication of poverty and social exclusion must become a priority for the European Union (Silný). Against the ongoing global financial crisis, in 2010 the right-wing government initiated the forceful “restructuring” of the Czech welfare system following the austerity manual. This “restructuring” fell on racialized and disabled people, who were strategically positioned against each other (Kolářová, “(Ne)přízřůsobení”).

Echoing the principles of rehabilitative citizenship, the minister of labor and social affairs summarized the office's aims to combat poverty and social inclusion as

showing that the assistance to socially disadvantaged [people] does not lie in the state taking over the responsibility [for their own lives], but in helping them to return to the *labour market* and back to *the normal society*. [And in] offering them information about their rights and opportunities so that they themselves can actively solve their unfavourable situation.<sup>20</sup>

Given the language of this press release, it is unsurprising to learn that none of the offered activities were directed at people with disabilities and disadvantaged groups. Or that all the “restructuring” gravely affected economic and social precarity of disabled people while disregarding the ways in which poverty and exclusion already overlap with disabilities.<sup>21</sup> The fourth edition of the European Disability Forum's Human Rights Report highlighted that EU countries have largely failed at reducing poverty faced by disabled persons. Even so, the situation has since 2010 worsened in eleven EU countries, including the Czech Republic, the report also noted (*European Human Rights Report 2020*).

### Cruising Postsocialist Failures, and Crip Horizons

The aspiration of postsocialism might have been progress, moral emancipation, and happiness. Yet happiness is a troubled notion. “What are we con-

sending to,” Sara Ahmed asks, “when we consent to happiness?” (*Promise* 1). The previous section has traced how promissory futures allowed for a specific affectivity of debt. Here I explore crip alternatives to happiness and promises of better futures. Unpacking Ahmed’s warning and identifying the structural effects of attachments to promissory futures, Berlant’s concept of cruel optimism is very helpful. However, the engagement with the archives of postsocialism shows too that Berlant’s take on the toxicity of the neoliberal version of the promise of a good life needs to be reformulated so that it corresponds to the specificity of the experience of postsocialism. This context-grounded critique then brings forth more general (and generous) lines of critique. Therefore, *Rehabilitative Postsocialism* attempts to imagine what a critique of compulsory optimism would look like *if* it thought of *crip bodies*, *if* it thought of crip bodies *elsewhere* than in the Western context, and *if* it thought of *crip existence* (un)done with *postsocialist promises*.

To be able to do that and to reflect the Eastern European context, I start by noting that the moral aspiration of the postsocialist transition has not been that of “nearly utopian desire of a prolonged present” (Berlant, *Cruel Optimism* 163–64). Rather, it is the “nearly utopian” desire for a recuperative future that defines the cruelty of postsocialist optimism. Much of the book’s archive attests to structural abandonment that has become chronic on the heels of velvety promises of better future. Hence *Rehabilitative Postsocialism* expands the concept of cruel optimism so that it accounts for the pressures of the rehabilitative imperative and compulsory and racialized abledness, for the specific experiences of crip and disabled people who might not find themselves in identity categories established in the context of postsocialist transformation. The book rereads, complicates, and adds to Berlant’s critique of affective politics by centering its focus on lives that were never promised (let alone allowed to live) the liberal fantasy of “good life,” lives that are appropriated and colonized by images of “life not worth living,” or lives that are at times not even granted the recognition of life itself.

To counter the symbolic violence embedded in recuperative positivity, *Rehabilitative Postsocialism* bears witness to many forms of crip failure that materialized against the backdrop of the postsocialist transformation. The compulsory positive nature of optimism precludes the realization that failure, too, can be a form of sustenance, strategy for survival, or simply condition of life. The crip rejection of compulsory positivity I plead for in this book is a critical strategy rupturing ideology of cure, rehabilitation, and overcoming, ideologies that inflict hurt and violence (not only) on crip subjects. Failure—not as a metaphor but as lived and strained survival—offers itself as a resistant

perspective on curative temporalities: forgetting, losing (thoughts, directions, the fight), not improving, getting stuck, and rupturing the dominant narratives of “getting better” that underwrite the “transformation.” Disjointing the normative forms of (linear) knowing and be(com)ing resists the cruel hope that directs our desires into the (an evacuated) future.

The rejection of the curative and always-already deferred future then also opens space for developing a more complicated relationship with (failed) pasts—as well as subjects that are seemingly failing to adapt to “new” presents. The queer theorist Heather Love devises the politics of “feeling backwards / backwards feelings” as an affective strategy of resistance to liberal understandings of emancipation: “Backward feelings . . . indicate continuities between the bad gay past and the present; and they show up the inadequacy of queer narratives of progress” (27). Building on Love’s pointer that feeling backwards might “serve as an index to the ruined state of the social world” (27), *Rehabilitative Postsocialism* argues that the affects that link us to the (socialist) past might allow for construing an alternative to the future-oriented rehabilitative ideology. While feeling backward we should acknowledge that in some logics, postsocialism continues to exoticize Eastern Europe by “defining the present in terms of its past” (Sakwa 3). However, not attending to the continuities with the past and the loopings between the past and present conversely buttresses the ideologies of curative presentism and cruel futurism.

Furthermore, the “stigmaphobic” response (Warner 43) to the orientaling perspectives does not dismantle the racism of “Eastern Europeanism” (Kalmar). The queer-of-color scholar Darieck Scott addresses similar issues when he thinks blackness through layered histories of abjection, in which “the past is an obstacle to imagining and building an empowered political position capable of effective liberation politics” (4). Rather than into politics of positivity, Scott leans into “the abjection that makes the black past appear useless (and terrifying)” (5) to fashion a different relationship to the past beyond notions that it needs to be overcome and surpassed.

Scott’s willingness to engage the ugly feelings of abjection is enlightening for thinking both postsocialism and disability (in relation to race, ethnicity, and queerness) at the conjunction of different legacies of disability rejection and of the pervasive curative dictum. Moreover, Scott’s work—even if more implied than spelled out—connects racial abjection with disability and crippling, a connection that is crucial to explorations of postsocialism.

Failures are, however, also horribly painful.<sup>22</sup> As Merri Lisa Johnson cautions from her own experience with being borderline, the present embrace



Figure 4. Untitled  
Source: Šibík, Jan

of failure and antisocial affects often glitters over the fact that failing often “feels like shit” (255). As this book attempts to center the various modes and forms of crip failure, it does so in order to validate the vantage point of material deprivation, suffering, and pain to crip the postsocialist rehabilitative imperative. It embraces “being stuck” and rejects national/ist pride based on overcoming and forgets compulsory optimism of (neoliberal) humanism in the hope of generating forms of wherewithal for the postsocialist, racialized crip. It attempts to retrieve, acknowledge, and archive lives undone by ideologies of ableism, homophobia, racism, xenophobia, institutionalization, and enforced sterilization—all looping across the socialism/postsocialism temporal divide well into the supposedly happily-ever-after 1989. To guide such crip reorientations in thinking crip survival and thriving through/including crip failure as a political practice that works toward (if never reaching, failing to reach) crip horizons,<sup>23</sup> I turn to the image in Figure 4.

This photograph captures two women, half clad, half naked, sitting face-to-face, one on a hospital bed, one in front of it. The drab environment, the pills, used cups, and fashion magazines surrounding the women tell a story of sickness creating an improvised home in the face of abandonment, precariousness, and impending death. The women are so deeply engrossed in each other that the markers of illness and destitution seem to disappear in erotic bliss and mutual care.

The image is a part of larger series titled *Every Tenth!*, alternatively called *We Want to Carry On Living!* (*Každý desátý!*, *Chceme ještě žít!*, Šibík, 2003–4)

that documents life in an asylum in Odessa, Ukraine, where people with AIDS were left to themselves; those who still could be cared for those closer to death. I point to the image as an opening to questions about what crip failure would mean if it were to foster and sustain life, and how it makes the desire for crip survival possible. The stakes of these questions are not only in furthering analyses of the “postsocialist condition” by introducing intersectional analysis but also in expanding current debates in disability studies. They point to the specificities of a disability/crip analysis that emerges from explorations of postsocialism and thereby not only move the analytical focus of the field away from the West, but more importantly challenge the validity of mainstream disability politics to capture all disability and crip issues that have been produced by the curative transformation. As I argue and illustrate in multiple places in the book, this also reveals how disability politics that becomes incorporated in the transnational translation has been made complicit in the neoliberal shock of transformation.

The work of Jan Šibík, a Czech photographer well applauded for his “humanitarian projects,” the *Every Tenth!* series received a lot of critical acclaim. Yet there is much to critique: the series fetishizes AIDS and death; it exploits narratives of tragedy and despair; it objectifies both the people photographed and their ill bodies; and, most importantly, it traffics in images of a post-Soviet “AIDS-infested Ukraine” to bolster national(ist) pride. Despite all this, I propose, the images invite what I call *crip signing*, a crip version of “homosexual hearing,” a stratagem for reading culture (and cultural texts) against the grain to craft alternative futures (Marga Gomez cited in Muñoz, *Disidentifications* 3). “Crip signing,” like “homosexual hearing,” is a form of “disidentification,” a tactic “that neither opts to assimilate . . . nor strictly oppose” dominant ideologies but rather “works on and against dominant ideology” (Muñoz, *Disidentifications* 2) at its seams. I offer crip signing as a critical gesture, which grows out of crip failure, toward something that is not fully articulated, something that cannot be expressed in the affirmative language of identity, optimistic emancipation, and political pragmatism. Taking its cue from Marga Gomez, who heard the calling of “homosexuality” in moments of ambivalence that combined desire with shame, and recognition with abjection, crip signing in this image can be imagined as a moment that “disses” the ideologies of (heterosexual) sexuality but also ideological notions of health, reproductive femininity, able-bodied longevity, and, most acutely, the compulsorily optimistic visions of cure and a curative future. Crip signing, like homosexual hearing, paradoxically crafts survival out of abjection and stigma and brings forth queer crip desire.

This (lesbian) crip picture of the two women in 1990s Odessa captures a powerful clash between failure and sustenance. In their “AIDS as death sentence” existence, the two women are meant to embody “failure” in relation to ideologies of vitality and able-bodied health, as well as ideologies of (hetero) normative femininity. Such figuration of postsocialist bodies links sickness, death, and excessive desires with the failure at transformation and good life in “freedom.” Despite its rawness and the ways in which it emphasizes the visual markers of illness, the image simultaneously signifies crip thriving (however ephemeral). The women engage in playful performances of extravagant crip femininity (who puts on makeup in the face of death?) and attach their bodies to each other by acts of interdependent care, while their ambivalent positioning “signs” sexual fantasies, turning the two women into subjects of (each other’s) desire in the face of the abandonment and death that surrounds them. In this, they embody a moment of careless playful sorority and mutual care as the ways in which the “failure” of AIDS/illness can be transformed into a cripness that sustains, as it self-disidentifies from, the straight time of “postsocialist transformation.”

The term “lesbian” here denotes forms of gendered intimacy, closeness, care, and erotics *neither* dependent on *nor* wholly defined by the notion of lesbian identity. It is a gesture that calls forth inarticulate possibilities that might not be fully realized in the present moment. The intimate landscape of the AIDS shelter in postsocialist Odessa, and the ways in which these images signified transnationally, position the “lesbian crip failure” to push understandings of postsocialism as well as of queerness that respond to and reflect postsocialist contexts. Outside of US queer theory, “Queer Marxists develop an arsenal of conceptual tools for reading the complex and overdetermined relations between human sexual freedom and the ideological cartography of the Cold War” (Liu, *Queer* 7). This, Petrus Liu argues in relation to China, sets queer desire in relation to “the incomplete project of decolonization in Asia, the achievements and failures of socialist democracy, the contradictory process of capitalist modernization, and the uneven exchange of capital and goods” (6). The two women dying of AIDS in Odessa present us with questions of how to think and live queer desire in relation to the ideological cartography of the continuing legacies of the Cold War, under postsocialist abandonment that disables, and—as I argue specifically in chapter 2—in relation to sexual exploitation enabled by Western supremacy and domination.

Liu retells the history of queer theory from a distinctive postsocialist perspective. His work thus amplifies the criticism raised by scholars in the “East” and “global South” for being invisibilized by the queer canon. Liu points out

the paradoxical disconnect in queer theory's moment of inception. While "US academics were finalizing the inaugural texts of what would come to be known as queer theory, the rest of the world was in revolutionary fervor" (*Spectre* 1). The 1989 Tiananmen Square demonstrations in China shook up the socialist world and sped up its dissolution beyond China and Asia. As the Soviet Union was breaking down in 1991, the United States invaded Iraq. Yet, "Surprisingly, none of the foundational texts of US-based queer theory made any mention of the revolutions of 1989 or emergent forms of political radicalism from the East" (Liu, *Spectre* 4). Hence, "wittingly or unwittingly" (4), queer theory contributed to a vision of homosexuality and queerness linked to Western cultural progressivism, and queernesses in other global locations can only be "belated copies created by globalization or colonialism" (4). Instead of the conventional and celebratory narrative of "a liberal achievement" and a "gradual consolidation of rights-based movements and nonnormative identities," Liu offers a sobering account of queer theory as "part and parcel of crises brought about by the contradictory developments of capitalism on a global scale" (5). Pushing the critique even further, Bogdan Popa "suspec[ts]" that "queer theory's terminology is a device to universalize a US-led production of epistemic categories, which has elided other critical traditions that oppose the ideology of market economy" (6; cf. also Puar and Eng). Popa brings in the history of "communist sexuality" to highlight "the ways in which current epistemologies of gender and sexuality have been molded by Cold War politics" (3–4).

Robert Kulpa and Joanna Mizielińska, too, think about how to "decenter" Western sexualities as the norm of progress and the emancipated self. Appealing for my project of thinking crip failure as a strategy for crip survival and sociality, Kulpa and Mizielińska start their decentering from the moment of perceived failure of the Eastern sexual subjects to perform queerness well and—pointedly—on the right time schedule. To account for queer "failing of the metronome" and for the temporality of transition "always already errant and disrupting" (Blagojević and Timotijević 71, 79), Kulpa and Mizielińska offer a metaphor of "knotted time" to define queer temporality of postsocialism that does not follow the straight line of development, causality, and sequence. It records the ambivalent "time of coincidence," co-occurrence, and contradictory, paradoxical simultaneity of the postsocialist experience of the socialist past with the temporal regimes of the "transition"/"transformation" and hybrid futures (Kulpa and Mizielińska 16).

The figure of "knotted time" carries powerful, if implicit, crip potentiality. Read against the image from Odessa, knotted time is also knotted body-

minds (to echo disability theorist Margaret Price, “Bodymind”), as bodies become knotted (together) in pain and in death, but also by shared vulnerability, playful care, and desire. The intimate relationality of the two bodies twisted, folded, knotted together rejects the curative logic of the individualizing medical narrative as much as it ruptures the narratives of heteronormative femininity, and as much as it cannot be contained by discourses of sexual identity. It is the pleasure/desire that is, to borrow the expression of disabled poet Cheryl Marie Wade, an “angry fist in the eye” to narratives of fatality and despair (24). The “lesbian” crip embodiment signed in Šibík’s photograph might reveal the negligence and/or the incapacity of a (Ukrainian) state overrun by the immensity of the structural changes. More importantly, it resists the narrative of capitalism’s (and any theory’s) global success and the vision of capitalism as the only and best future. Thus, the embodiment of knotted bodyminds of the women with AIDS inhabiting the knotted time of post-socialist Odessa in the late 1990s brings forth and simultaneously questions the temporal layering of the (state socialist) past, (postsocialist) present, and imagined—always-already deferred and impossible—rehabilitated (capitalist?) future.

“Knotted time” also speaks to the multiple ways in which national post-socialist histories coincide with and create layers of transnational hybrid futures. The *Every Tenth!* series in the Czech Republic speaks of the affective urgency of the discourse of the East and how it carries and distributes (ethnicized/racialized) othering. The visual accentuation of AIDS suffering becomes part of a larger story about the failing transformation elsewhere in the “East” that accentuates the apparent success of national rehabilitation. Even across Eastern Europe, the *East* functions as a flexible and migrant marker of temporal, cultural, and political distinctions and grows out of a long legacy of associating the East / Eastern Europe with racialized backwardness (see, for instance, Atanasoski; Hammond; Kovačević; Neumann).

The lesbian sorority materialized in this image through vulnerability caused by the global effects of postsocialism foreshadows the renewed register of racialized meanings that ethnicize the whiteness of postsocialist subjects. Recognizing how inarticulate cripness relies on discourses of ethnicity and race allows for more complex analysis not only of the ways in which ethnicity and race function in the context of Eastern Europe but also of the multiple forms of racialization that are “knotted” together and coincide in postsocialist temporality. Imaginations of the inarticulate crip mapped onto dominant images of time and temporal sequence also collapse the false binary of acuteness/chronicity, another temporal crisis central to the explorations in *Reba-*

*bilitative Postsocialism*. Chronicling efforts at survival of two women who are, with cruel certainty, dead now, the image prefaces the discussion of the ways in which postsocialism materialized (in) temporal structures that Mathias Danbolt terms, in conversation with Elisabeth Freeman and Renate Lorenz, “durational nows” (cited in Lorenz 17).

### Mapping *Rehabilitative Postsocialism*

*Rehabilitative Postsocialism* opens by discussing the early post-1989 social imagination of the participatory nature of democratic institutions and of civil society. Chapter 1 examines how the moral horizon of the postsocialist transformation redefined the moral scripts of citizenship. Exploring what we might call lessons in (white) civility to the nation, it argues that the optimistic visions of civil society depend upon specific responsabilizations of minority subjects.

Contrasting with optimistic visions of civil society, chapter 2 traces the first large crisis in the formation of the postsocialist consensus. If chapter 1 records the rehabilitative desire of belonging to Europe, chapter 2 registers the cultural anxieties provoked by confrontation with the Western “other.” Focusing on the economy of across-the-border sexual transactions and “sex acts,” this chapter discusses the ways in which sexuality and sexual(ized) moral panic express both postsocialist anxieties over foreign encounters and what I call “transformational pessimism.” Chapter 2 also discusses different forms of racializing of both the “East” and “West,” and how racialized and sexualized articulations of moral panic served to deflect attention from the upsurge of violence against Roma communities.

While chapters 1 and 2 draw out how national belonging and its limits were negotiated through and projected onto discourses of racialized and disabled/crippled otherness, chapters 3 and 4 explore the ways in which the categories of disability and race co-articulate each other by focusing on the tension and co-constituency between cultural imaginations of belonging and abandonment. While the previous chapters register anxieties around acute social issues, chapters 3 and 4 center around articulations of the “elongated” present and chronicity as they manifest in case studies of (non)care provided to people with intellectual disabilities, and in structural abandonment and exclusion of the Roma people.

Chapter 3 is organized around discourses of intellectual disability, chronicity, and colonial rationality. Opening with a discussion of tragic deaths of young intellectually disabled women in institutionalized care, the chap-

ter traces how intellectual disability functioned in formulating visions of the possibilities and limits of rehabilitation and national belonging. It then moves to trace deeper and longer legacies of curative logic and to reveal how intellectual disability functions in the epistemic frames of modernity/coloniality. Looking at artistic work of Danica Dakić produced in cooperation with people with intellectual disabilities living in an institution in Pazarić (Bosnia and Herzegovina), the chapter closes by drawing out the ways in which discourses of intellectual disability are still being called up for colonial depictions of Eastern Europe and its chronic developmental “delay.”

Chapter 4 zooms in on “the race trouble” of the post-1989 transformation. It explores how race is invisible yet central to construing the normative outlines of the rehabilitative citizenship and negotiations of the postsocialist consensus. As an active process, racial amnesia (“El Tayeb”) not only offsets the effects of coloniality in setting up the fantasies of the white nation but, as I argue here, also sets up a false binary of centrality/periphery. The hegemonic discourses of postsocialist citizenship position the Roma subject as a peripheral aberration to the moral codes that guide postsocialist rehabilitation. Chapter 4 frustrates such representation by revealing how such figuration of the “inadaptable” Roma subject is indispensable for such moral codes.

Chapter 5 turns to discourses of exceptionalism and shows how sexual and disability exceptionalism reinforces and upholds imaginaries of the nation and national security. It perhaps counterintuitively juxtaposes discourses of Czech tolerance, civility, human rights, and involvement in medical humanitarianism against discourses accentuating national unity, practices of securitization, and exclusion of cultural, religious, and sexual otherness in order to think about their interconnectedness and the ways they reinforce each other.

The Coda concludes the book’s examination of the hurtful effects of the normative frameworks of rehabilitation and cure through the pandemic of Covid-19.

## *One*

# The Idea of Civil Society and Lessons in Minority Citizenship

---

Europe is diversity itself, diversity that not only exists but is perceived as a positive value in the continent's better times, as something that we need to protect, to encourage. At the same time, however, [it is] a diversity that is constantly looking for the common denominator; a diversity, multiplicity, plurality striving for unity, and vice versa: a unity that in Europe acquires a positive meaning only when it is unity in multiplicity, diversity, and plurality. (Pithart, "Evropa")

The growing attacks on the footings of liberal democracy, despite their global occurrence and significance, are observed with more concern as they unfold in Eastern Europe, where they seem to signify that the ugly heads of totalitarian and nationalist tendencies may be rearing again. As "Western scholars gaz[e] eastward for illiberal prefiguration" (Atanasoski and McElroy 293), the growing nationalism, xenophobia, and authoritarian tendencies across Eastern Europe are readily translated into signs that postsocialist states have failed in the project of "growing up European" and are instead sliding into cultural backwardness. Recently, scholars (mostly in and of Eastern Europe) have contrarily argued that the disconcerting antiliberalism and antidemocratic developments are fruits of how liberal democracy and the contours of European citizenship have been enacted during the postsocialist transformation. On a broader scale, the recent turn to anti-liberal politics might be understood as bearing witness to the destructiveness of neoliberal austerity, commodified and corporealized recognition politics. In a twist, David Ost suggests, this too is an example of how Eastern Europe is a laboratory of invention and "endless innovations" ("The endless").<sup>1</sup>

The enforced imitation politics that reinforced Western domination, combined with economic advantages the West and global North have been draw-

ing on from cheap labor and vulnerable Eastern markets, bred resentment and allowed rejection of liberalism as foreign and imposed from the outside.

This chapter first returns to the optimism of the 1990s, which hoped to transform the postsocialist state into an *open civil society*,<sup>2</sup> thereby confirming the closure of the episode of socialist deviation. Tracing the structural failures of these optimistic visions, I explore the ambivalences and power imbalances embedded in the liberal politics of tolerance and postsocialist minority citizenship. Societal approaches to and treatment of minorities are often considered a barometer of illiberalism and maturity of democracy; I therefore zoom in on how ideologies of liberalism and notions of open civil society that were mobilized for the project of postsocialist rehabilitation related to the “minoritarian subject.” I specifically focus on how the imaginaries of open society relied on sexual, crip, and racial difference for imagining the curative potential of the new sociality and explore what roles the minoritarian subject was assigned in crafting and building these new forms and ethics of sociality and citizenship.

The limits of liberal humanism for disability, queer, and racial justice have been abundantly examined in critical scholarship. In the context of postsocialist transitions, disability scholars have pointed out the failings of the postsocialist civil societies and institutions to contribute to disability justice and to diminishing of the structural barriers to disabled citizenship. For instance, in *Disability and Mobile Citizenship in Postsocialist Ukraine*, Sarah Phillips discusses “elite capture of disability rights issues” that not only complicated position of smaller and localized organizations but has been “a major determining factor in the development of disability rights consciousness and activism” (134). Even if some ready-made policies offered for import by transnational bodies were translated and implemented, this did not involve a broader public discussion and change of the ableist culture, Phillips argues (135). Teodor Mladenov expresses similar reservations vis-à-vis current forms of civic society in Eastern Europe in fostering disability critical consciousness. As he notes, representatives of nongovernmental institutions and platforms of civic engagement “risked being dismissed as ‘nostalgic’ or ‘revisionist’” if they spoke to social inequalities and poverty (*Disability* 90). Thus, most disability organizations and disability engagement were channeled into service provision, thus further depoliticizing involvement of disability organizations in civil society (cf. also Holland; Froehlich; Gould and Harris Parker). The effects of such “room service disability rights” (Phillips 134) might be traced in the recent events across Eastern Europe that illustrate the level of economic and social precarity of people living with disabilities as well as the inarticulability

of their demands in relation to other social movements. The recent feminist Black protests for reproductive rights in Poland and their failure to see their proximity to and structural affiliation with disability rights (Pamuła, “Czy adoptowales”) is just one example of this postsocialist inarticulability.

Building off these critiques, I examine how ideas of minoritarian alterity and minority/crip subjectivity served to model identity in crisis and to articulate visions of an open civic society. To think about the costs of such conditionings to crip subjects, I circle back to the cruelly optimistic visions buttressing efforts to build an open civil society. First, I turn to examples of how Czech society represented, acknowledged, and tried to come to terms with present and historical events of violence against Roma and Sinti. Following this illustration of how the pain of the minoritarian racialization is made use of in the project of public pedagogy for liberal democracy, I propose that the “minoritarian subject” was made to serve rehabilitative citizenship in directly exploitative ways. The rest of the chapter examines various examples of “coming out” queer and “positive”—or, to say with McRuer (*Crip Theory*), “coming out crip”—and traces how crip subjects were positioned (and positioned themselves) as models of “overcoming,” rehabilitation, and cure, while nonetheless their own disability and crip vulnerabilities (must) remain inarticulable. Multiple works in critical race, queer, and crip theory have critically evaluated the ways in which the neoliberal diversity politics or politics of liberal tolerance skillfully embraces difference to reinforce the norm. What my reading of the postsocialist liberal fashioning illustrates is—perhaps cynically—that indeed, in some sense the developments in the “East” prefigure what is to happen also in the “West.” Or in different words, my reading of the minority citizenship and its pedagogical responsibilities underwrites the claim from the introduction, that is, that the postsocialist laboratory has brought out power imbalances and oppression in neoliberalizing societies more clearly and earlier than elsewhere. But given the skewed perspective whereby the “East” was learning from the “West,” nobody paid attention to lessons that could be learned about the limits of minority acceptance, civil society, and liberalism that were crystalizing in and through the cure and rehabilitation of the “East.”

Wider public debates on the nature of the political and the social in the 1990s were formulated in the universalized terms. Hana Havelková, a prominent feminist sociologist, was already criticizing the notion of “abstract citizenship” and argued that it hindered social support to feminist (and other social critical) projects. “What [was] rejected,” Havelková explained, was “the separation of women’s [the disabled’s, Roma’s, queer people’s] problems

from the problems of *the citizen*” (“Patriarchy” 89). Similarly abstract and vacant remained the visions of open civil society, which rarely acknowledged “minority subjects” explicitly. Yet media and popular culture found them useful in negotiating social changes and the cultural imaginations of postsocialist rehabilitation. The “minoritarian subjects” showcased how they have learned to live in and with their newly gained freedom and, in doing so, delivered a pedagogical message debunking social and sexual taboos.

The ethos of “new beginnings” and building a “good society [that] is capable of repairing itself” (Pithart, “Dobrá” 149) relied upon the minority subject to articulate, strengthen, and uphold mythologies of civic participation and liberal democracy. As I argue here, such use of minority discourses created repercussions for the subjects recognized as minoritarian and has equally influenced the current discourses that position minority identities as a danger to democracy. Across this chapter, I chronicle how discourses of an open and civil society divorced themselves from the struggles of many, and how the proclaimed inclusive perspective has been embedded in exclusionary praxes. It is crucial to explore how the deflated legitimacy of democracy in the current era relates to the ways in which, during the early postsocialist years, the discourses of an open civil society persistently linked democracy with capitalism and specific versions of neoliberal capitalism with “the future” and thus laid foundations for the social inequalities and divisions that we currently live through.

It has become something of a doxa to frame the debates on how to rebuild a postsocialist society in Czechoslovakia and Czechia as a conflict “between the two big Václavs [i.e., Havel and Klaus]” (Petrušek 231). Each “Václav” supposedly embodies a view of the direction of postsocialist development radically different from the other. A vision of a conflict between the two great mavericks of the postsocialist transformation has been happily reproduced by the international media. For instance, in 1996 the *Journal of Democracy* printed an article called “Rival Visions” featuring quotations from recent speeches by Havel and Klaus intended to document their presumed ideological conflict.<sup>3</sup> The quotations come from speeches in which both politicians, a president (Havel) and a prime minister (Klaus), deliberate on what it means to (re) build democracy in the context of postsocialism.

Havel’s speech stresses the need to improve and rehabilitate the society by reinventing individual citizens’ sense of themselves as much as their collective and shared future horizons. His 1994 speech to mark the anniversary of the declaration of the First Czechoslovak Republic in 1918 notes:

The task for the immediate future is no longer the reconstruction of the fundamental principles, tools, and institutions of democracy and a free-market economy. . . . I do not believe that our future goal should be merely the creation of an efficient capitalist democracy. . . . We need, quite simply, *a new vision*: one that is mindful of the future role of our citizens, local government, and state; one that considers the cultivation of our citizens' lives, our political and economic identity, and our country's position within the European context. . . . *The vision that I am speaking of must stem from a clear recognition of the moral and spiritual precepts upon which our young democracy rests.* (12–13; emphasis added)

Also in 1994, commemorating the five-year anniversary of the “Velvet Revolution,” Klaus argued:

*Nothing else need[s] to be done.* Some people, however, still want to take advantage of the collapse of communism to create something more than “just” a free society. . . . For them, it is not enough that our country has *free citizens*—they would like it to have *better citizens*. . . . *They would like to transform not only social institutions but human beings themselves.* I agree with their criticism of excessive materialism, egotism, short-sightedness, and narcissism. But I do not agree with the idea that we should be cured by someone else. We have already had some experience in this area. Several decades ago, the violation of human nature by collectivism and state control created an Orwellian world here, which we are now happy to have put behind us. Today, the violation of human nature by moralizing, elitist, and perfectionist ambitions would create a Huxleyan “Brave New World.” (13; emphasis added)

Directly responding to Havel's earlier speech, Klaus remains true to the transitological doxa that believes freedom is best guaranteed by minimal interference. Havel, on the other hand, associates “free society” with a conscious effort and will to reform and improve—both as individuals and as a collective social body.

I return to this reductive notion of two “rival visions” not to reestablish it as an explanatory framework. On the contrary, I argue that seeing both politicians as the other's opposite obfuscates the ways in which their supposedly adversarial perspectives share normative presuppositions that have molded the present conflicts. Both visions of how to achieve free society, in

fact, operate within a similar curative logic of rehabilitation. The cure might be associated with new moral vision for one, and with the reforming powers of the “free market” for the other, but both “big Václavs” hope to restore society to an organic state that existed—or would have existed—before the socialist historical deviation. More pointedly, the focus on “rival visions” helps to divert attention from what they share and how they work together. The metanarrative of the conflict and the actual synergy between these rehabilitative visions have been vitally important both for establishing what we might think of as a postsocialist consensus and for its recent deconstruction.

### Eth(n)ical Lessons in Open Civil Society

It was Karl Popper’s definition of *open society* that deeply influenced the discussion of liberal democracy in early 1990s.<sup>4</sup> Reflections on *The Open Society and Its Enemies*, which was published in Czech in 1994, saturated discussions about the future development and transformation of postsocialist societies. Though originally conceptualized in the 1930s in reaction to the rise of National Socialism in Germany in the aftermath of World War I, Popper’s opposing of “open” and “closed” societies was easily refashioned to fit the postsocialist political landscape defined by the socialism/capitalism binary. For instance, the definition of the keyword “open society” (*otevřená společnost*) that appeared in the first post-1989 issue of *The Big Sociological Dictionary* (*Velký sociologický slovník*) in 1996<sup>5</sup> reads as follows:

a society that is based on the individual’s freedom of choice, on rational criticism, individualism, on the willingness and ability to change, on a strong capacity to adapt to changes and pressures coming from the external environment, on high social mobility and on a democratic political system. The opposite is the closed society, characterized by authoritarianism, a dogmatic style of thought, collectivism, stagnation, rigidity, low and regulated mobility, and usually with a totalitarian or authoritarian system.

The emphasis on individual’s freedom of choice, rationality, willingness and ability to change, and capacity to adapt to changes also illustrates how tightly discussions about what constitutes an open society overlapped with the normative outlines of rehabilitative citizenship. This adaptation of the idea of an open society also easily accommodates both Havel’s and Klaus’s visions in its guide to rehabilitation.

The transition in the Czech Republic after 1989 was imbued with the “spirit of capitalism” (Eyal), whose ascetic prescriptions and inner-worldly orientation that shaped Eastern European dissent, as Gil Eyal pointed out, molded its context-specific understandings of the concepts of an open and civil society as a specific version of anti-politics. Milan Znoj, the political scientist, talks in this context of an “unpolitical politics” that redefines the public as a community of people “that is in the individual, civic and political sense based in shared notions of the moral good, friendship, and love” (“Spory” 86). The philosopher Václav Bělohradský in this context speaks of the “antipolitical” nature of debates on civil or an open society as “moral kitsch” (“Antipolitika”). Echoing Chantalle Mouffe’s concept of “post-politics” where the language of political conflict is replaced by the rhetoric of morality (*On the Political*), Bělohradský explains that in the Czech context the political moral kitsch was strengthened by the fact that before 1989 the visions of civil society were mobilized by dissidents as a medium of *moral* critique of the socialist regime. Eyal then demonstrates how—by propagating their visions of anti-state politics (such as Havel’s “power of the powerless,” Benda’s “parallel polis,” etc.)—dissidents attempted to “turn their newly found cultural authority into a political weapon” (68). The dominant understanding of civil and open society circulated by the dissidents positioned civil society within the confines of a “moral community” formed by responsible individuals who govern their own conduct in a moral and authentic way; that is, they “live in truth” (Eyal 68).

In a more contemporary context, in 2018 *The Forsaken Society* (*Opuštěná společnost*) by Erik Tabery won the title of Book of the Year in the Magnesia Litera national book awards. Tabery is the editor-in-chief of *Respekt*, a widely read liberal magazine. The book presents a pressing and morally charged vision of a society that failed and was “forsaken” by its moral leadership. In the award statement, the Magnesia Litera committee notes: “[*The Forsaken Society*] is a call to arms . . . for the future of democracy, [calling to] those who do not want to see [democracy] degraded into an authoritarian regime that suppresses the individual and collective responsibilities of trustworthy elites and by contrast craftily utilizes the masses.”<sup>6</sup>

This evaluation illustrates very vividly how the call to make politics moral again glosses over the existence of social conflicts and divisions, while it links protection from populism and nationalism to the assumption that there is a natural social hierarchy. While the “trustworthy elites” are hailed as the footing of democracy, risk lies with the “hoi polloi,” who fall prey to “the dangerous technocrats of power who . . . skillfully manipulate emotions.”<sup>7</sup> *The For-*

*saken Society* (and its public reception) highlights how the idea of open civil society—originally linked to conceptualizations of political engagement and negotiation—has been employed in the process through which the political is substituted by morality, and in which the doxa of social stratification as a natural, inevitable, and healthy feature of social organization has been reinforced. The visions of civil and open society in their postsocialist invocations were not expressions of a political conflict but rather served as *morally binding* principles that summon the nation to recognize the need to return to a mythical “original” and healthy state of affairs, to rehabilitate and learn to apply the blueprints of Western liberalism and democracy.

At the end of the 1990s, the decade that is now remembered (often with bitter irony) as the “golden” period of the postsocialist era (Činátlová), a very public example of race trouble pierced the national debates about what it meant to build an open civil society and how far along this process the postsocialist Czech Republic had already come. Below, I juxtapose two very public examples of the ways in which historical legacies and present manifestations of racialized devaluation of Roma lives were turned into an opportunity for moral lessons in white civility.

Lety, a small South Bohemia village, was the location of one of the labor concentration camps where the Czech and Moravian Roma, Sinti, and people who lived a “Gypsy lifestyle” were imprisoned before they were sent to their death in extermination camps (Pape). The site was deliberately desecrated by the socialist state, which built a pig farm where the barracks once stood.<sup>8</sup> Building a respectable memorial to the *Poiramos*—the Roma holocaust—in Lety became one of the promises of the “Revolution” to Roma citizens. In 1997, during a commemoration assembly at Lety, the minister of the interior, Jan Ruml, declared the readiness of the ministry to start an investigation into the collaboration of the Czech camp guards with the Nazis’ genocidal plans. He emphasized that “acknowledging the guilt is . . . a matter of the conscience of the nation” (cited in Gal, n.p.). The trial—which never happened—was presented as a metaphysical cleansing ritual and a rehabilitative *gesture* of the white Czech society.

A year later, another member of the government, Vladimír Mlynář, described the government’s plan to “sett[le] the relationship between the Czechs and the Roma” (cited in Gal, n.p.) through buying the farm and building a commemoration site. Mlynář explained that “it is a matter of principle, a matter of how we face our past and whether we are willing to acknowledge the less pleasant parts of it.” He also clarified that this act of purification was not “so much for the Roma as for me, for our society” (cited in Gal, n.p.).

I confess that I am getting involved because of some obsession with the Roma question. I am doing this for myself and because I want to be able to respond to my children when they ask . . . how we could allow [that . . .] at the location where during World War II there was a concentration camp where our ancestors rounded up the Czech Roma to be sent to be gassed to death. How could you allow such an undignified building to stand in this place? (Mlynář cited in Gal, n.p.)

Both politicians draw on their former dissident identities to offer themselves as “the pastors” (Eyal) who guide the public through the purification process to become new people. Becoming new, rehabilitated (white) citizens via these rituals of national purification was to be achieved through colonizing the racialized other’s pain. The ritualized confessions of past racial violence were not accompanied by any acts of restorative justice and avoided acknowledging persisting institutional racism documented by the next example.

On September 15, 1998, a municipality in North Bohemia decided to build a wall in order to, as one reporter put it, “protect local long-time neighbours from the noise and dirt that emanates from the predominantly Roma neighbourhoods” (Navara 2). This controversy brought to light for the (trans)national public the force of racialized divisions: the rehabilitated (or at least rehabilitable), law-abiding, domestic, clean, properly heterosexual citizens’ families whose leisure time, peace and quiet, and—as was repeatedly emphasized—property values must at all costs be protected from the unruly, dirty, noisy, uncivilized, inadaptable, nonwhite noncitizens. The 1990s were, as I discuss in more detail in chapter 4, marked by numerous violent, racist attacks against Roma and nonwhite people and citizens. However, the society and state institutions were unable to acknowledge the depth of the structural dimension of racial disparity. The reactions to the erection of the wall of whiteness reveal ignorance of the race trouble. For instance, a social democratic politician, Gustav Krov, wondered what the uproar was all about, noting that “there’s nothing wrong with *an ordinary two-meter fence*” when supposedly the local community had agreed this to be “the most reasonable solution [to] a conflict” (8; emphasis added).

The controversy over the 1.8-meter wall turned into one of the potential sounding boards of the civil society. Numerous politicians and public intellectuals campaigned against the wall and invoked the idea of civil society as the guiding principle of postsocialist racial rehabilitation. The wall separating the Roma and non-Roma citizens was compared to the wall that divided Berlin into “free” and “socialist” zones (Komárek, “Co” 14), and others likened the wall to the “concrete” proof of persisting difference between open

Europe and a closed (post)socialist society, or the divide “between us and Europe” (Pehe 2). In other words, the controversy over the wall became an event of public pedagogy about how in an open and civil society the majority treats minorities, a morality tale about “each of us” and the recognition that similar “walls” are “within us” (Pehe 2), walls that need to be pulled down before the postsocialist society can transform itself into an open civil society. In that pedagogical moment, however, the case of racialized exclusion and precarization is turned into a general lesson about the enlightened majority and its eth(n)ical learning. Tellingly, some invocations of liberal humanism implored the public to “pull down the wall between *us* and *them*” (Hanus 8; emphasis added) and revealed that the Roma people were considered external (“they”) to the Czech national body (“us”) even in the calls to end racialized segregation.

The scandalous wall did not escape the transnational audience surveilling the progress of “young” democracies. The representatives of European and transnational institutions used this occasion to reinforce the lesson in how to become European. Guenter Verheugen, the European Union commissioner, made clear that “we do not want to see any walls in Europe anymore,” reminding the country angling for acceptance into the EU that “the construction of the wall . . . will influence the reputation of the Czech Republic” (“EU: Zed’, n.p.”). Romano Prodi, the chair of the European Commission, reminded the Czech public of the need to change: “We already had enough walls in the past” (“EU: Zed’, n.p.”). Imparted through the wall scandal was a lesson in how to become properly European and a part of “Europe ‘proper’” (Dzenovska, *School*). As one commentator noted: “May victory in the wall controversy force us to think in the ways that our future fellow citizens of Europe do” (Komárek, “Co” 14).

These two examples illustrate how rituals of confession acknowledging racial injustices turned into “moral kitsch” (Bělohradský) that ultimately threw blankets over the brutal racist violence against Roma and nonwhite Czechs and foreigners that spiked in the 1990s (discussed in chapter 4). While the gestures of acknowledgment of the racist acts were not linked to any substantive reckoning and reparations, they remained solely a gesture *for* white Czech society in reestablishing the dominant whiteness of the national body. The cruelty of such liberal performatives of open civil society lies in their function to reinstate whiteness. The revisitation of national historic wounds, and engagement in the present race trouble, were purely aesthetic and served a rehabilitative function to “en[d] the twilight of the Czech nation” (Znoj, “Spory” 85).

In this crip reading of the mythologies that connect the collective quest at rehabilitation with the liberal ideologies of open and civil societies, I argue that the affective power of pastoral governance relied on mobilizing the discourse of ethnic difference for the project of national moral cleansing, rehabilitation, and pedagogy in being like democracies of the Western type (Dahrendorf).<sup>9</sup>

### AIDS, the Test of Civil Society

HIV and AIDS are currently invisible to the Czech public interest. Yet the period of dramatic social changes of the 1980s and 1990s was densely saturated with representations of AIDS and HIV. This attests to more than the affective power of the spectacular stories of the global pandemic. Looking at how the narratives of AIDS and HIV brought together concepts of an open civil society with articulations of healthy citizenship, I argue that narratives of HIV and AIDS proved useful for the discourses and imagination of the recuperating postsocialist society, and for the dynamic redefining of *the social* itself.

The postsocialist incarnation of the “intimate public” (Berlant, *The Queen*) is inhabited with figures of growing up, coming of age, coming out, or coming to terms with one’s past mistakes, secrets, and weaknesses. “Freedom needed children” (35), Buden notes ironically. “The jargon of post-communist transformation is laden with curious metaphors: education for democracy, exams in democracy, . . . democracy still in diapers . . . , or . . . democracy suffering from children’s diseases” (Buden 35). The rhetoric of “repressive infantilisation” that Buden sees imposed on Eastern European countries by the global North is mirrored in the postsocialist version of “chronic youth” (Elman). The persistence of the growing up and coming-of-age metaphor across the transformation period illustrates that they turned into a defining feature of postsocialist consciousness. Here I examine how such metaphors figure in constituting the postsocialist intimate public and how representations of the private selves (and their moral and social rehabilitation) are brought into the public space as pedagogical tools constituting open civil society.

That “AIDS will not change” (Holub 88) was the central premise of the 1990s. From this it followed that “humanity” needs to be called to do the changing. AIDS hence became the perfect learning opportunity for a society under “transformation” and a test of its ability to live up to the responsibilities that accompany life in democracy. *I Am Positive, I Live with AIDS* (*Jsem pozitivní, žiju s AIDS*, dir. Zuzana Wismer-Meiserová) was at the time of its release in 1992 one of the first documentaries to focus on HIV and AIDS in

Czechoslovakia. The opening shot seems to summarize the film's pedagogical lesson critiquing the stigmatization of people with HIV and AIDS. The camera finds a peephole to take us into the Bulovka hospital<sup>10</sup> that provided specialized care to HIV-positive people and people living with AIDS. We peer in the hospital rooms: nurses and doctors covered with protective gear, the space being thoroughly scrubbed down with disinfectants after a person with AIDS is treated. In short dialogues imposed over these scenes, we listen to medical professionals who intimate that in order to protect their families from proxy ostracization, they feel the need to keep where they work a secret. Stigma, closeted lives of intensely guarded privacy, and social rejection also define the experiences of the gay men with HIV who decided to speak with the director anonymously.

The film creates a shocking contrast as it takes its audience to Switzerland. Without glossing over the stigma and discrimination, the "Swiss narrative" foregrounds varied and colorful versions of a "positive life." It depicts a diverse group of people living with HIV that includes gay men of various ages, women loving men, young or older, and men who love both women and men. We are invited into sunny homes and gardens. We meet HIV-positive people in public spaces. Openness and an readiness to share with the viewers are demonstrated fully when we are allowed to witness a gay couple grapple with the final stages of AIDS and death.

*I Am Positive* remains a rare look at life with HIV/AIDS in postsocialist Czechoslovakia, as it suggests a life with HIV/AIDS *could* mean a fulfilling life shared with loved ones, instead of being seen as life not worth living. The film is an important part of the East European AIDS archive not only because it is one of the few recordings—however closeted—of the voices of the people who lost their lives to AIDS but also because it articulates an affectively potent and intelligible critique of the homo- and AIDS-phobic abjection. The film pushes the limits of the imaginable and gives the audience a vision that a life with HIV—prior to when AZT and other retroviral therapies started to transform HIV infection into a manageable and preventable chronic disease—was possible and needed to be made possible collectively.

*I Am Positive* is, however, also a good example of how mythologies of an open society molded (and were molded by) the curative logic of postsocialism. The affective power of the film derives from two sources. First, it relies on the East/West juxtaposition and the metanarrative of progress. Second, it is invested in what Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick describes as the epistemology of the closet (*Epistemology*). The film juxtaposes claustrophobic scenes of fear, distance, and stigma of the Czech hospital with the happier visions of an

out and “positive life” to drive home the point about the open versus closed societies, while the handling of HIV/AIDS becomes an indicator of the (not yet) achieved level of “development,” “humanity,” and civil society.

The understanding that AIDS is “a test for humanity” and “a challenge to our civilization” (cited in Holub 7; cf. also Kolářová, “The AIDSed”)—an understanding that in fact was first framed by the reformist rhetoric of perestroika<sup>11</sup>—pervaded the public and expert debate of the 1990s. Simultaneously, the fact that AIDS, as a sexually transmitted disease, had been positioned as the “prototype” of a disease that results from a dangerous bending of the “natural” moral order corresponded well to the morally charged discourse of transformation and the ethical imperative for social rehabilitation. The lamentation by prime minister Petr Pithart over the dissolution of the moral code is echoed in the first post-1989 treatise on AIDS, *In the Shadows of AIDS* (*Ve stínu AIDS*). Compare the following quotations:

In the past 20 years in Czechoslovakia . . . the broad social framework (which used to hold the nation together) has either disintegrated or lost all its meaning. As a result, all social norms of behaviour have disappeared. (Pithart cited in Eyal 55)

Most illnesses follow from the disruption of social norms. . . . [A]ll diseases are in fact a form of “negative sanction” or punishment for breaking . . . the rules. Health, on the contrary, rewards adherence to the rules. AIDS is a prototype of a disease whose origin, spread, and . . . development are linked to breaking the rules of social behavior. (Dvořák 54)<sup>12</sup>

The treatises published in the early 1990s make the point about AIDS’s gravity by framing it as predominantly a social issue through which to think about the direction of the social transformation. Exploring AIDS and HIV, the treatises make the future of the postsocialist society dependent on the collective ability to prevent and manage HIV infection while the measures and issues considered extend well beyond epidemiological and public health. It involved “a change of values, habits, attitudes and needs,” while the acuteness of the moral call—“There is no other possibility or choice available now”—interpellated all: “Unless *everybody* recognizes this, and unless we all change our behaviour accordingly, we cannot protect ourselves” (all quotations Holub 11). At that historical moment, then, AIDS served to reimagine sociality as a collective vulnerability that demands shared effort protecting

the national body from the virus. This required a proclamation that AIDS is “a public issue” (Dvořák 7) and a rejection of stigmatization. One expert explains that “it is absolutely necessary to shift attention from the ‘contemptible’ risk behaviour of individuals to the responsible behaviour of society as a whole” (Holub 64). It is only by “paying attention to *social aspects* of this disease,” the author expands, that it will be possible to “control the pandemic” (Holub 64; emphasis added). *In the Shadows of AIDS* even coins the term “social AIDS,” which reinterprets AIDS as an effect of the “process of social distancing” (Dvořák 75–76).

I argue that the radical resignification of AIDS from an individual moral failure into a symptom of failing social networks articulates collective searching for an understanding of *the social*. AIDS offered an affectively powerful platform to (re)construe collective belonging within the bounds of civil society. Positioning AIDS as a disease brought about by excessive social divisions then also suggests that AIDS offered a platform for early and tentative critique of social differentiation that was not all concerned with the good of HIV-positive people. The pleading for a more compact social web of relations remains underwritten by the notion of the (moral) danger of the HIV virus. Thus, responsibilities mirrored in the contemporary appellation were attributed to HIV-positive people: “HIV carriers.” If HIV-positive people were called on to *come out* for social change, it was primarily to make the invisible visible. An “HIV carrier” became the visible embodiment of the invisible virus, thereby allowing its social control.

The ambivalent pastoral civility toward people with HIV is manifested in the following quotation from *In the Shadows of AIDS*, in which the vision of an open society becomes simultaneously a type of protection from “deviant groups los[ing] confidence in society, breeding deep hatred and waking the desire to retaliate” (Dvořák 72):

[It is] incredibly important that the sick people [people with AIDS] do not lose trust in society and its institutions or lose the support they need from their surroundings [because] fear of an excessively negative reaction may lead not only to people “closeting” their disease but also, in extreme cases, to deliberate spreading of the disease. Further intensified by the public’s strong negative reaction to the deviations linked to AIDS . . . [social distancing] is thus the cause of the “failure” of the social immunity response to the epidemic. (75)

In other words, the early postsocialist fantasies of openness and plurality came at cost. Not only did the critiques of stigmatization simultaneously

cement the logic of (sexual) difference, or “deviance.” They also went hand in hand with the normative expectations shouldered by the stigmatized people themselves. The remainder of this chapter thus maps out how the public performatives of coming-out and life narratives of the “HIV carriers” served as scripts for both individual and collective moral rehabilitation. As I argue, the ambivalent and flexible representations of the “HIV carrier” proved advantageous for the codependence of the curative logic of rehabilitative citizenship and the mythologies of a liberal civil society. Furthermore, “HIV carriers” became exemplary “flexible subjects” (Martin, *Flexible*) who would perform disabled “positive life,” overcoming past failures and learning to live in transformed bodies and transforming social contexts while also teaching the rest of society how to become “open” and “civil”; they became carriers of the new pedagogy of civic responsibility.

As I unpack how the mythological function of the open civil society relied on (queer/crip) coming-outs, it is important to note again that discourses of (queer) sexuality challenge the notion of a clean break with the state socialist regime. The performative acts of coming out bear certain continuity across state socialism and postsocialism. Despite the ideological labor invested in visions of rupture and “new history,” the discourses of sexuality show how perestroika’s ethos of reformation was easily transformed into the ethos of postsocialist rehabilitation because both worked through a similar mythology of self-reinvention. In his study of late state socialism, *The End of Experiment* (*Konec experimentu*), Michal Pullmann argues that perestroika was based on a strong reformist ethos emphasizing openness and critical reappraisal of social and normative structures. Queer sexuality was one of the fields that enabled a safe criticism directed at the socialist state for not allowing its citizens to be true to themselves. Pullmann provides examples from the state socialist press, such as the party newspapers (*Rudé právo*) and the official magazine for the Socialist Youth, *Mladý svět*, where homosexual subjects “came out” to claim their authentic selves. For instance, the article “Homo(sexual) sapiens,” published in *Mladá fronta*, argues that “it is important that [homosexuals] find their true selves and are not forced into a role that doesn’t fit, because that will only lead to mental destruction” (2). It was the authenticity argument performed in these public gestures of self-acceptance that functioned as a key support for the claim to homosexual emancipation. The enforced pretense of heterosexuality was considered unnatural, and closeting homosexuality as enforced by social intolerance was thus something that needed to be overcome.

Pullmann’s thesis undercuts the belief that the discourses of individual authenticity and (sexual) autonomy were made possible only by the

translation of Western democracy. This short excursion into pre-1989 history also allows me to emphasize the permeability of discourses of (sexual) authenticity for varied ideological projects and illustrate the “knotted genealogies,” to play on the concepts of “knotted time” (Kulpa and Mizielińska) and of queer subjectivity in the postsocialist context. Building on Pullmann, I posit that after the regime collapse, the discourses of individual authenticity were taken up relatively seamlessly and were worked into a different rehabilitative project—we might call it the “revolution experiment”—as the performatives reestablishing the moral rigor of the postsocialist society.

### The Ordinary Citizen in Extraordinary Times

The “HIV carrier” is the (post)socialist version of what Julie Passanante Elman discusses as an “identity crisis” (13, 15–16). Caught in the historical moment that understood itself as more *transformational* than simply *transitional*, HIV-positive subjects became rehabilitative citizens par excellence with their bodies “forever incomplete,” forever needing to control and manage the virus, forever needed to be controlled and managed and in need of “endless enhancement, flexibility, and self-regulation” that simultaneously pass as “voluntary, desirable, and liberating” (Elman 16). HIV-positive people who were previously, as I argue elsewhere, implored to become the protective membrane of the *socialist* collective immunity (“Homosexuální”) were now called upon to become the vanguard subjects leading the moral transformation of the post-1989 society. Still the membrane of collective immunity, in addition they were newly charged with the task of turning themselves into examples of transformation.

The coming-out narratives corresponded to the sensitivity of the early period of the postsocialist transition, a time of big reveals and confessions: “No amount of sacrifice and re-tooling could cleanse the polluted ‘socialist man’ unless he confronted his past” (Eyal 56). Eyal outlines what this confrontation looks like:

This confession, like in the Inquisition, was not meant to establish guilt, but to save one’s soul, to purify one. It had to be public, so as to dramatize the message of collective guilt. It was meant to produce effects on the other guilty individuals, the majority of ordinary people, who would be able to identify themselves with the negative hero of

the confession drama, to confess, at least to themselves, and receive absolution. (56)

Extending Eyal's original proposal, I look at how the "purification rituals" employed private and intimate stories revealing one's (sexual) secrets as the "truth about oneself." Narratives of rehabilitation of people who have had "bad" or "irresponsible" sex certainly did not have the force of the pastoral power of narratives by political dissidents. Yet this "lowliness" paradoxically strengthened their affective appeal and capacity to be identified with by the "ordinary citizen." They served both as practices of confession meant to purify one's past sins and failures *and* as a confession that claimed a form of authenticity, self-acceptance, and self-worth. Reworking the stigma and moral failure into a notion of self-worth and a public claim to acceptance, HIV confessions thus offer broader identification. As one popular article puts it: "It is in fact a rather *ordinary story of one of us*. Not a narrative that should shock or incite fear" (Zita 22). Yet the coming-outs were both *about* and *not about* ordinary people; they offered stories of "moral failure" that could be a source of identification, but also of a kind of failure that was safely distant and apparently incomparable to the ordinary lives and ordinary failures of having lived comfortably under state socialism. Hence, the narratives could function as performances of pedagogy in civility, instructing the nation on how to transform into an open society while simultaneously passing out of the socialist consciousness relatively quickly and not have it take up any canonical role in the cultural imaginary. The autobiographic stories of HIV-positive people are exemplified by the autobiographic novel *I Am HIV Positive; or, I Am Not Dying, I Am Alive* (*Jsem HIV pozitivní, aneb, Já neumírám, já žiji*), in which, as an HIV-positive woman, the writer reacts to the growing pressures of the neoliberalizing society by throwing herself into volunteer work and into peer-education programs. The fortuitousness of the HIV trope for the ideologies of rehabilitation lies in the dramatization of overcoming with affective force, as needed in times of ideological change. Foregrounding one's ability to acknowledge past mistakes and to accept responsibility for straightening out one's life, these narratives model *the ethics of postsocialism*, or the ethics of rehabilitated citizenship. And the "HIV carrier," as an ordinary citizen caught up in an extraordinary situation, takes up the role of the post-socialist pedagogue of the intimate.

The tension between the "ordinary" and the "extraordinary," "the particular" and "the universal," "the minority" and "the universal," as well as tensions

between various visions of the ethical guidelines for the postsocialist transformation (captured here in the notion of “two rival visions”), all of this could be projected onto the HIV-positive subject. Building rehabilitative narratives around the fantasy of the ordinary citizen was ideologically useful and, in fact, indispensable for their phatic function. The myth of ordinariness—one of the most persistent expressions of the moral kitsch in Czech modern history (Bělohradský)—creates a model citizen ordinary enough to invite self-identification yet, at the same time, extraordinary enough to model the moral script of rehabilitative citizenship.

The unprecedented and unrepeated public interest in HIV/AIDS and even in addressing the stigmatization and ostracization of HIV-positive people<sup>13</sup> cannot be explained solely by the “HIV carriers” providing the foil against which to project the fantasy of the majority’s seronegative status. I propose that the interest in HIV was driven by the fact that the representations of HIV subjectivity spotlighted new normative outlines of citizenship, while also highlighted the ambiguous relationality of the normative and the pathological. Below I focus on the synergy between the postsocialist visions of democracy and the curative logic related to HIV.

When in 1988 a gay man was charged with spreading the virus deliberately, the case of the first criminalization of sexual behaviour in relation to HIV/AIDS in Czechoslovakia was closely followed and debated. In fact, the case was mobilized both by perestroika’s regime-critique and by the state institutions to articulate a new category of “the *asocial* HIV carrier.” The said *asociality* was defined by one’s inability to self-quarantine and contain the virus within one’s own body. This, in turn, put the collective at risk and was seen as the ultimate breach of the moral code of socialist society (Kolářová, “Homosexuální”). In the post-1989 context the moral imperatives directed at HIV-positive subjects shifted from the moral duty to contain the virus through a strict regime of self-quarantine, to accentuating the responsibility of HIV-positive subjects to come to terms with their status. Now HIV-positive people were expected to reorient their lives according to the new social realities so that they were ready to be called on to realize their “rehabilitated citizenship.” The liminal nature of the “HIV carrier” positions the HIV-positive subject conveniently as the ambivalent “unfinished project,” a “potentially normative and potentially pathological” subjectivity (Elman 2). Reading the HIV (auto)biographical narratives, I trace here the strategies in which the constructions of the “HIV carrier” figured the unfinished yet promising rehabilitative project of turning the potentially normative yet potentially pathological into the *potently normative* modeling of the “rehabilitated citizenship”

achieved through an overcoming of the (potentially) pathological self. I ask how HIV narratives present, negotiate, and make the logic of rehabilitation affectively attractive to its audiences in this pedagogical gesture.

The postsocialist script of “how to live positively” (Jedlička et al.) had “potently normative” potential. It became a script of how to transform a life contaminated with the virus into a life that is worth living, and a life that can teach others about the values of a civil society and about civic responsibilities. The (auto)biographic representations of HIV/AIDS were sought after because they underwrote the mythology of rehabilitative overcoming. Or, to put it differently and perhaps more precisely, HIV narratives drew public interest because they echoed and spoke to the social shifts and negotiations of the postsocialist identity in crisis, and the representations of life with HIV offered an embodiment of the postsocialist curative metanarrative.

In 1994, coinciding with the public debate over the first official publication of Popper’s *Open Society*, the magazine *Mladý svět* printed a short interview with an HIV-positive gay man.<sup>14</sup> The framing of the article fits the style of moral panic sensationalism: the interview appears in the section titled “Problems of Humanity,” and the title capitalizes on presenting HIV as a deadly secret: “The Confession of a Patient: A Patient Afflicted with the HIV Virus Reveals His Fate” (“Zpověď pacienta: Pacient postížený virem HIV odkrývá svůj osud,” Zita).

However, the interview simultaneously breaks new ground. The interviewer applauds the man for the brave act of “offer[ing] himself to talk about his illness” (Zita 22). In response, the HIV-positive man explains his decision to “come out” by acknowledging the responsibility of minorities in building an open civil society and social acceptance: “If something is to change [in how people with AIDS are treated by the society,] *I need to do this*” (Zita 22–23; emphasis added). The reporter and the HIV-positive man share, as they presume their audience will too, the belief that the stigmatization of HIV-positive people needs to be confronted. The attention to difference and its exploration/exploitation that the readers are invited to undertake is framed as an act of listening to and witnessing “the other,” qualities that are simultaneously defined as crucial for social change and building an open civil society. Yet it is the minority subject who is appointed as responsible for social change.

This act of coming out brings together claims to individual authenticity and moral integrity with a declaration of the commitment to collective rehabilitation. Even more pointedly, the claim to one’s authenticity is paid for by assuming the position of a public pedagogue shouldering responsibil-

ity for improving the marginalizing social dynamics that position the subject as a “minority” to be tolerated in the first place. In this sense, the act of coming out does not just construe an “open” HIV-positive and gay identity but also articulates a specific version of minoritarian subjectivity: a model citizen representing the rehabilitated civil society, but also a model citizen responsible for this rehabilitation and for turning the postsocialist society into a civil one.<sup>15</sup>

Lucie, a young woman living with HIV, became another exemplary HIV subject as she traveled around the Czech Republic discussing her “positive life” in the second half of the 1990s. Her autobiography, *I Am HIV Positive*, remains the only published book-length ego-narrative in Czech about life with HIV. *I Am HIV Positive* is a postsocialist narrative par excellence. The subject matter, the development of a “positive identity” of the narrator and heroine, is set against a background that takes stock of the taint of the “communist” past manifested through her dysfunctional family. The failed heterosexual home conditioned by the overall moral corruption of the socialist society arguably led to Lucie’s own downfall in the arms of an infectious and untrue lover. And it is the postsocialist reforming and rehabilitative ethos that drives the heroine’s determination to find happiness and a worthy life. The heroine’s striving culminates in a “good and healthy” romance.

Lucie’s very public self-transformation from pathological to potentially normative citizenship is meant to be inspirational. For instance, the opening words of a newspaper article that reported on one of her public discussions describe Lucie in the following way: “*She is different, marked. She draws attention. . . . The full room listens to her without a stir . . . , realizing how much she resembles them*” (Nájemníková, “HIV” 10; emphasis added). In this description, Lucie embodies the exotic, the sensational. She is turned into a spectacle. Yet at the same time Lucie is also an ordinary woman in whom the audience members recognize themselves and who reminds everyone that indeed “AIDS doesn’t discriminate” (Nájemníková, “HIV” 10). The shock of recognition has been, of course, a stock feature of AIDS/HIV discourses. However, in the context of 1990s postsocialist Czechoslovakia, the tension between the exotic and the ordinary and between the minority and the majority proved to be a very useful tool of governance and for the mythology of civil society and its moral/izing ethos.

The contemporary media frame Lucie’s story as the typified “innocent” victim: a young naive woman whose bad romance (indeed her first sexual encounter) led her to “hit the bottom.” *I Am HIV Positive* builds on this but accentuates the heroine’s perseverance. Chapter titles such as “The Time of

Catastrophe,” “Hitting the Bottom,” “Rising from the Bottom,” “Life Goes On,” and eventually “Life Can Matter” leave no doubt that the figure of overcoming drives the narrative and turns it into a morality narrative in which an individual’s struggle becomes self-transformation through social engagement. The book’s blurb indicates that this is indeed the “selling point” of this HIV narrative:

The book is a heartfelt, sensitively and engagingly written testimony of the HIV-positive girl [*sic!*]. She speaks of her life [. . . and her] attempted suicide. Only then she realized how much she still wanted to live, and how much she wanted to be useful. Presently, she volunteers in the preventive programs directed at young people and spreads hope and life strength to HIV-positive people.

The blurb highlights the gendered nature of Lucie’s media presentation that allows for it to be probed and questioned as the rehabilitative blueprint. “People might be ruffled by [Lucie’s] optimism,” notes one of the reporters covering the public debates. “But [Lucie] knows that her immunity tests come back *as good as a healthy person’s* precisely *because she does not crumble under her fate*” (Nájemníková, “Já” 1; emphasis added). Echoing Buden’s critique of repressive infantilization, here too Lucie is simultaneously presented as “girl,” infantilized and objectified, and as an inspiration of overcoming.

Lucie herself employs the overcoming trope as she acknowledges that she *used to be* depressed, *before* she managed to come to terms with her illness, as though echoing the tough-love recommendations given in the then only available handbook for HIV-positive people—*Living with the Virus and Faith* (*Život s virem a vírou*)—“You simply have to learn how to live with the HIV virus. Do not fall under the power of mood swings and depression that are making the illness worse” (Jedlička). She, however, also speaks back the infantilizing ableism directed to her and thereby articulates a sort of disability consciousness. Accepting one’s disability is not “giving up,” but a way of investing in one’s future. She elaborates:

I am asked often in public discussions if I suffer much, if I am able to forget and not to think about it or, “Are you still hoping that medication will be found, or have you given up on the hope of getting cured?” Mostly, people don’t even consider any other option—being at peace [with one’s HIV positivity]. “Neither, nor” is my answer to both questions. I see myself as among those who are reconciled with

their status, and I am grateful for it. People who are not at peace with their status mostly waste their lives and the time they have left. When I think of my HIV status, I am not troubled. It is something bad in which I found the good. . . . Had it not been for it, I might have never come to think about the meaning of life, I might have lived as most people I see around myself do, and who are only focused on money, their careers, but who, when they come across someone in need they find helping them unnecessary or useless. . . . To be at peace means to accept reality for what it is. Those who are scared and worried about reality are not at peace with it. (Zavdilová 89)

Here Lucie weaves a complex net out of several contradictory discourses. She disidentifies from the hope of a cure and turns to the here and now, as she says, “The only thing we truly have is the present” (95). In a gesture of *crip signing*, she embraces her HIV status as a life reorientation moment. At the same time, she employs the metaphor of inspiration, perhaps the only one accessible to her that is (crip) life-sustaining: her disability, her HIV, both incites her with a sense of life *and* allows her to craft a new relationship with society, as an inspiration to others; an inspiration that can be, as I argue below, utilized in the myth of civility and civil society.

Even when posing herself as an inspiration, Lucie “talks back” to such a reading that would turn her disability into a tool of objectification and a hierarchy: after one of her public discussions, as she intimates, Lucie was approached by a man in a wheelchair who expressed admiration for her strength and her ability to come to terms with her HIV status. Lucie records responding, “I, in turn, cannot imagine not being able to walk and cannot imagine ever being able to come to terms with that. But I would, same as you, would come to terms with being seropositive” (89). I read this encounter as a gesture of attempting crip solidarity in which Lucie offers to see HIV in proximity to other “peripheral embodiments” (Mitchell and Snyder, *Bio-politics*). Reaching out to the disabled man, she articulates other experiences of cripness as related to her own experience of seropositivity. In this sense, Lucie fashions a crip narrative that rejects stigma and the notion of a “spoiled identity” not only by disidentifying from the normative cure hope but also by refusing to see her life as devalued by her disability, or as in a hierarchical relation to other crip lives. Furthermore, forging new ways of biosociality, Lucie reimagines the horizon of her life through working with other HIV-positive people. She turns to activism and social engagement as her newly

found *modus vivendi*. When Lucie shares stories about visiting other HIV-positive people in the hospital and witnessing their pain, struggle, and death, we recognize echoes of *crip signing* of community, knowledge, and care. In this sense, her narrative complicates the notion of overcoming as it manages to extend it to even focus on overcoming of the “social AIDS.”

Yet *I Am HIV Positive* cannot be read as a straightforwardly subversive text. In fact, it can hardly be one. The autobiography is a gendered performative speech act of self-fashioning and self-affirmation as an HIV-positive woman. Lucie’s crafting of a narrative of a valued life while being HIV positive sustains the gestures of *crip solidarity* and *cripness* only by means of a careful balancing with normative frameworks of rehabilitative womanhood and the postsocialist ethical subject. Thus, both the autobiography and the many public performances correspond neatly with the dominant narratives foregrounding individual resilience and personal responsibility for turning one’s life around that underpin postsocialist rehabilitation. Among the many sources that could support these claims, Václav Klaus is the most outspoken ideologue of the new ethics of a “*homo economicus post-sovieticus*.” He shared his views with the public in the regular short essays written for the leading dailies and public journals. For instance, in an essay titled “The Power of Ideas” (“*Síla idejí*”) from 1991, Klaus says:

The economic (and social) transformations are complicating the lives of many of us. . . . The wiser of us understand that this is a rehabilitative process [that . . .] will be successful only when . . . it breaks through the stereotypes of our behaviours. (1)<sup>16</sup>

Thus, also Lucie’s narrative echoes the process of refashioning her life in correspondence with the ethical prescription of “breaking through the stereotypes of behaviour,” and showing that she understood the imperative of the time to “forsake [her] dependence, passivity, and irresponsibility in favor of self-reliance and responsibility” (Weiner 61). To document how pervasive the accent on personal responsibility was in the 1990s, I quote words of a newspaper reader in a letter to *Lidové noviny*—note once again the reference to growing up to get out of socialism:

*We want to be[come] adult citizens.* We will thus have to accept our responsibility for ourselves, for our own lives, including sharing responsibility for the situation of our fellow citizens and neighbors

who might need us. True social responsibility is not, and cannot be, solely a concern of the state. We all share this responsibility. (Deyl 13; emphasis added)

Yet here, as in Lucie's narrative, the address to personal responsibility is woven together with ideas of responsible collectivity and civil society. The early 1990s' emphasis on the individual was not—in the public imagination—fully divorced from the collective but was its complementary counterpart.

Clearly, the notions of individual and collective responsibilities/duties/failures were in tenuous relationship. Klaus, as the ideologue of the post-socialist economic transformation and a proponent of the “austerity ideology,” was criticized for aggravating social differences and conflicts. In response, Klaus argues in the essay “Society for the Strong Only?” (“Společnost jenom pro silné?”):

Our present political and economic system is a system representing all of us, not simply the “best” of us, in any given field of human activity. This system offers space in which everyone can find—provided they search candidly and do not expect success to happen to them— . . . their own capabilities and their own advantages. This, of course, does not mean that they will all succeed in the same manner or receive the same reward . . . but everyone has the chance to find their life's fulfillment. (5)

To find one's “comparative advantage” is the path to success, according to Klaus's translation and popularization of the neoliberal economic dictum, and the path to “realiz[ing] oneself to the full extent of one's capabilities” (“Společnost” 5). As if closely following Klaus's recommendations, Lucie uses her HIV positivity as her disadvantage. As a good “homo economicus post-sovieticus,” she turns her disability into her capital. For safeguarding, her capital is narratively and performatively embedded in heteronormative matrix as the happy end of her rehabilitated future is sealed by a “healthy” romance. Lucie's new (and HIV negative) partner even literally adds a chapter to her book. To see how the logic of rehabilitation is married to heteronormative horizons, we hardly need more than the voice-over of a man confirming how HIV-positive Lucie has been “cured” by “true love.”<sup>17</sup> There is, however, more to the symbolic power of the heteronormative union. Lucie and her partner become, in many senses of the word, a model “rehabilitated couple.” As much as being final testimony to Lucie's (hetero-)rehabilitation,

their union is offered as a *model of rehabilitative citizenship* that turns the pathological into the normative. *I Am HIV Positive* argues that their negotiation of difference—Lucie’s HIV—and Lucie’s openness, her willingness to become vulnerable and “teach” her future partner about HIV, are what made them *both* into better social beings and better citizens.

I now circle back to the postsocialist “rival visions” and the belief that the liberal ideology of civil society and the (neo)liberal trust in the liberating power of the “free market” are in conflict: *I Am HIV Positive* offers itself as an illuminating example of the fallacy of such a binary division as it stitches together the apparently digressive moralities of the postsocialist society. The affirmation of an HIV-positive woman’s life story reinforces the ethics of homo economicus post-sovieticus, while it is equally heavily invested in charting a lesson in good civic citizenship and echoes Havel’s words about the need to “cultivate . . . the democracy that we wish [to have].” Through pedagogical lessons in acceptance and in how to craft one’s survival, Lucie’s self-fashioning reinforced the rehabilitative morality of postsocialism when, with the turn of the millennium, trust in the success of the transition started to wane.

### Public Pedagogy and the Toil for Civil Society

Karim identifies as a gay HIV-positive man with experience with substance use and homelessness. I met Karim for the first time on a guided tour through Prague in winter of 2013. Before meeting him in person, I read multiple interviews he gave to newspapers and media, and as I realized only during the tour, I had seen him perform with a theater group of people without homes during the 2011 protests against privatization of public higher education. Today Karim continues to work as a guide through Prague, offering his tour companions an opportunity to experience “Prague’s firsthand underworld.” The tours are organized by Pragulic, a social enterprise that claims its ambition and objective is to “challenge the stereotypes associated with homelessness by enabling people to experience the world from a homeless perspective.”<sup>18</sup> I originally joined the tour hoping to meet Karim and ask him for an interview about his life with HIV as a part of another project. Taking part in the tour, I realized that this project of “social enterprise” brings home the issues of minority citizenship and rehabilitative pedagogy that I am trying to articulate in this chapter.

Pragulic was founded in 2012 by three students of the civil society studies master program at the university where I teach. In the first year of its

existence, the organization was given several awards, among them the Social Impact Award 2012 for its contribution to social integration. In 2014, one of its founders was named the Social Entrepreneur of the Year by Ernst & Young and included in the “30 under 30” list of Forbes. Emphasizing the entrepreneurial aspect of Pragulic’s model, she noted in one of media interview, “I wanted to differ from the NGOs whose financial plan is dependent on the public support . . . I wanted social business more than NGO with a focus on volunteering.” This in her mind makes the project more sustainable and able to develop as it is not dependent upon the irregular and precarious grant support. Yet this meant also a change in the financial reward offered to the guides. They were no longer receiving half of the earnings per tour, but a fixed fee while the touring customers are encouraged to tip the guides. “When you are happy with the service in the restaurant, you tip. Don’t hold back from tipping our guides,” advises the Pragulic website. The immediate success of Pragulic and its public acclaim as a business with the praiseworthy value of social impact and contribution to social change speaks to marketability of certain forms of “civic participation.” And as I elaborate below, it counts on the engagement of minority subjects, to whom it offers an opportunity, though limited, to turn themselves into entrepreneurial subjects, continuing thus the legacy that we have encountered with Lucie and her self-narrativization as a model for postsocialist transformation.

Pragulic sells a complex package of multiple opportunities for self-transformation and social change both to the guides and to the customers. It claims that, along with offering its customers a chance to “experience Prague through the eyes of homeless people,” the tours “give a second chance [to their guides].” Hence, what Pragulic offers is supposedly a transformative encounter in which the guides—people without a permanent home—are tasked with delivering to their customers the pedagogical lesson about civil, compassionate, and tolerant society. They are asked to be “agents of change” who will communicate and exemplify through their own experiences the complexities of the ways in which people become unsheltered and thus “guide” their customers into understanding the social issue and allow them to overcome their prejudices and stereotypes. Pragulic website notes: “Our aim is to create agents of change, who, based on an intense personal experience, know what homelessness means, who lost all the stereotypes and prejudices, and use this experience and act on it in their future lives.”

Pragulic offers tours convened by several “guides,” all of whom list their own profile and life story on the company web page so that the customers can *choose* whose life experiences they want to listen to, whose life scenery

they want to be guided through, and whose experience should be the transformative force on them and help them shed their stereotypes about people living precariously. Simultaneously, Pragulic diversifies its experiential education curriculum and next to the tours offers other activities to teach about homelessness. It, for instance, offers “experiences” that include “twenty-four hours without a home,” “team-building” and a “homeless challenge.” With a distinct echo of popular disability simulations such as “blind tours” or “dinners in the dark,” Pragulic too bets on the transformative power of the (as if) firsthand experience: “You can only understand homelessness after you have tried it yourself,” the Pragulic web reminds us.

The pedagogical imagination of Pragulic spans schools and students as well as corporate businesses and work collectives, lessons of ecology and lessons of team-building and social intelligence. The interactive program directed primarily at students and schools—the “Prague Homeless Challenge”—draws on the expert knowledge of people without permanent housing on how to survive in the city. The Prague Homeless Challenge claims to want to support “education in the spheres of social awareness, sustainability, and ecology.” In this “city game,” students are to learn from homeless people because, as the program’s mission statement puts it: “[Homeless people] can survive in extreme conditions because they have learned how to live in harmony with the earth.” Students can learn, for instance, how to sort waste and how to build a makeshift home. Alternatively, they can visit a homeless community or an asylum house or partake in “charity” or simpler “fun activities” such as running with plastic bags packed full.

In the other “experiences,” Karim’s and his colleagues’ multiple, complex, and controversial histories of precarity, hardships, and perseverance are commodified in the highly ironic offer of the “transfer of know-how from the field of homelessness to everyday corporate practice.” The website describes the activity as follows:

The team-building is primarily aimed at managers and employees from the corporate sphere. It has the form of a structured homeless pentathlon in which the participants can learn from somebody they would never have expected to learn from; they can pick up a lot of practical skills applicable in their everyday work. The aim is to show that a company training may be active and fun and at the same *time it can introduce the corporate social responsibility (CSR) as a strategic concept* naturally penetrating all the functional areas in the company. You can look forward to original and meaningful team tasks in the area of

marketing, sales, finance, and human resources. To give an example of a “sales activity,” the participants are required to sell directly on the street what they had found in garbage containers and to do that as quickly as possible for the highest price. In case of “finance activity,” the team uses creative team fundraising in the form of street art. In the logistics part, the participants spend the money they earned on food and other things they consider useful for the homeless; those things are later taken by the team to a specific homeless colony.

“Experiencing Prague underworld firsthand” is how Karim themes his “guided tours” through Prague. He takes his “tourists” through the parts of Prague with a history of street sex work and drug and other economies labeled “criminal.” He tours places and histories he ambivalently claims as his own. In his commentaries, Karim redrafts the present geography of the exceedingly gentrified and “cleaned-up” center of the metropolis by looping backward in time and overlaying the present with visions of the seedier past of the early post-Velvet Revolution years of the 1990s (times I discuss in chapter 2). Karim retells where he and his colleagues in the sex business worked, and where drugs were sold. On the tour I joined, he pointed out the hotel balcony onto which he locked his German client after he told Karim about his seropositive status after unprotected sex. Karim traces his own HIV status back to this man. All of this is an impromptu performance built out of hard life. After all, Karim is a proud performer and an actor, and his performing skills are what secures his livelihood and have made him into a sort of sought-after celebrity.

There seems to be more to this, though. In Karim’s words, this is his strategy of “a little shock therapy” (personal communication). Giving a twist to the neoliberal slogan (Klein, *The Shock*) that shaped the time of the “transformation” period when he hustled the streets, Karim transforms it into what he sees as a lesson in tolerance. He believes that he shocks his audience into recognizing “that today . . . anyone, at any moment, can end up [on the streets] without choosing [such a fate]” (personal communication). Karim’s story highlights how he survives and makes a living by reappropriating the commodified “narrative” in an exemplary embodiment of the postsocialist homo economicus. There are so many contradictions that he inhabits in a way that allows him—barely, but still—to survive. One of Karim’s many talents is to turn himself into an entrepreneur of himself who cleverly commodifies his past to stay alive in a present that remains precarious. Turning his life story and himself into spectacular performances that genially reflect the audience’s

desire for particular stories—and as I have witnessed during the tour—into a spectacle of the untold stories of the postsocialist “transformation” that offset the audience’s “successes” at managing to craft comfortable and more livable lives than is his, is a strategy that partly secures his survival. Karim loves to attract attention. He knowingly and deliberately juggles the everyday performances of gender trouble, turning himself into, as he said, “a spectacle.” These performances of a spectacle are a deliberate part of his concept of educating the public that go beyond the social pedagogy outlined by Pragulic, though, and challenge homophobia, AIDS-phobia, and gendered ableism. His performative presentations and gestures of campy diva exaggerations loop in time and overlap the present with past, the acute with the chronic. Most importantly, these guided tours, where Karim is part of the exposition that is being explored and shown, give *him time*. Like Lucie, Karim too makes his past failures into social and economic capital, and he too regains his agency by doing so.

Kryštof is an HIV-positive gay man with a life history similar to Karim’s. He too was homeless for long periods of time, lived rough, and has a history of substance use. Last time we spoke, several years ago, Kryštof told me he had a very busy work life and was engaged in several art and public outreach projects. On this occasion, we mostly talked about his engagement in the project called “Living Library” (“Živé knihovny”),<sup>19</sup> a project initiated and run by the Czech branch of Amnesty International. Amnesty International frames Living Library as an educational project focused on preventing “discrimination, racism, xenophobia, and extremism,” all of this captured in the motto of the program, Through Reading to Openness, where *reading* means meeting actual people who volunteer to be “read” and to share their life/book stories with their audience. “Instead of typical books, in Living Library, students can borrow [*sic!*] people or living books. Even living books can be read—through dialogues and the sharing of life stories.” Readers who enter the Living Library can “borrow” a “book” who will tell them stories about the life of ethnic minorities in the Czech Republic, stories of refugees and migrants, people with disabilities, people “with a minority sexual orientation,” with a “minority religious creed,” with experience using drugs, and homeless people. Amnesty International, like Pragulic, believes in working to “break down preconceptions and stereotypes” and to better the relationship between the “majority” and “minorities”:

[Living Library] is unique mainly because . . . [it offers] a space for open dialogue. . . . The mutual encounter helps to dissolve the barriers

to communication between representatives of the majority society and of minorities and in contrast supports their mutual relationship. The [Living Library] gives students the opportunity to meet someone in their ordinary lives they would probably never meet. . . . This approach makes it possible . . . to reflect on questions of discrimination, social exclusion, extremism, and racism in context and based on personal experience.

Kryštof takes great pride in being part of Living Library and in the fact that, in his words, his “book of life” brings a wide range of genres: “[I represent an] artist, actor, HIV-positive and homeless person. [My book] includes (stories) of seropositivity, criminality, travesty . . . life on the street . . . (I am) an encyclopedia of a kind . . . I embody more stories than other people” (personal communication). The pride that Kryštof expressed at being “an encyclopedia” is grounded in the notion that his “book of life,” precisely because it encompasses a varied range of chapters and experiences, is especially valuable (and more valuable than those of other people) as a resource for challenging social stereotypes and—importantly—for teaching tolerance. As Kryštof understands, his experiences, so rich in precarity, adversity and hardship, are converted through the Living Library into valuable capital in the collective project of creating a more tolerant society, as well as into a sort of social capital, though of questionable value, for the precariously positioned Kryštof.

Similarly, talking about his own work as a guide, Karim keeps coming back to emphasize that he loves this work because it allows him to inform people about homelessness and change their perceptions of people living on the streets. He believes that, in this way, he makes people and society more tolerant and accepting of people living in precarious housing, people setting up provisional homes in public spaces, and people who are sex workers, take drugs, and/or live with HIV. He says, “I am calling attention to HIV, prostitution, sexual orientation, and other issues that still have not gained social tolerance” (Karim, personal interview). Kryštof’s and Karim’s words echo each other; they both accentuate the value they see in their engagement with the public or the “majority.” They both frame their work as laboring toward a more tolerant society, toward social diversity, and toward reduced discrimination and social exclusion. They understand their work (and their commitment) as both their civic responsibility—because as minority members they have a particular and *teachable* experience—and a form of public pedagogy teaching tolerance, teaching how to be an open and civil society.

When I last met Kryštof, he was still living very precariously, overstaying

the length of time a person is allowed to live in supported housing, looking at very real possibility of needing to leave soon. As his situation suggests, people like Karim and Kryštof, who are dedicated to these forms of “public pedagogy,” often have few options outside the limited space of these projects, which are recognized as valuable because of the “pedagogical lessons” they offer for the majority. What does it mean, however, that they use up the life powers of the marginalized subjects while simultaneously locking them into such social projects?

To conclude, Kryštof’s and Karim’s stories frame the discussion of the mythological function of the notions of an open and civil society that were seen not only as the opposite to the totalitarian socialist past but also as a tool of rehabilitative treatment for the postsocialist society and thus associated with the promises of a tolerant and liberal society. As I emphasized above, both Karim and Kryštof retain an understanding of their public coming-outs and engagements as affective work toward “humanizing” the public; they understand themselves as participating and contributing to a tolerant, open society. Yet their existence remains precarious. The mythology of an open society/civic democracy creates a demand for spaces in which to encounter difference, but it also makes the subjects marked with difference take the brunt of the affective labor. The Living Library project highlights and foregrounds some of the principles upon which the notions of an open civil society rest, while it also makes very explicit the amount of labor and investment that is required from the “different life” that is supposedly the focus of such projects.

This opening chapter focuses on the paradoxes and ambivalences embedded in the imaginary of the postsocialist social and public. Accordingly, it foretells many conflicts explored across the book. In particular, the discussion of civility, openness, and tolerance seems to clash with the two closing components of the text (chapter 5 and the coda), delving into current manifestations of the ugly faces of postsocialism (e.g., nationalism, xenophobia, homophobia) that are recognizable and recognizably bad to both the national and transnational players. I argued here, however, that the lessons of open and civil society that the postsocialist societies were to emulate to fulfill the “transformation” expectations brought with them the unresolved issues of social hierarchy and inequalities that mark democracies beyond Eastern Europe. These only stood out more clearly and bloomed with unrestrained clarity when introduced and recreated on the heels of the postsocialist upheaval. For instance, the idea of the social that the postsocialist ideologues put forth rejected social equality as a dangerous “chimera” and

even, as I showed in the book's introduction, compared it to the danger of totalitarianism. Karl Popper's deliberation on equality and social hierarchies that stood as a major inspiration of the Czechoslovakian political imaginary in the 1990s was interpreted as follows:

An open society *does not* . . . guarantee equal opportunities to all; *it is not* a classless society. Its class structure, however, reflects the general rules of social stratification, and the fact of high mobility . . . prohibits the emergence of class-consciousness and thus the emergence of class in the Marxian sense. These only emerge in closed societies. ("Otevřená společnost"; emphasis added)

Furthermore, the main thesis here is that the rehabilitative scripts of transformation relied on the minoritarian subject to articulate and imagine its own curative "openness" and "tolerance" of sexual, racial, and disability difference. This form of relating to "minoritarian subjects" created significant repercussions for the minoritarian subjects and has equally influenced the current discourses that position minority identities as a danger to national statehood. My discussion of the pedagogical and inspirational role ascribed to the HIV-positive people or colonization of the hurt of the violent histories of attacks against Roma and Sinti for the rehabilitation of the white Czech nation reveals them as gestures upholding hierarchies and "violence of value" that make these "minoritarian lives" only conditionally valuable, that is, valuable only as enrichment to the national transformation.

In this sense, my discussion is in conversation with feminist queer and crip critiques of the neoliberal dealings with difference based mostly in discussing the processes of governance in Western/ized contexts. For instance, Antke Engel's concept of "projective integration" that "fosters individualization and distinctiveness in order to motivate people to actively work themselves into the established socioeconomic relations" ("The Surplus" 178) is very helpful in linking praxes developed by Lucie, Karim, and Kryštof to practices of neoliberal governance that sprang to existence beyond Eastern Europe. The material that I discussed here, spanning the 1990s into the late 2010s, illustrates the negotiating of difference "as threat" and "as promise" or "capital" (Engel, "The Surplus"; see also Engel, *Bilder*)—and importantly illustrates that these understandings of difference coexisted and overlapped across the postsocialist period.

## Two

### Sex, Syndromes, and Mixed Feelings

---

ENGLISHMAN: Do you know Caravaggio?

MAREK: Cara-what?

ENGLISHMAN: Sweet unconsciousness! The primitive!

The brute! You do not know it, but you are the true creator of the art in the world! If it were not for you, art would not happen. . . . if your body did not exist . . .

MAREK: My name is Marek

. . .

ENGLISHMAN: So cruel . . . sweet innocence . . . Still asleep, we wake you up tonight!

(*Mandragora*, dir. Wiktor Grodecki, 1997)

In this moment of sexual innuendo, meet Marek, a runaway adolescent boy striving (and struggling) to find a new life in the post-1989 Czech Republic. In the meantime, Marek—the protagonist of Wiktor Grodecki's *Mandragora* (1997)—engages in sex work to pay for his drugs and gambling and to secure a provisional home in hotel rooms, which he shares with boys living rough like him. The Englishman, Marek's customer, is likewise a representative of a kind; he is a prototype of a "sex-hungry foreigner" cruising the streets of Prague (and Eastern European cities) in the 1990s looking for young boys and men. In the 1990s, Eastern Europe was a place of blooming transnational sex tourism.<sup>1</sup> "Indeed, one of the most striking images of the changes in Eastern Europe . . . was that of women lining the highways across the region, offering sex for sale" (Klingman and Limoncelli 119). One of the main attractions of the region was the professed sexual flexibility of its population and their eagerness to please (cf. Hall, "Rent-Boys").<sup>2</sup> In this scene of Marek's encounter with his English customer—a scene I return to later—dramatizes

the orientalizing nature of the “Western gaze” directed toward “Eastern” bodies to articulate a morally charged narrative construing the “West” as a site of (homosexual) danger and threat to perhaps uncultured, yet innocent and healthy East European bodies. Of course, the references to Slavic-ness are also a distinct form of racialization: both bodies and groups (the sex workers and the sex seekers) are being racialized.<sup>3</sup>

The early postsocialist years were permeated by rampant sexism and pervasive sexualization and objectification of women, as well as by a desire for the West. In fact, it was mostly through (women’s) bodies offered to the “male gaze” and through allusions to (heterosexual) sex that the new “sexy” goods coming from the West were advertised. Given this, it is startling to see sexuality being employed as a timely and urgent warning against the dangerous Western influences bringing social and sexual decay through excess. The depictions of the sex business and porn industry offered by Grodecki become a provoking and morally reinvigorating commentary on the postsocialist transformations that came with opening the national borders and markets to foreign capital and goods.

In one of the first reflections on the movements of desire across the borders between the Czech Republic (Prague specifically) and the “West,” Matti Bunzl records a racialized orientation toward Eastern Europe, an orientation that builds on a historical lineage of perceiving the “East”/ Eastern Europe as a precivilized backwardness, a space of primitive political tendencies toward totalitarianism, but adapts it for the new ideological and economic purposes of neoliberal capitalism (“The Prague”). Bunzl charts the ways in which structures of Orientalism and racializing of the “Eastern subject” materialized (in) a busy form of sex exchanges across the borders between East and West. A careful ethnographer, he follows predominantly Austrian gay men traveling East for their weekend fun and explores what Joseph Boon has termed the “imperialist economics of boys” (cited in Bunzl 78) to “elucidate the neocolonial Western project of charting and thereby inventing a new, post-transition Eastern Europe” (Bunzl 78). Boon’s and Bunzl’s observations on transnational exchanges manifest centrally in Grodecki’s work.

*Mandragora*—the film from which this chapter’s epigraph is taken—is the last sequence in a series (a triptych of sorts) by Wiktor Grodecki, a US-based Polish émigré who traces the development of the sex work and pornographic businesses in Eastern Europe in the mid-1990s. *Not Angels but Angels* (*Andělé nejsou andělé*, 1994), Grodecki’s first film, is a documentary on male-to-male sex work and its transnational exploitative dimension—though Kevin Moss terms the three films “pseudo-documentaries” to point out their

stylized form and interventionist approach (“Who’s Renting”). The film features young men (many of them minors) talking about sex work, AIDS, and their visions of a future away from prostitution. *Body without Soul* (*Tělo bez duše*, 1996), also presented as a documentary, shifts the perspective toward the porn-production networks in Prague that service foreign (mostly German) markets. *Mandragora* (1997), the only fiction film, symbolically closes the trilogy by retracing the motifs of the documentaries and tying them together through a narrative line that accentuates the cruelty of the promises of post-socialist rosy futures. *Mandragora* reimagines post-1989 Prague as a dystopic hyper-urban site—a city overrun by its “underworld” of impromptu casinos and gambling stations, “homosexual” nightclubs, street prostitution, criminality, and drug addiction. Prague features as the “Sin City” of the East European 1990s, as a materialization of the failed postsocialist transformation.

Grodecki’s ouvre thus serves as a harsh antidote to the optimistic fantasies of (homosocial and homoerotic) “togetherness” circulated by the Pet Shop Boys’ cover of “Go West” that provided one of the prominent traces in the postsocialist global soundscape (PSB’s version of the song was released in 1993 and played live onstage in Prague during the Prague Pride 2014 discussed in chapter 5).<sup>4</sup> The lyrics call up images of the open air, blue skies, sunny wintertime, and a peaceful life mirroring the aesthetics of hopefulness:

(Together) We will love the beach  
(Together) We will learn and teach  
(Together) Change our pace of life  
(Together) We will work and strive  
(I love you) I know you love me  
(I want you) How could I disagree?  
(So that’s why) I make no protest  
(When you say) You will do the rest.

Contrarily, Grodecki’s postsocialist futures are haunted by ghost of death (playing a pun on the other meaning of “going west”)<sup>5</sup> from overdose or AIDS. One of the characters in *Mandragora* responds laconically when asked whether he fears AIDS: “Why, we all got it anyway.” And, indeed, just before we see Marek die of an intended overdose in a public toilet, we learn that his lover and a partner in the sex business is dying of AIDS. Grodecki’s films open space for a reappraisal of disability, queerness, racialization, and Eastern Europe and its rehabilitation because the portrayal of sex (work) destabilizes the dominant narratives of transition.

Sexuality is an analytical tool to approach postsocialism (and periods whose legacies influence the postsocialist developments). Feminist and queer scholars have long approached sex/uality as one of the arenas documenting the reshaping of the politics in Eastern and Central Europe during postsocialism. For instance, Gail Klingman and Susan Gal have famously argued that gender and sexuality discourses were crucial to renegotiating the meanings of the social and the political. In fact, they offer that the post-1989 political processes were themselves “shaped by control of reproduction” (17). Věra Sokolová notes that the explorations of sexuality “tell us a lot about the ways economic transformation and openness to the ‘West’ have helped redefine cultural values and models” (“Don’t Get” 253; see also Hadley et al., “Queer Pasts”). Bogdan Popa has recently offered a new reading of how sexuality served as an ideological weapon during the Cold War and how such legacies persist long into postsocialist transformations as well as into queer theorization. While both sides of the Cold War propaganda utilized sexual moral and panic to paint its opponent as sexually repressed or excessive, respectively, sexuality, and its cultural interpretations underscore the postsocialist transitions as well. Here Popa offers his engaging critique as he argues that queer theory remains attached to the antisocialist and anticommunist legacies that get reproduced in the postsocialist spaces. Popa argues, in contrast, for exploring and working through the different models of sexuality that were not based in the individualistic and exceptionalist paradigm (*De-centering*).

Grodecki’s representations of (homosexual and) transnational sex work helped to articulate and give concrete shape to disenchantment with the postsocialist developments, that I call—as a counterpoint to the earlier discussion of transformational optimism—“transformational pessimism.” The films and their public reception capture the first cracks in the postsocialist consensus. They provide a subject matter in the sexualized and racialized cross-border exchanges, but also affective economy attached to these exchanges, through which the consensus could be potentially renegotiated and reestablished. In some sense, the pessimism of the films and the failure of the individualized notion of emancipation seem to outline the limits of the “Western” understandings of sexual liberation as well.

A review line that sums up *Mandragora* captures this dystopic impulse poignantly: “AIDS was the only thing the life in freedom ‘got’ for the prostitute David” (Lederer 7). Even Václav Havel, the iconic figure of Czech postsocialist “moral rehabilitation,” is said to have taken notice of the developing sex business; indeed, he is said to have congratulated Grodecki on the film. Even though I have not been able to locate the actual letter evidencing this,

the anecdote serves us well here, for it documents the intensity of the moral panic around the postsocialist citizenship and the collectively experienced anxiety around borders that we see projected onto the body of the nation that is infected, objectified, and consumed by unsavory and illicit desires, and most of all devoured by the German/Western “johns.”

Partaking in what might be understood as a postsocialist version of what Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick calls “homosexual panic” (*Epistemology* 18–21, 195–212), the trilogy centers on the dual danger of the potentially infectious “homosexual” and “transnational” sexual transactions. The cultural archive created around the films (including film reviews, critiques, and public debates) both reflects and generates anxieties attached to the national body, its borders, and capacities, and so offers an opportunity to think disability capaciously as it is articulated through intersections of nationality, ethnic, and racialized difference as well as through notions of sexual perversity, deprivation, and illness.

Grodecki’s films are decidedly clichéd and generally—well—not great films. Moreover, they are undoubtedly burdened by ethical problems.<sup>6</sup> At the same time, the archive created by and around these films offers a location through which to interrogate, first, the affective investment in, and the ultimate failure of, the promise of what I describe as a postsocialist rehabilitation that depends, in part, on racialized, disabled, and queer subjects. Second, this archive allows us to reflect on manifold dynamics of racialization in East-West contacts and on instances when the West is seen as a (possibly even *the*) source of pathology and contamination for the East.

I trace the author’s, as well as the audience’s, fascination with sex work and across-the-borders sexual/viral transactions to draw out how the affective outrage that the films facilitate relies on the divide between sexuality, on the one hand, and issues of work and labor, on the other, at a transitional moment in Czech history when other forms of labor across regional and national borders were, paradoxically, spotlighted. The films center morality rather than labor, and thus, I argue, inhibit materialist critiques of postsocialist developments in Eastern Europe.

This chapter thus interrogates a further set of interconnected questions: what would it mean if we reclaimed messy and conflicted archives of (male) sex work, substance addiction, HIV/AIDS, and/or youth homelessness as a place from which to start mapping out the interweaving axes of race, disability, sexuality, and the nation? How might we theorize the racialization of crimpness/disability? How would it influence the field if we thought about disability as being articulated through simultaneous transnational circuits of exchange between (economies of) bodies, viruses, desires, capacities, and

knowledge? What theoretical leverage can be gained from applying what Jina Kim outlines as a crip-of-color analysis (“Toward”) to postsocialist modes of rehabilitation—and how would we have to adapt it to speak to the specific modes of racialization that have been set into motion prior to and with the “transition”?

I contend that the focus on sexuality—and the moral scandal of sex work in Grodecki’s films—puts pressure on visions of postsocialist rehabilitation and cure of the “East.” The portrayal of the young men who exchange their bodies for quick money is all the more outrageous and upsetting because it is shown to involve white, able-bodied, autonomous bodies of young men, the symbolic bearers of a(n imagined) future rehabilitated from what Václav Havel called “syndromes of post-communism”:

I believe and have strong hope that young people that grew up after the fall of communism are not affected by [the] horrible syndrome of post-communism. . . . With the fall of communism, from one day to another the structure of our life values upheld through decades crashed down and took the lifestyle with it. It brought an end to “time of securities,” trite, blunt, and suicidal for the society as a whole, but securities. Abruptly, the time of freedom came instead. . . . The freedom brought a completely new set of demands on individual responsibility. Responsibility that many might have found unbearable. Many times, I have compared this to the post-incarceration psychosis when [people who] for years used to live in a narrow corridor of detailed rules find [themselves] suddenly in a strange open space of freedom. (“Address to the Parliament,” 1997)

Havel’s words underscore the symbolic importance of narratives focusing on young men who choose—as Grodecki’s films and their audience (as traced in the film reviews and public discussion) suggest—quick profit over responsibility, work, and morality—manifesting thereby the concrete effects of “the psychosis.”

The public reception of Grodecki’s films turns the narratives about young men “selling themselves” into a synecdoche communicating a vision of a collapsing moral order in the postsocialist nation corrupted by foreign influences of excessive materialism and consumerism: the consumption of Coca-Cola, goods, and drugs; the consumption of bodies, desires, and pleasures leading to the men’s (and ultimately the nation’s) bodies being consumed by drugs or AIDS, all deadly “syndromes of post-communism” and of, in Havel’s

“compulsorily rehabilitative” imaginary, “post-incarceration psychosis.” The vision serves as a moral warning juxtaposed against the visions of rehabilitative citizenship outlined in the previous chapter and serves as a corrective to the “transformative optimism.”

Focusing on virus-spreading foreign homosexuals and their lust for Eastern European boys, the films reinforce ethical imperatives of purity, propriety, and work that fuel neoliberal ideologies in the postsocialist region—remember how many metaphors of impurity, (moral) decay, indecency, mistrust, pretense, and laziness propped up the moral acuteness of the early post-1989 political speeches and protestations, as well as the current impetus on moral transparency, merit, and willingness to work and exert one’s capacities that underlie discussions of neoliberal citizenship (more on this in chapters 4 and 5). And yet as we reread the complex archive of the turbulent 1990s that the films mediate, the timeliness of their attempt to articulate a critique of inequality in East-West transactions is striking. As we attempt to understand the ways in which embodiment, sexuality, and desire have been mediated in the neoliberal era, it is important to consider the complex role that postsocialist societies played (or were made to play) in global economic, social, and sexual restructurings. For that reason, there is something to be gained from a “feminist queer crip” analysis of seemingly marginal and compromised media texts such as Grodecki’s. If read “against the grain,” the films offer a salient reflection of how ideologies of liberalism and liberal morality diverted attention away from what Anca Parvulescu calls “the traffic in Eastern European bodies” (*Traffic*), and of the ways in which such “traffic” depended on and co- and reproduced delineations of race, sexuality, and disability.

The fantasy of a quick postsocialist transformation built on promises of prosperity of capitalism, freedom, and a functioning democracy began to dissolve by the mid-1990s (Večerník and Matějů). When, more than two decades later, Jaromír Typlt, a Czech poet, reminisced over the 1990s, he noted with irony, “They were peculiar times; most people experienced them as a period of preparing for the ‘golden times’ that would arrive after we made it through the transition. . . . They were times of awaiting that which was only still budding. . . . Yet instead we only got a morass” (cited in Činátlová, n.p.).

Grodecki’s dystopic vision of “the other 1990s,” however, does not represent purely a dissenting critique. Rather, it joins with other cultural production that becomes a vessel of negotiating a specific consensus about the negative social features, that is, effects of postsocialism. In fact, Jan Čulík notes that TV series from that period often depict similarly dystopic imagery of “a destabilized society in which the state authorities are unable efficiently

to defend law and order and the citizens themselves must fight for their own interests. Business is regarded as a questionable activity often equal to criminality” (Jací 149). Grodecki’s films, then, capture and speak to a general sentiment of anxiety over a society in transition and give space to anxiety over the receding horizons of optimism.

A national poll in 1997 revealed that more than half of the Czech population was disillusioned with postrevolutionary developments and felt that “post-November dreams” were not being fulfilled (Tuček et al.; Odráz; Lamper, “Minulý týden” [1997]). Financial scandals during the mid-1990s put a sharp end both to promises of equally distributed prosperity and to citizens’ trust in a functioning democracy. Coinciding with the poll marking public dissatisfaction, Václav Havel, then president, called the collective affect of the moment a “foul mood” (blbá nálada, “Address to the Parliament,” 1997). He identified its source as “the state of the political affairs” and the dissatisfaction of the citizens with their state and the political system itself. This led to a turn in the political development and brought in, for the first time since 1989, a social democratic (positioned and self-positioning as political left) government in 1998. But on a broader level, Havel’s catchy coinage can be read as an indication that collective identification with the political structures as well as the postsocialist consensus had started to crumble away.

Together with this national “foul mood,” other forms of troubling affects were molding the affective horizon of postsocialism. In mid-1990s, the state of human rights in the Czech Republic and specifically the rising numbers of anti-Roma violent attacks and deaths resulting from racist assaults caused international and national concern.<sup>7</sup> While these events are not directly mentioned and dramatized in the discussed films, I will bring them in shortly to argue that the public response to Grodecki’s films was importantly related to these events (some of which were already discussed in chapter 1). In other words, the modes of racialization articulated by Grodecki’s films and their public reception relate to different “coincidental” articulations of race and racialized disability.

The negative affectivity attached to the crumbling postsocialist consensus found expression through discourses of (highly gendered, racialized, and pathologized) sexuality, discourses of the nation and national sovereignty. The depictions of the sex business and porn industry were read as a provoking and morally reinvigorating commentary on the social processes forming the postsocialist society. Against the prevalent desire to catch up with the “West,” Grodecki’s films call attention—as is understood by the reviewers—to “the petrifying phenomenon of our times,” that is, sexual objectification and homosexual sex work (Jeníková 5), which the films locate as originating in

the West and its overgrown consumerism. The reviews pose an imperative: “Do not close your eyes! Our times are sick” (Jeníková 5).

In Grodecki’s work the affective disenchantment with the postsocialist developments is articulated through a portrayal of young, white, able-bodied, and presumably heterosexual masculine/male bodies used up, corrupted, sickened, and claimed by greed, drugs and AIDS. Sexuality, as I argue, serves here as the main axis of the affective negativity; sexuality is called upon to produce a powerful narrative of moral panic, one that features homosexuality laced with pedophilia, commercial sex, addiction, and general perversity and one that associates the moral threat with the foreign, perverted, homosexual males who buy and consume the flesh of innocent, young, white, Czech young men or even boys. Sexuality bears the labor of refracting the transformational pessimism. Yet it is a much broader and more complicated assemblage of discourses of gender, nationality, race, pathology, and disability that function here as a vector for the dystopic visions of a futureless future.

*Mandragora* tells such a pessimistic story through Marek. He desires a better life. His desire to leave behind the drudgery of the ordinary day-to-day life of duty and work, which did not seem to do much for his father, leads Marek—it does not surprise “us,” the informed and learned audience—to “the forlorn world of squandered human lives and mostly tragic fates of the inexperienced and credulous lads who lead empty lives in the discos and clubs frequented only by homosexuals and their friends” (Sádlík 6). Further, the reviews identify the encounter between the “East” with the “West” as the central locus of the pathology that threatens the postsocialist society. The homophobic sentiments about the moral decline and threat to the national body, where, again in the words of review of *Mandragora*, “homosexuality, young boys’ prostitution, drugs, increasing criminality, youth gambling, dismal family relations, and the absence of positive values in the contemporary so-called civilized society” (Sádlík 6) overlap with the “foul mood” and with mixed feelings about the postsocialist present and future.

### Laboring

I am Peter. I am nineteen. . . . I’m almost twenty. . . . I am Daněk. I am fourteen. . . . I am Radek. I am seventeen. . . . Michael, fourteen. . . . I am Honza. In this club they call me Miss Jackson because I look like Michael Jackson. . . . Right now, I hustle. . . . I hustle too, like my friends. . . . I came here to find a job, but it did not work out, so I began to hustle . . . it brings more money than work. . . . I am on the street.<sup>8</sup>

Positioning himself as an émigré returning to Eastern Europe after a long exile in Los Angeles, Grodecki offers his films as a commentary on the “human soul and a *problem of Eastern Europe*” (“Chtěl” 46–47; emphasis added) under the conditions of “post-communism”:

Corruption of the soul . . . is caused by the rapid transformation of the society toward materialism; this corruption is underway in the Czech Republic and elsewhere in the Eastern European states and is quickly proceeding. *We are losing the measure of the extent to which we are willing to sell ourselves and turn ourselves into a commodity.* . . . “Move your body, here is your pay.” . . . One of the aims of the film[s] is to reveal what price we are paying, and we will continue to pay for the onset of consumerism. . . . Consumerism develops like a cancer [*sic!*]. (47; emphasis added)

Grodecki views Eastern Europe as alienated and objectified through the forceful entry of unregulated markets and through the seduction of commodity culture, all of which is embodied in the figure of the sex-seeking foreigner. Ironically, Grodecki offers the echoes of Marx’s discussion of alienated labor and reification precisely at the time when even the history department of Charles University, where I studied in the mid-1990s, purged itself of the supposedly excessive copies of Marx’s *Capital* and other key works of historical materialism. The specificity of Grodecki’s vision is, however, lost in the apolitical and universalizing rendering of the reviews that look to Grodecki’s oeuvre for a “warn[ing about] the evil of a man” (Grodecki, “Chtěl” 46).

The leaky borders of the Czech Republic become epitomized as the leaky borders of the whole Eastern European region, penetrated by the corrupting West and its excessive commodification and objectification of human bodies and minds. It is worth emphasizing that these critiques, which otherwise remained inarticulable or—if articulated—largely unintelligible for most of the postsocialist period, were made intelligible in this particular instance through the racialized narrative of (homo)sexual exploitation with the added flavor of AIDS-phobia.

Juxtaposing the vulnerable postsocialist subjects / young men with the morally depraved leery Westerners / older gay men, reviews of *Mandragora* repeatedly employ morally charged metaphors such as “the loss of human dignity” and paint images of the cruel sexual practices of “foreign sex-hungry customers” (Sádlík 6). But if Grodecki echoes Marx’s critique of the human commodification in the production process,<sup>9</sup> he also echoes its limits. Despite

the fact that Grodecki blames the (globalized) market for the change in the tenor of society, he ultimately falls back—as does the public reception of the documentaries—on the liberal ideologies of humanism. Marx's outrage at "prostitution," calling it the utmost "defilement of man [sic]," as Roderick Ferguson (*Aberrations* 7) reminds us, is predicated on the scandal of the monetarized transaction in pleasure and, importantly, on construing the figure of the prostitute as a "racial menace" (I will return to discourses of race a bit later) and a threat to the middle-class values of propriety, diligence, and delayed gratification. In posing the "corruption of the soul" as the most threatening "syndrome" of the historical moment—"postcommunism"—what remains inarticulable is the fact that sex work is work located within the skewed power dynamic of the transnational and racialized encounters. The logic of the moral panic rooted in liberalism shifts attention from the growing precarities initiated by the so-called free-market economy and cultural imperialism to stories of sexual depravity, illness, and disability threatening the national future.

The heart of the scandal of sex work, Leticia Sabsay notes, lies in the fact that it collapses the distance between the worker and the work. Sex work, therefore, threatens to reveal that sovereign subjectivity depends on "compulsory able-bodiedness" that again, as Robert McRuer shows, depends upon one's ability and capacity to work and to exchange one's labor for the fantasy of freedom (*Crip Theory* 8, 1–32). Since "under capitalist conditions, bodies become the only means of production that workers have as sovereign owners of their bodies," Sabsay argues, the detachment between bodies and labor constitutes imaginaries of "the modern objectification of the body" as well as the fantasy of "self-owned subject" (190). The danger and scandal of young men—the symbolical bearers of a future rehabilitated from the "syndrome of post-communism"—entangled in sex work is thus not only that it destabilizes the compulsory able-bodiedness of "the propertied subject" (Sabsay 190) but also that it puts pressure on visions of rehabilitation and cure of the "East."

Did we not somehow know all of this already? Are we not engaging, we might ask, in what Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick calls a "paranoid" reading? Imagining a crip version of a "reparative reading" ("Paranoid"), I want to point to moments in which the documentaries, at the same time, resist the disconnection of sex and work, oppose the imperative of delayed pleasure that framed postsocialist "rehabilitation," and gesture toward the limits in disability epistemologies, while also acknowledging the exploitative transnational economy of labor. To extrapolate, I return to the multiplicity of the voices

of the young men in Grodecki's "documentaries," their various motivations for sex work as well as their differing levels of precariousness. Some of them are shy, some more matter-of-fact, and some fabulously and flamboyantly queer. Some present their involvement in sex work as a result of precarity, oftentimes after being thrown out of homes and families. Others talk proudly and present themselves as homo economicus par excellence, measuring the price of their labor against the value of their leisure—"I would not have even gotten out of bed for less than [amount of cash charged for a sexual favor]" (*Not Angels*). Their testimonies offer a constellation of queercrip excess with hopeful gesturing to the future.

The testimonies of the young men disidentify, to come back to José Muñoz's term once again—with the domineering morality of cleansing off the socialist past through asceticism, hard work, and nearly pious subjection to the law of neoliberal economics. Simultaneously, they disidentify with, and mark the limits of, disability epistemologies framed through discourses of identity and rights. The multiple forms of cripness represented in Grodecki's documentaries—namely addictions, HIV, trauma from sexual violence and exploitation, and stress and anxiety linked to precariousness—put the category of disability under pressure and illustrate how cripness materializing through the transnational traffic in bodies remains inarticulate through epistemologies married to liberal forms of recognition geared toward phantasms of the independent and recognized citizen of the postsocialist state. Despite how compromised Grodecki's documentaries are, they do mediate, by giving cinematic form to, alternative cripistemologies.

Moving away from the heavy layers of homophobic conservative moralism, this reparative reading realigns sex and work to emphasize the continuum of various forms of labor and the "traffic in Eastern European bodies" upon which the transnational economy has relied. If read along these lines, the portrayal of "[the] imperialist economics of boys" (Boon cited in Bunzl 78) that *Not Angels but Angels* and *Body without Soul* offer represents historical traces of (domesticized, sexualized, caregiving, affective, and otherwise devalued) labor outsourced out of the Eastern European bodies through the institutions of transnational commodification of labor and capacities.

But a reparative reading also needs to accentuate further paradoxes in the stories of young men engaging in sex work to work toward a dream of a good life and entrepreneurial success. They are not intelligible as parallel to stories of other people traveling abroad as scholars, workers, carers, or domestic help with similar dreams. Even though it was one of the first forms of "traffic," sex work is not recognized as an example of outsourcing cheap labor out

of Eastern Europe. In fact, in some sense, the dominant framework of “sex trafficking” blocked more a complex analysis of the gendered violence (Suchland, *Violence*) and of labor exploitation. Anca Parvulescu argues that Gayle Rubin’s concept of “traffic in women” should not be understood as referring to exceptional cases of human trafficking; rather “it describes an economic continuum on which both prostitution and marriage are situated” (*Traffic* 23). In dialogue with discussions of structural disadvantages based in gender order, Grodecki’s triptych gestures to another mode of the continuum of gendered, cheapened labor sourced out of Eastern Europe and produced through mechanisms of transnational capitalism.<sup>10</sup> It is possible to resist the tag of the clichéd visions of McDonaldization of Eastern Europe (cf. Šiklová; for the concept of the McDonaldization of society see Ritzler 1996) and reread the transactions that Grodecki depicts as historical traces of the various forms of domesticized, sexualized care and affective labor that Eastern Europe was turned into a repository of.

It is worth returning to the question raised earlier that asks why has it not been legible for so long to talk about exploitation in relation to cheap labor and the exhaustion of bodies in the production of transnational capital? How do the narratives of young men and boys selling sex in the hope that it brings them closer to fulfilling their fantasies of a good life and entrepreneurial success also speak to stories of Czech women (and men) traveling to Germany and other transnational locations as workers, carers, domestic help? And how does it foreshadow the stories of people coming to the Czech Republic as workers, carers, and domestic help from locations “further East”? How do the stories of young men in *Not Angels but Angels* and *Bodies without Soul* relate to long-term care centers opening across the region to care for patients with dementia or other old-age-related health issues coming from the “West”?

The imperialist economics of boys/bodies underscore what we can call—with a nod to Boon’s and Bunzel’s work—*imperialist economics of desire and capacities*. Even if we leave the explicit disability connection through HIV/AIDS out of the equation for now and allow—as we must—space for the ambivalence of desire and erotic attachments, the sex labor performed by “Eastern bodies” is a form of complex reproductive and affective labor, “reproducing,” relaxing, and rejuvenating some bodies through using up others as they were situated against the larger context of a global economy that unevenly distributes capacity/debility (as well as desire and erotic attachments). These circuits represent one of the ways in which disability (as a specific economy of capacity and vital powers) comes to matter through processes of racialization and Oriental Othering.

Grodecki's films create an admittedly problematic and conflictual triptych of sorts, an archive that reveals complicity with the dominant epistemic frameworks of a xenophobic "homosexual panic," white nationalism, and the stigmaphobic abjection of disability. And yet I propose to reread Grodecki's films as a gesture, a performance of yearning, an attempt to open the space for critical reflections of the transnational dynamisms of postsocialism and the onset of global capitalism. I have read his films for the dystopic, pessimistic visions of the corruptive effects of excessive consumerism and commodification. They can also, simultaneously, be read for gestures of struggling to express a critical vision of the global economy of capacity/debility materializing through the circulation of bodies, desires, fluids, and viruses across national/transnational borders. One of the most fascinating features of the films is pointing us to the importance of exploring disability in cultural locations that are "not about disability" and thus pushing existing disability genealogies or even articulating new ones.

In the remainder of this chapter, I further argue that Wiktor Grodecki's films represent an addition to the archive of postsocialism, a feverish, ambivalently queer, troubled, and troubling response to the forceful—indeed compulsory—optimism of the time by articulating disillusionment, unfulfilled hopes, and dystopic horizons where the future appears gloomy or even impossible as we witness deaths of the future-bearing generation from exhaustion, drugs, and/or AIDS. The rereading of Grodecki's films I offer portrays the forgotten peripheries where the positivity of the "transformation" did not reach and evidence of the slow buildup of neglect emerges. Even though Grodecki's films were a sensation that garnered a very emotional reaction, the well-being of the boys and men, not that of girls and women working the streets, was not the primary focus of these concerns.

### Mixed Genealogies

Crip histories, or the ways in which we learn such histories, can hardly be straight, respectable, uncomplicated, rational, and straightforwardly sanitary. Postsocialist histories and disability epistemologies in the postsocialist context are hardly straight and straightforward. Sometimes, furthermore, as José Muñoz chronicled, ways of desire, laughter, and survival need to be carved out in proximity to mechanisms of oppression (*Disidentification* 2–3). For all their traffic in homo- and AIDS-phobic fantasies of a white nation, and all its othering and negation gesturing, Grodecki's films also articulate forms of yearning, desire, and reaching out to the Other, to ways of knowledge and

desire that the Other embodies. Afterall, othering is, Sara Ahmed notes, an ambivalent gesture of directionality/orientation. It is both a form of “negation as well as a form of extension” of the self (*Queer Phenomenology* 115).

I now look at these dense ambivalences that the films and their public debates generated, and argue they also serve us as sites from which to destabilize the white “Northern” canon of disability theory by pushing the ways in which disability has been recognized and made intelligible in postsocialist contexts. I pick up some of the questions and arguments of chapter 1 that pointed out how marginalized identities can be woven into political and (moral) economic strategies of “rehabilitation” without necessarily protecting the identity carriers. Here I highlight the ways in the introduction of liberal frameworks across the borders overlapped with the movements of global capital. I wish to draw out at least some of the modes in which ascription of racialized and ethnicized subjectivity are inherently materializing as crip.

The workings of genealogy itself, Ahmed proposed, “could be understood as a straightening device, which creates the illusion of descent as a line” (*Queer Phenomenology* 122). Moreover, the genealogical idea of a descent and “passing along” marries the familial with the racial: “Whiteness gets reproduced through acts of alignment, which are forgotten when we receive its line” (Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology* 121, cf. Povinelli, “Notes”). Given that the “good genealogical straight lines” are lines re/producing whiteness, below I turn to how different modalities of ethnicization and racialization are produced through specific alignments of sexuality and disability, alignments that bring together notions of illness and pathology, and the homosexual panic with idea of a nation. With all their troubles, Grodecki’s films therefore allow us to outline crip genealogies—other/ed, twisted, and “knotted”—from the point of homosexual, nonreproductive, nonstraight, unwholesome, paid-for, virus-infected, across-the-borders sex acts that put the straight line of genealogy under pressure.

Genealogy is as much about imagining the future as it is about tracing and recording the past. As Alison Kafer’s discussion of queer crip temporality shows, the futurity written into the genealogical imagination is the futurity of compulsorily abled, flexible, and fit (for reproduction) whiteness (32, 66–67). If Ahmed’s queer phenomenology thinks about how to queer becoming, being, and inhabiting and reimagines, thus, genealogies by subverting the “straight lines” of genealogical projection, I then ask what it would mean to crip the white, straight lines of national fitness and (eugenic) futurity (see also chapters 3 and 4). Or what would it mean to crip genealogies through an analysis of the failed promise of the postsocialist

“transformation” captured through Grodecki’s films’ infectious and commercialized sex?

In *Mad for Foucault*, Lynne Huffer emphasizes the ironic impossibility of clear and un/leaky divisions between epistemic paradigms and ruptures. Such questioning of forward orientations is helpful when thinking crip archives against the context of postsocialism and Eastern Europe. All these concepts are overdetermined by historical directionality caught up in the webs of binaries posing underdevelopment and historical, cultural, and economic delay against progress, modernity, and development. While “lagging behind” and such are ascribed to disability, the East, and (post) socialism, progress represents the norm, the future, and the West / global North. Grodecki’s films frustrate such binaries and twist the straight line of progress/ion that connects development, ability, and liberty with the spread of the global market economy.

As the fall of the Eastern European state socialist regimes was initially fantasized about as “the end of history,” the geopolitical space of Eastern Europe has been ambivalently and chronically “stuck” between conflicting narratives. On the one hand, Eastern Europe continues to play the role of the space chronically stuck “behind” the “West.” Robert Kulpa and Joanna Mizielińska point out that “it is this constant ‘transformation’ through which Central and East Europe supposedly ‘has been going’ (present perfect continuous is much at home here)” (17) that marks its relationality to the West. Oftentimes, measures of the lag in progress and civilization standards are expressed through evaluations of the region’s barriers, intensities of racism, homophobia, and level of (dis)regard for the rights of minorities and specifically people with disabilities, LGBT (the choice of this appellation rather than “queer” is intentional here), and Roma and Sinti or other ethnic communities. The narratives of marginalized minorities are, hence, employed in the politics of the racialized “East” to help, as Marina Gržinić notes, reinvigorate the East/West hegemony. On the other hand, the disillusionment and frustration that I trace here through the archive in the mid-1990s have become even more tangible over recent years and bear specific resentment toward the “West” and its “liberalism” in direct response to “leverage pedagogy” (Kulpa). Later in the book I speak to such resentments and the ways in which they tie up with sexuality and race.

The ideals of liberty and freedom also have, as Lisa Lowe traces in *The Intimacies of Four Continents*, troubled histories. Lowe’s redrawn genealogy of liberalism reveals “intimate” relations with the colonial state: “It is precisely by means of liberal principles that political philosophy provided for colonial

settlement, slavery and indenture” (9). Lowe’s critical genealogy of liberalism bears on the rewriting of crip epistemologies in/of the postsocialist context. It is a reminder that the intertwined archives of colonial exhaustion and liberalism hold true for the similarly and complexly intertwined histories of global neoliberal capitalist expansion and histories of spreading democracy—and for the process of postsocialist transition, an aspirational process through and in which Eastern Europe would emulate the West and effectively “beco[me] the same” (Gržinić 135).

The liberal, Western, and white disability frameworks that permeated disability epistemologies introduced through transnational circuits do not and cannot speak to (all) forms of crip matterings brought about by global capital, and specifically not to the forms of cripness that materialized as a result of racial capital (some forms of which I discuss in the following chapters) that established itself in the post-1989 Czechoslovakia / Czech Republic. Disability epistemologies were (and continue to be), of course, a part of complex transnational translations. Czech disability activist journals have reported on independent living, (self-)advocacy, and emancipation initiatives since the early 1990s.<sup>11</sup> More importantly, foreign initiatives were coming to Czechoslovakia / the Czech Republic and other postsocialist spaces with the aim of introducing disability knowledge and, through such translations, cultivating a (particular kind of) civic society. To follow these initiatives and map out what parts of the disability epistemological canon were introduced, how exactly they influenced the work of disability activists and scholars, and what were the “intimacies” of such initiatives calls for more research, the extent of which is beyond the scope of this chapter.<sup>12</sup> However, I do want to contextualize my reading of Grodecki’s films against disability epistemologies within the Czech Republic at the time. To that end, when I reached out to several disability activists (all able-bodied) that founded key disability rights NGOs in the 1990s, it turned out several of them met through intensive courses organized by a US-Israel foundation that offered a curriculum forwarding concepts of disability rights and social emancipation of people with disabilities (personal communications, May and August 2014). The personal networks created in the courses, as well as disability knowledge offered through the curriculum, were—as far as the understanding of these activists go—essential for setting up the respective NGOs working with people with disabilities.<sup>13</sup>

Groundbreaking as such organizations were for the advocacy, community work, and recognition of people with disabilities, Lowe’s caution about the usefulness of liberal ideology to the exploitative economy raises questions about the effects and ideological role of the discourses of “normalization”

of disability that were established as prominent through the 1990s disability knowledge transfers. Frustrating a straight line of progress, *Mandragora* imagines Eastern Europe as stuck in an impasse, in a state of nondevelopment and chronicity. But more importantly, *Mandragora* and its documentary prequels point to the importance of exploring disability in cultural locations that are “not about disability.” In these ways they push existing disability genealogies and articulate new ones. In other words, they bring us to what was happening parallel to the transnational initiatives, to different and multiple somatized archives of knowledge of/about disability, to multiple and varied circuits of knowledge intimately connected to labor, liberalism, and an East/West hierarchy.

The 1990s were also times when a lot of us coming of age—alongside the young men and boys featured in Grodecki’s trilogy—financed “tourism” across the West by turning ourselves into repository of cheap labor, picking fruits, au-pairing or—as was my case—working as a temporary assistant to disabled people in England. For several weeks in a mid-1990s summer, I volunteered with an organization providing respite care to families caring for the elderly and/or family members with “severe” disabilities. With only rudimentary training, little supervision, and limited capacities to communicate, each of us was responsible for assisting two persons with disabilities. What disability archive is that, and what somatized epistemology can be traced from this personal anecdote—banal in its in-extraordinariness? What relevance does it have for unpacking the complicated network of postsocialist movements of knowledges, bodies, viruses, capacities, bodily fluids, and labor across transnational borders? What did it mean for the workers to experience exhaustion, work injuries, or simply bodies hurting from labor? How does it influence the “knowledge” of disability when it is experienced as part of the exhausting and extractive East/West hierarchy? And what does it mean that, as Apolena Rychlíková and Saša Uhlová recently noted, “The iron curtain across Europe did not go away, it became the wage curtain” (cit in *Borders of Europe*)? The forms of cripness that I read into and through Grodecki’s films—namely drug addiction, HIV, trauma from sexual violence and exploitation, but also forms that haunt the films as their inarticulate ghosts, as stress and exhaustion from racialized violence and social abandonment—remain unrecognizable through the disability epistemology translated in these transnational knowledge transfers. They transgress the disability knowledge married to liberal forms of recognition geared toward phantasms of the independent and recognized citizenship of the postsocialist state.

More than that, responding to Lowe’s call to uncover how the appar-

ently affirmative and emancipatory disability knowledges intertwine with exploitative mechanisms of transnational economies, it is important to recognize how specific understandings of disability served in the larger project of capitalist rehabilitation. Crippling genealogy thus also means subverting the notion of a direct line and causal succession between historical epochs. As I discuss more fully below, Grodecki's films bear testimony to both capitalist genealogies that need to relegate its socialist others and how the projections of transition construe its (racialized) failures.

Once more, I come back to Ahmed's notes on genealogy to find inspiration in her queering the straight lines of white (abled) supremacy. Ahmed proposes a concept of "mixed genealogy [that] would attend to how things do not stay apart from other things." It is "when genealogy straightens up, when it establishes its line," notes Ahmed, that "we have simply lost sight of this mix" (143). What have we lost track of when we think of the genealogy of disability theory (and disability studies) as theory that—like the principles of civil society, free markets, and other liberal notions—needs to be "brought in"? "Mixed genealogies" of disability epistemologies must attend to how the transnationally circulated disability knowledges cannot stay apart from transnational economies and global politics, and it must attend to the twisted lines and impurities of epistemologies mixing "local" knowledges (now considered "old" and "regressive") with "Western" (read: progressive and liberatory) knowledges translated post-1989.

Ahmed turns to "a mixed-race body" as a space from which to devise a new theory of "mixed genealogy" that writes racialized bodies into history and simultaneously foregrounds the ways that all matter and forms of corporeality are organized along racialized lines. It seems that Eastern Europe in the state of postsocialism provides a fitting space into which to translate Ahmed's interrogation of "mixing." It is a space wherein different temporalities, regimes of knowing, bodies, and goods cannot stay apart from each other. Thinking about crip genealogies in the context of postsocialist Eastern Europe needs to employ various modes of "mixing up"—itself a metaphor of racialized cripness—the straight, pure lines of futurity.

Below I look at still different modes of "mixing up"—itself a metaphor of racialized cripness—the straight lines of futurity. I turn to the ways across-the-border sexual economies cannot stay away from racialized erotic attachments and mixing (both seductive and shunned) between the East and the West, and from various modes of racialized "becoming crip." Simultaneously, the concept of mixed genealogies, as I argue, makes visible the seams and contact points among various modes of racialization (some temporarily redi-

recting the “orientalizing” gaze from Eastern European bodies across the Western borders, some (re)producing the otherness of the Roma) involved in construing the fantasies of the white nation rehabilitated from the socialist past into (moral and economic) health. In this context, mixed genealogies promise to reveal modes of cripness that remain inarticulate and unintelligible in the bounds of white disability liberal epistemology “mixed up” in the discourses and ideological frameworks of postsocialism. And last, by embracing notions of ambivalence, impurity, and stickiness, mixed epistemologies promise to open space for thinking and staying with the affect of “being stuck,” rather than to adhere to the overcoming imperative of the rehabilitative moral command: “Go West.”

### Mixed and Stuck

Spaces become racialized by how they are directed or orientated, as a direction that follows a specific line of desire. (Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology* 120)

Now I finally come back to where we left Marek and the Englishman, amid a sexual/monetary/viral/power/epistemological transaction. This *Mandragora* scene captures the racialized scandal of (homosexual) sex work across East-West borders and, in search of a punch line, manages to parody itself. After the Englishman picked out Marek from the group of young men offering themselves to the cruising eyes of potential customers, Marek is led into a luxurious apartment in central Prague; the generous space of the room, the intricately carved solid wooden doorframe, wallpapers heavy with golden reliefs, the fireplace, and the overabundant adornments create the fantasy of pre-communist aristocratic greatness. Metaphorically, thus, the room returns Marek to natural history, a rehabilitated history line. After the initial exchange that establishes the Englishman as the cultured figure and Marek as the primitive, Marek is put onto his own pedestal—quite literally—and his naked body is arranged in the pose of Donatello’s David. As the pedestal turns around to tunes of classical music and exposes Marek’s youthful body to his host’s gaze, the culturedness of the Englishman is resignified as over-culturedness, incapacity, and impotence. To achieve sexual gratification, the Englishman needs to turn the flesh into a text, the corporeal into textual. To climax, he needs to wrap Marek’s body into a highly stylized praise grounded in the canon of the Western art and culture and woven into a complicated syntax. To punctuate this contrast between the uncivilized and “primitive,” yet virile, young, able-bodied Marek and the deprived masculinity of the

Englishman, and to dramatize the threat he represents, *Mandragora* has the Englishman attempt to castrate Marek, again quite literally.

*Mandragora* might be most explicit in pointing to the figure of the customer/Western as the homosexual vessel of pathology and sick menace. Yet all of Grodecki's films work with the binary logic of Orientalism, reversing the significations of the East/West symbolism and foregrounding the juxtaposition of the vulnerable postsocialist subjects and the morally depraved, leery Westerners. Reviews of the film use morally charged metaphors ("the loss of human dignity") and paint images of the cruel sexual practices demanded by the "foreign sex-hungry customers" (Sádlík 6). Thus, comparison of the dualities of civilization and culturedness, nature and primitiveness, regress and progress, history and future, are utilized and turned to signify the West as the impotent—yet sexually leery—overcivilized, oversaturated with culture, luxurious and wealthy but also filled with pathology, viruses, and deadliness, whereas the brute, primitive, uncivilized East stands here for (white) virile and abled masculinity. Homophobic sentiments about the moral decline and threat to the national body—"homosexuality, young boys' prostitution, drugs, increasing criminality, youth gambling, dismal family relations, and the absence of positive values in the contemporary so-called civilized society" (to again quote Sádlík)—mold and carry mixed feelings about the future of postsocialist societies and about the dominance of the West over them.

The anxiety attached to the across-the-border exchanges in goods, sex, drugs, and viruses highlights how transnational zones of contact unsettled the postsocialist rearticulations of the national project. Marek's story (*Mandragora*) points to the dangers that imports from the West hold for the (white, male and masculine, abled) national body. The start of Marek's downfall is symbolized by his seduction by the Western myth of luxury. He smashes a shopping window to steal the displayed goods, his short life determined by the destructive influence of Western commodification. And, finally, his death is marked by the prognostic prospects of AIDS had he not died sooner of different toxic, foreign body in his blood. Likewise, both *Not Angels but Angels* and *Body without Soul* and their public readings spin the moral panic around the axis of the endangered national body and the dangerous imports. All of Grodecki's films lean against the foreign nature of the "pathology" of AIDS; AIDS thus occupies the space that could be devoted to interrogating the complex structural and ideological reasons for why the boys and young men turn to sex work (to work toward the promises of future and/or to subsidize themselves and their families). In other words, the "homosexual panic" and

the dystopic visions of moral/sexual corruption of the white Czech youth by the Western homosexuals and Western promises of a luxurious life served to articulate anxieties around the national body, national identity, and even sovereignty, while they also—paradoxically—covered over the structural inequalities embedded in global capital and thus even paradoxically supported its ideological footing.

The work of racialization that Grodecki's films and their public reception do is, however, still more complex. Neither *Mandragora* nor the documentaries speak to the fact that many of the young boys and men (and women) involved in sex work were Roma or immigrants from countries east of the Czech Republic. In this, Grodecki's films fail to interrogate the structural impacts of the new globalized economy and the ways these impacts intersect specifically with the processes of "social death" (Cacho, *Social Death*). For one, Grodecki does not speak to the fact that many of the young men (and women) striving for new futures through sex work were Roma—this is again where Grodecki omits to examine how the new capitalist economy intersected with racist structures and racializing processes. Furthermore, the public affects attached to the sexual exchanges across the borders are not racialized only through ascription of categories of national alterity, sexual immorality, and potential viral pathology but also and as importantly through their juxtaposition to and dynamic dialogue with other forms of the postsocialist co-articulations of disability and race. The focus on the national body and dangerous foreign elements serves as a whiteness-centering device and as a strategy to displace and externalize other forms of racialized and crip conflicts within the body of the (white) nation.

The task of mixed genealogies of crip epistemologies therefore is, I want to suggest, to bring these debates and cultural locations of racialized disability into contact, and to reveal how they cannot be kept apart. These epistemologies, in turn, serve us in critical reading and understanding of the violence hidden in the scripts of postsocialist rehabilitative citizenship. To illustrate this fully, I highlight some of the "things" from which the debates of "prostitution," sex work, and foreign bodies cannot be kept apart when imagining crip genealogies (and I elaborate on these moments of "mixing" in the following chapters). As I have already suggested in the opening of this chapter, Grodecki's films overlap with a time of increasing racial violence and a historical moment marked by numerous deaths of Roma citizens.<sup>14</sup>

Simultaneously, as the homosexual threat arriving from the West was called up, other cultural locations bringing together sexuality, disability, the

(white) nation, and its others (re)surfaced in the public realm: for instance, the formation of new topographies of race-motivated exclusions, discussions about the past and ongoing sterilizations of Roma women that highlighted a different mode of using sexuality as a vector for producing racialized notions of disability.<sup>15</sup> While these events are not directly dramatized in the discussed films, they do leave their mark, as an absence. The focus on the nation's body and on the dangerous foreign elements that the discussions around *Man-dragora* reinforced, externalizes other forms of racialized conflicts and thus serves as an effective whiteness-centering device. The task of thinking post-socialist disability genealogies is to highlight how—despite all effort to prove otherwise—these cultural locations of intersections of race and disability cannot be unstuck from each other, how they cannot be kept apart. Thus, representation of prostitution, transnational sex work, and foreign bodies/viruses that arguably hurt the nation's body and endanger its able-bodiedness stick to histories and presents of racial violence, specifically against Roma people. Reconnected and mixed, they outline much more complicated visions of legacies of the postsocialist transformation.

It is ironic that in the moment when the absence of tightly guarded national borders was celebrated as one of the most positive consequences of the fall of the state socialist regime, borders loomed large in the social imagination (of the healthy nation). After the split of the federation of Czechoslovakia in 1993 into two independent and autonomous republics (the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic), the Czech Republic attempted to create dense borders that would stop Czechoslovak Roma and Sinti from “migrating” into the Czech Republic (see chapter 4). The imaginations of borders—as protection of the national body from dangerous impurities and agents of pathology—serves me here as a thread connecting the previous line of arguments to other cultural and material locations of co-articulations of race and disability.

As I have discussed in the previous chapter, Ústí nad Labem, one of the regional centers of central Bohemia, unexpectedly drew international attention at the turn of the millennium for its desire to build a wall to divide those who were seen as unruly, unhygienic, noisy, and uncivilized from the modern, law-abiding, domestic, clean, and appropriate heterosexual family homes to protect their leisure time, calm, and—as was repeatedly accentuated—the value of their property. Drawing the lines of my argument symbolically together, it happens that just before Ústí nad Labem turned into an internationally observed racial conflict, one of its districts, Předlice, now a socially excluded space, played a fleeting cameo in *Man-*

*dragora*, where its abandoned streets represented the life with no future from which Marek and his friends were trying to flee. The wall in Matiční has been finally taken down and was not rebuilt. Many other physical and symbolic borders were raised on multiple locations across the whole Czech Republic to separate those who, arguably, live up to the demands of the postsocialist realities from those who fail in transforming themselves into “rehabilitated citizens.”

I started to think about how disability, sexuality, and race stick to one another from an uncomfortable place of negativity and “transformational pessimism.” The outright dystopic visions we encounter in public debates opened by Grodecki’s films foregrounded ugly feelings of racialized homosexual panic and the abjection of sex work, HIV, and drug addiction and reveal how “cruel optimism” cannot stay away from its aftermath: crip histories of abandonment and neglect, legacies that are only becoming intensified by the ongoing pandemic, wars, migrations, and other global developments. The ugly feelings that Grodecki made visible are material marks of crip epistemologies and their mixed genealogies. I propose to trace them as gestures of inarticulability that can reorient crip epistemologies. The mixed genealogies need to stay with the trouble, allowing us to be stuck with these affects in a move to imagine crip epistemologies.

*Mandragora* dramatizes the pain of the aspiration for new lives. It also reinforces the ideology of the white nation by emphasizing its vulnerability to foreign threat and by recentering whiteness and its strategic amnesia. Yet it also highlights the uneven distribution of labor and vitality. Moreover, the forms of cripness that I read into and through Grodecki’s films about sex work—drug addiction, HIV, trauma from sexual violence and exploitation, stress, and exhaustion from social abandonment, all of which link to across-the-border sex acts and their racialized nature—remain unrecognizable through the disability epistemology translated in these early transnational knowledge transfers. These forms of cripness transgress the disability knowledge married to liberal forms of recognition geared toward phantasms of the independent and respectable citizen of the postsocialist state.<sup>16</sup> But, perhaps more importantly, the ambivalent and troubling stick-togetherness of these discourses poses questions about what specific racialized omissions individual genealogies of disability produce. As I cautiously suggest above, in the case of the postsocialist Czechoslovakia / Czech Republic, the turn to Western concepts with their particular genealogies does not help to undo certain forms of stickiness.

### On Being Stuck

The affective politics of postsocialist transformation foregrounds one-directional transience that achieves “rehabilitations” from bad socialist pasts. The racialized figure of “the inadaptable” serves to decry those who are supposedly “stuck” and inveterate. I therefore shift the focus from the bodies, affects, and knowledges that move across borders to bodies, affects, and cripness that do not seem to change or move across space. Instead of the postrevolutionary “transition,” I touch “the long-lasting and seemingly permanent situations of stasis [that constitutes] the time afterwards” (Lorenz 17).

In the remainder of the chapter, I stick with modes of stuckedness that irritate the genealogies built around change, progress, and modernity. The figure of the chronic has been probed as a figure that disrupts the normative chronopolitics of “nation-state, capitalist and heteronormative structures” (Lorenz 1). I explore how focusing on the chronic, the stuck, and the lingering can serve us in carving out epistemologies of racialized disability that do not comply with compulsory improvement, personal initiative, and change on the way to a good life. Furthermore, I propose that staying with or even embracing the state of being stuck might be necessary to reveal how affects of optimism and positivity, so powerful in the affective landscape of postsocialism, are constitutionally linked to racialized forms of chronic abandonment.

To explore these issues, I now turn to a scene from *The Way Out* (*Cesta ven*), another film that portrays how disability, gender, sexuality, and race interarticulate. *The Way Out* (dir. Petr Václav, 2014) chronicles the struggle of a Roma woman and her family—in its cruel everydayness and ordinariness—to survive, imagine, and create a livable future. If Grodecki’s oeuvre articulates an acute sense of disillusionment and transformational pessimism, then *The Way Out* captures the time afterward, in which abandonment turned chronic and racialized violence came to matter in forms of unrecognized disabilities and inarticulable cripness.

A camera’s eye takes us into a doctor’s office. We listen in to a conversation between a young Roma woman, Žaneta, and her physician. She has come in with complaints of disturbed sleep, shortness of breath, chest pains, and a general feeling of discomfort and ill health. As a part of what seems a routine review of the patient’s medical history, the doctor asks Žaneta to count how many abortions she has had. “I had one when I was fifteen, seventeen, nineteen. I wanted to finish school.” While the camera focuses on Žaneta’s face, we never see the doctor; he is allowed to remain a disembodied invisible

presence of the rational mind, a voice of medical science that combines expert and moral authority. As with the abortions, with no immediate reference to her present complains of ill health, the doctor notes Žaneta's father's drinking problem and her mother's early death, to finally dismiss Žaneta's problems as *nothing more than* the result of anxiety and stress. We never see Žaneta consult a doctor or address her health in any other way afterward.

In its understatedness, which nearly makes this scene look insignificant for the overall film narrative, the encounter between Žaneta and the embodiment of medical/moral authority is a key scene that foregrounds the ways that exhaustion, anxiety, and stress condition Žaneta's life and yet remain inarticulate for what they also are: a material and bodily impression of a racialized social dynamic and social death.

The scene outlines how chronicity is located on the intersection of race and disability, or, more precisely, how it articulates racialized crimpness. As the film narrative develops, Žaneta's lack of well-being and health is underwritten by the general precarity not only of her own family but also of the larger local Roma community. An enormous labor burden falls on her as she attempts to secure her family's survival and as she desperately tries to retain their fragile position within classed respectability. We witness the amount of affective labor she offers to support her partner, her sister, her daughter, even her father and his new family. We witness the family's gradual descent into debt, homelessness, and breakdown. On the way, the film narrative reframes Žaneta's anxiety and stress, the signs of her ill health previously dismissed by the medical authority, as part of her supposedly hereditary burden, as a result of the exhaustion brought about by the need to navigate the many forms of racialized violence and systemic racism.

The encounter in the doctor's office, however, reveals another layer and a different—chronic—temporality of how race becomes matter, and of how race and disability commingle. With his focus firmly located in theories of racialized heredity, the doctor goes beyond the checklist of Žaneta's pregnancies and terminations to preach to her about how “important [it is] to know your family burden,” to know “[your] parents' and grandparents' mental health and medical history” in order to anticipate not only “what mistakes [you] will make” and what “[you] will most probably die of,” but, most importantly, to be aware of what “[you] will burden [your] surroundings with.” In this, the doctor's speech brings eerie echoes of eugenic rationalities and of the continuing histories of sterilization of racialized and disabled people that challenge the notion of a clean cut between the two regimes—the state socialist totality from the postsocialist democracy. Officially legitimized and

promoted by the socialist state, the sterilization of Roma women continued well into the 2000s, long past the fall of the regime. Žaneta's own embodiment matters (and comes to matter) as always already marked with a past larger than herself/itself—her chronic mattering defined by the temporal loopings of the racialized im/possibilities of life and by the mixed genealogies of crip knowledge.

*The Way Out* captures modes of crip chronicity in its cruel banality; a racialized past rematerializes in the present in the form of impossible futures and inarticulate future horizons. The depiction of Žaneta's medical examination not only illustrates the concrete problems Roma people face accessing medical care, but can also be theorized as laying out how forms of racialized chronicity overlap and underscore each other, and how their overlap renders racialized chronicity inarticulable. As the physician equipped with the archives of medical expert knowledge reaches into Žaneta's collective racialized pasts, the racialized logics that mold the social require Žaneta to perform endurance as they leave material imprints on her body, exhaust her, depress her, make her anxious, and wear her down. Yet all these effects are resignified as the biological truth of her family, her race, and her biological collective fate—a fate that is excluded from the collective belonging within the (white and abled) body of the Czech nation.

*The Way Out* thus pictures a different form of crip chronicity that for many becomes terminal. Here racialized past overdetermines the present and explodes the future. The racialized temporality ingrained in the idea of (Roma) “inadaptability” produces the chronic vulnerability and cripness that (because of the moral judgment underwriting the notion of mal/adjustment) remain inarticulable and beyond recognition.

Thinking about the possibilities of antiracist disability epistemologies, I started charting a “mixed genealogy” that would speak to the specific historic experience of postsocialism and that would frustrate straight, white, and abled future-bound prospects of genealogical projects. Responding to Lowe's call to pay attention to troublesome intimacies and to ask about the intimacies interlacing across-the-border affirmative disability knowledges with exploitative mechanisms of transnational economies throws into relief the epistemological frameworks based around identity and recognition that are conditioned by respectability and *proximity* to normalcy.

Set against the context of the 1990s, Grodecki's films represent a rare archive of the queer, the sick, the perverted, the homosexual, the drag, the drug addicted. In other words, the films also create an archive of the abjected that throws into relief the epistemological frameworks based around identity

and recognition that are conditioned by respectability and proximity to normalcy. Thus, I read them as a part of a complicated and uncomfortable queer-crip archive that speaks to mechanisms of “orientalizing” as well as white ethnicization; it is an archive that also speaks to processes of whitewashing, silencing, and mechanisms of displacement over racialized conflict *within* the national body. Despite its troubling and problematic features, and despite its final nod to the normative ideologies, they provide crucial commentaries and traces of desires unfulfilled. Thus these films do destabilize the histories of the postsocialist past and the narratives of “capitalist rehabilitation” and tentatively gesture to mixed genealogies. *The Way Out* with which I close, then, brings forth what Grodecki’s films—and the public discussion of their time—attempt to override.

### Three

## Intellectual Disability and Rationalities of Chronic Abandonment

---

On the night of November 1, 1984, the Institute of Social Care (Ústav sociální péče) burned down in Měděnec (formerly Kupfenberg), a small town in western Bohemia. Twenty-six of the seventy-five women residents lost their lives in the fire. A report about the tragedy appeared in what was then the official newspaper of the Communist Party, *Rudé právo*. Titled “Testimony to Heroism and Fear” (Smola and Vávra), the report focused on the heroic act of a man who had saved the lives of fifteen of the young women. The heroism of his act was underpinned by the emphasis put on the fact that the women in the institution were “mentally retarded.”<sup>1</sup>

The incident resurfaced in the 1990s in a film narrative, *Requiem for a Doll* (*Requiem pro panenku*, dir. Filip Renč, 1991).<sup>2</sup> The film presents a story of a woman without intellectual disability “wrongly” institutionalized and tortured by the evil (lesbian!) attendants. She sets the fire in an attempt to escape confinement. In this way, the film transformed the tragic event into a metaphor of the individual’s struggle against the totalitarian state. Invoking Václav Havel’s widely quoted “power of the powerless” (*The Power*), the film director notes: “We wanted to elevate this event into a portrait of the eternal . . . resistance of the powerless [the people oppressed by the state]” (Renč cited in Jarošová 7). In the reviews, *Requiem* was praised for “highlight[ing] the incurable disease of intolerance and selfish arrogance [of the past regime], but also for inciting faith in strong individuals and the human resolve to confront [the regime]” (Melounek 47). Even the appraisals that criticized *Requiem for a Doll* as bombastic or kitsch did not question how the notion of “mental retardation” was invoked to prop the narrative of personal resolve in the face of the violent state. Turning the tragic deaths of twenty-six disabled women into a

parable about individual heroism and the resistance of the one nondisabled heroine against totalitarian violence, the film evacuates the event's crip historic significance, the nature of the specific violence against disabled people, and uses it to capture a general "vile—suffocating, deadening—mood of that time" (Jarošová 5).

The interpretation of the tragic events of November 1984 in *Requiem for a Doll* is an illustration of the "double bind" theory of cultural representations of disability offered by David Mitchell and Sharon Snyder (*The Body*; cf. also Lorek-Jezińska): although a crucial element in this story of heroism, compassion, and humanity, disability has no meaning on its own. The fact that twenty-six disabled women lost their lives did not fit into the film's story about an individual's struggle against the regime—except as a postscript in the closing credits. The violence perpetrated by the disability-specific oppression of institutionalization is voided to construct a narrative about the universal violence committed against "every one of us." Furthermore, localizing (the regime's) violence, dehumanization, and the struggle for "the right to humane treatment [and] dignified conditions" (Jarošová 5) safely within the sphere of the socialist past reflects the limits of the political negotiation of sociality in the postsocialist society.

I open the chapter by returning to this event to elaborate on the argument presented in the previous chapters that the critique of the socialist state and the affective distancing from the past often inflicts new version of symbolic violence. Here I trace the ideological and material legacies of abandonment of lives considered invaluable, ideologically troubling, or too demanding to care. Focusing on the long-durée structures of noncare that span the temporary and ideological divide between the "socialist/totalitarian" and "capitalist/democratic," I describe further modes of "curative violence" (Eunjung Kim) of the postsocialist rehabilitative citizenship. This chapter thus foregrounds the tension between the optimism of the transformation and the sobering discourses of realism that curbed expectations and inclusive social imaginaries. As I argue throughout the book, the ideology of flexibility and "transformation" did not extend to embrace lives considered incapable of changing and following the timely imperative of transforming into the new selves responsible for their own lives. As Natalia Pamuła noted, "There is 'no transformation' for some" (personal communication).

Discussing Western (neo)liberalism, Elizabeth Povinelli argued (perhaps counterintuitively) in *Economies of Abandonment* that neglect, exclusion, and social abandonment are not signs of failure, but defining features of the late liberal society and manifestations of its biopolitical rationality. There-

fore, Povinelli argues, prosperity, health, happiness, and opportunities in life enjoyed by certain social groups are premised upon the absence of prosperity and of health in others. I have already highlighted how affective labor was extracted from the marginalized “others” to uphold the notion of the Czech society transforming into democratic, liberal, and inclusive state (chapter 1). Here I explore how this liberal society simultaneously creates and relies on forms of abandonment. Explaining this paradox, Povinelli draws upon Ursula Le Guin’s well-known speculative fiction “Those Who Walk Away from Omelas.” Povinelli argues that Omelas represents a city that manages to actualize happiness, “not ideological . . . nor naïve. It is experientially unmediated, materially substantive, and morally desirable” (*Economies* 1; see also her “The Child”). Yet it also depends on a small child who is kept naked, constrained in a small broom closet, and humiliated by being left to sit in its own excrements, causing painful sores. Every Omelas inhabitant knows about the child and the conditions of their life. What’s more, “Every member of Omelas must assume some relationship among his or her present personal happiness . . . and the present suffering of one small human being” (Povinelli, *Economies* 2).

This child may or may not be intellectually (or else) disabled. More importantly, their life bears structural resemblances to lives of people infantilized and forced into institutionalized care. To be able to negotiate the contrast between prosperous lives and the life of the child in the closet, Omelas citizens reason that the child is “too degraded and imbecile to know any real joy” (Povinelli, *Economies* 2). Similar arguments echo through the debates on institutionalized care in the Czech Republic. In this chapter, hence, I build a parallel between institutional “care” and the broom closet: both are a place of morally legitimate abandonment; both express the logic of “carceral humanism” (Kilgore n.p.; see also Ben-Moshe). Following Povinelli, I argue that forms of institutionalization and abandonment must be thought of as part of liberal moral rationality and as existing in parallel with both the politics of integration of (some) disabled people and visions of a “good life” and an accepting, tolerant, and welfare-oriented society.

In the early 2000s, the Czech Republic found itself amid fiery and consuming debate on the ethics and pragmatics of the “cage bed” (*klecové lůžko*)<sup>3</sup> in social and medical institutions. Věra Musilová, who died in such a bed, helped prompt this debate. Her death and the ways it was made sense of and rationalized in public debates, I argue in this chapter, shed light on the more general circumstances of the biopolitics of (non)care and neglect of disabled people living in institutional care. The supposedly “protective tools” of insti-

tutional care became an object of international criticism that pointed out that overtly restrictive tools conflict with the claims of transformation supposedly resulting in democratic and inclusive society. Thus, the defense of the cage bed blended expert positions with national pride.<sup>4</sup> Coinciding with these debates, several people died while being “protected” by such beds. I return later in this chapter to the case of Věra Musilová, who died in one of the most prominent psychiatric hospitals in the Czech Republic while placed, supposedly for her own protection, in such a bed. I ask, what makes the cage beds not only an available but supposedly an appropriate tool that guarantees “good care” and that despite deaths traced to its use. I explore how the moral legitimacy of cage beds and other restrictive tools relates to notions of *mental retardation* and their historical roots. Setting this conversation against the context of postsocialist society and the dynamic of its swift changes, I trace how significations of chronicity underwrite the imperative of social flexibility in constructions of “rehabilitative citizenship.”

I am interested in the “ordinary, chronic, and cruddy” forms of suffering and abandonment (Povinelli, *Economies* 3) that—as I argue here—are structurally and materially embedded in the postsocialist prosperity. The chronic neglect discussed in this chapter (and in other chapters of this book) is part and parcel of the optimism encapsulated in the gesture “#thankyouthatwecan” discussed in the introduction. Yet I also wish to extend the conversation about dynamic historic and contemporary “interarticulation” (Chen, “The Stuff” 236) of disablement and racializations in the context of the postsocialist society. I therefore attempt to draw out how the analyzed narratives about “mental retardation” reveal the vestiges of colonial rationality and ways in which concepts of intellectual disability continue to carry invisible and intangible, yet powerful and material, legacies of racialized conceptualizations of Reason.

### Institutionalized Broom Closets

THE PETITION COMMITTEE: *You have kids? . . . If you have kids, you will understand. . . .*

THE VILLAGE RESIDENT LM: I live close to the planned [community housing]. We don't like the plans because this is a family residential area. . . . there are many families with small kids here. This is not the area where people with intellectual or physical disabilities should move around, close to such small kids. . . . I am in no way going to raise my kids next to 12 mentally disabled people! . . . You

are asking me to spend the rest of my life watching disabled people. . . . 24 hours a day! This has totally ruined my Christmas!

(Eva Kořátková, *Interviews with the Monster*)<sup>5</sup>

In 2006, Věra Musilová, a thirty-year-old woman, died while in care of Bohnice Psychiatric Hospital in Prague. No requiem, no public commemoration, no blockbuster film marked her death. Like the women who died in the fire in Měděnec, Věra Musilová was classed as “mentally retarded.” This distinction defined the value that society assigned to her life *and* her death. I turn to Věra Musilová *not* because her story is exceptional. Unfortunately, she is far from the only person to have died in the care of an institution and while caged by a “protective” tool.

Prior to her death, Věra Musilová’s parents were concerned about the quality and nature of “care” their daughter received. The following description of the condition of the care granted by the institution responsible for Věra Musilová’s well-being reads as if came directly from Le Guin’s text:

Confined to a cage bed, naked, her head shaved, she was seated on [a sheet of] plastic. [The attendants] didn’t take her to the toilet. They left her to pee herself, but at home she would go to the toilet on her own. Here she had no chance to tell anyone. She was shut in a cage, in a locked room. (Cited in Hoffmann, n.p.)

It is important to remember this graphic description of the life conditions in which people with intellectual and/or psychiatric disabilities were confined in institutional care well into the decades after 1989 and juxtapose it to the reasoning of the hospital, courts, and other institutions offered to rationalize why such treatment was adequate, necessary, and in agreement with *lege artis*.

The preference for institutionalized care was a point of fierce criticism against the socialist state and its attempt to (re)move disabled people behind the walls of “homes” (cf. Nelb Sinecka; Mužáková and Strnadová). Furthermore, images of disabled people abandoned in ghastly institutions remain a well-liked trope of the orientalizing representations of Eastern Europe and of other “underdeveloped” global locations. The “othering” accompanied by vilifying of the socialist state comes through in the following account of a visit to an institution in the Czech Republic by a US student in the early 2000s:

We entered a long concrete room that reeked of human excrement. It was nightmarish. Metal beds with simple mattresses housed people

twisted in unimaginable ways. A man was lying on his back on the floor without moving. . . . To top it all off, there was a man in a cage kicking and screaming bloody murder and the orderlies were dressed in all-white. The lighting was dim, and the windows were barred with thick sticks of iron. *The decades of Communist neglect were so painfully evident* a full fifteen years after the toppling of said regime. It was horrible and nothing could have ever prepared me for that. (Cited in Vann and Šiška 432; emphasis added)

Recent historical research challenges such narratives that attempt to link violent carceral logic exclusively to the socialist state (Kolářová and Winkler; Schmäser; Galmarini-Kabala). This chapter thus highlights the ideological permeability of principles and of logic of carceral humanism that transgresses the socialist/capitalist or authoritarian/democratic binaries.

Věra Musilová's death overlaps with deinstitutionalization attempts: the first national strategy for the transformation of boarding social services was announced in 2006 (*Koncepce*), the year Věra Musilová died in a cage bed.<sup>6</sup> Nonetheless, the state lacks commitment, and the deinstitutionalization efforts have been slow and ineffective (cf. Carboch; Synek and Hradcová; Mladenov and Petri). A colleague of mine once quipped that deinstitutionalization turned into concrete pouring (personal communication, 2017)—pointing out that in many cases the *démontage* of the large-capacity institutions leads not to community living but living in modern, small-scale but (institutionalized and often isolated) “homes” for disabled people.<sup>7</sup> Deinstitutionalization hence might be profitable but not always beneficial for previously institutionalized disabled people (cf. Ben-Moshe, Chapman, and Carey; *Decarceration*).

In 2019, the ombudsperson Anna Šabatová<sup>8</sup> warned that the process of deinstitutionalization had “practically stopped” and that “relatively little has been done and for a relatively small amount of people” since the Czech Republic in 2009 ratified the UN Treaty on the Rights of People with Disabilities, which guarantees the right to independent life outside of institutions (cited in Carboch 10; Šiška and Beadle-Brown).<sup>9</sup> Thus, deinstitutionalization functions effectively as an empty signifier for most of the (intellectually) disabled people, while the independent living philosophy remains unintelligible to the general public.

There is no public pressure or desire to dismantle the “broom closet.” Indeed, local publics frequently reject proposals that they be the community of “community based” living for the (intellectually) disabled people. The



Figure 5. Interviews with Monster (*Rozhovory s Monstrem*)  
Source: Kořátková, Eva

institutional players are at fault as well. Eva Kořátková's artistic installation *Interviews with the Monster* (*Rozhovory s Monstrem*, 2021), a quotation from which serves as an epigraph of this section, offers an archive of the rejections of these community housings, fears harbored by the communities and directed against disabled people, as well as the failures of the responsible institutions to engage and cooperate with the public. In Kořátková's installation, the skeleton construction of the unfinished "community housing" pierces the space inhabited by the isolated, sad "talking heads" frozen in an expression of intense affect. The audio plays statements from local politicians and residents who protested the placement of community housing in their town. Kořátková is inspired by the many examples of such rejections and offers a space where the "monster" is "the materialization of all our learned fears and apprehensions (Fig. 6). It grows as quick as the inequalities and oppression in our society, it is a collective body of our emotions. . . . it keeps telling its stories because it cannot stop. It has laid its lair there; at night it walks the city and returns each night a bit bigger" (Kořátková).<sup>10</sup>

Kořátková's monster is a figuration of the postsocialist broom closet and



Figure 6. Interviews with Monster (Rozhovory s Monstrem)

Source: Kořátková, Eva

an illustration of “carceral humanism” that has developed during the post-socialist transformation and reflects a specific and austere compromise: the institutions need to be made more humane; they need “humanization” to respect the new civic sentiments of empathy yet also accommodate the desire to keep disability at bay, away from “normal” families, children, and society and its good life.

#### *Lege artis: The Politics of Necessity and the Practice of the Possible*

As already noted, Jaroslava Musilová expressed her dissatisfaction with the treatment her daughter was receiving in the Bohnice Psychiatric Hospital prior to her daughter’s death.<sup>11</sup> After her daughter died, Jaroslava Musilová turned to the Office of the Public Defender of Rights (the ombudsperson) and requested an inquiry. Assessment of the methods of medical treatment per se is beyond the jurisdiction of the Office; its extensive inquiry, however, pointed out fundamental failings with regard to maintaining informed consent and in the degree and modality with which physical restraints were

used (I will return to this shortly). Jaroslava Musilová then turned to the courts, seeking only an apology from the hospital. The case went as far as the Supreme Court, which ordered in 2013 that the case to be heard again in a court of first instance—the municipal court in Prague.

The courts' hearings of Věra Musilová's case centered on the review of whether the medical treatment had been in compliance with the principle of *lege artis*,<sup>12</sup> that is, the best available knowledge and practice. I argue here that Věra Musilová's death highlights how much the concept of *lege artis* is saturated by the "violence of value" (Cacho 1-35) that sees (intellectual) disability as devaluing to human life, its dignity and worth. The specific nuance of the violence of value that I trace here materializes in a notion of rationality of care and in what is "realistically possible" in care delivered to people with intellectual disabilities.

In the lawsuit she brought before the court, Jaroslava Musilová demanded nothing more than an apology in the following words:

Bohnice Psychiatric Hospital apologizes for *the form of care* it provided to your daughter, V. M., . . . , *wherein infringements on her human dignity occurred, most notably the excessive and degrading restriction of individual freedom.* (Nejvyšší soud; emphasis added)

In a judgment issued on March 31, 2010, the municipal court in Prague recognized the right of the plaintiff to an apology but revised it and thus changed its symbolic meaning: "Bohnice Psychiatric Hospital apologizes to you for the death of your daughter, V. M., as a result of *the lack of supervision we provided*" (Nejvyšší soud; emphasis added).

The director of the hospital appealed the verdict and commented on the court's version of the apology: "This wording is not acceptable to us. It is evident from the medical documentation that assistance was provided . . . there was no delay or neglect of care. However, I repeatedly express great regret that [the death] occurred" (cited in Bártová, "Zemřela"). He later added: "I've thought a lot about whether I would be capable of formulating an apology that wasn't an acknowledgment of guilt, because in Věra's *last moments, no mistakes were made*" (Hollý cited in "Sítová"; emphasis added).

Every level of the judiciary that reviewed whether the hospital had fulfilled the *lege artis* principle confirmed that "no mistakes were made." And while the municipal court conceded that the hospital had erred, in its revision of the apology it sanctioned the very thing that the family was object-

ing to, namely, *the form of care* provided: the repeated and long-term use of physical restraints. It found fault with the hospital *not* for the excessive use of restraints but for “the lack of supervision.”

The repeated reassurances that no mistakes had been made is contradicted by the deputy ombudsperson’s report. It concludes: “The patient’s treatment *was not carried out in conformity with current legislation*” (Šabatová, n.p.; emphasis added). Among the procedures named as not in compliance with the law was the failure to obtain informed consent. Individual therapeutic procedures were carried out “without informing the plaintiff [the mother and court-appointed guardian] of the purpose and nature of the care and medical procedures . . . or of their consequences, alternatives, and risks” (Šabatová, n.p.). The report further notes that “many of the procedures were not necessary.”<sup>13</sup> No form of informed consent was requested before Věra Musilová was moved to a different ward or before her head was shaved after she contracted lice in the hospital. By international law, shaving a person’s head without consent is a violation of that person’s bodily integrity. There was no prior consultation on or approval given for other violations of Věra Musilová’s autonomy. For example:

The plaintiff agreed to Věra’s placement in a net [restrictive] bed because the staff requested it for unavoidable cases. However, she discovered that [her daughter] was in such a bed for *almost the entire time that she was hospitalized in Ward 16* [i.e., from January 18 to her death on April 14, 2006]. . . . The reasons for the continued use of a net bed in the case of this patient were not, however, always adequately described in her medical record. . . . On February 20 . . . from 11:00 to 15:30 the patient was belted lightly by a stomach strap to a mobile WC. (Šabatová, n.p.; emphasis added)

What does this discrepancy between the record of these numerous failures in providing care (including the use of physical restraints such as bed with net barriers or metal bars, being strapped to a toilet) on the one hand and the repeated confirmations that “no mistakes were made” on the other tell us? In the conclusion, the report expressed surprise that the hospital had not altered its procedures even after it received repeated complaints from the legal guardian and family: “[I am] rather astonished that when Mrs. Musilová brought it to the attention of the medical staff that her daughter’s health was deteriorating . . . , the medical staff did not consider a change in treatment or secondary therapies.” In response to such queries, I propose here that the

treatment of Věra Musilová's reveals specific rationality that underpins the governance of "mental retardation" and of intellectual disability more broadly.

To seek an explanation for Věra Musilová's death solely in the lax conduct of the hospital's medical team would deflect attention from the systemic, ideological, and structural factors spotlighted by this case. Her death—as one of many—pressures us to interrogate to what degree the assessment of the hospital's adherence to *lege artis* was—and is in other cases—influenced by unacknowledged normative judgments about what constitutes a "valuable life" worthy of care. This has been proven repeatedly and for decades by studies of medical care. Life expectancy of people with a diagnosis of intellectual disability is much shorter than that of the general population. For instance, Pauline Heslop and her team concluded in 2014 that women with intellectual disabilities die on average twenty years earlier than other women, and that the life expectancy of people diagnosed with a more serious form of intellectual disability is shorter than that of people with a less serious form of disability.<sup>14</sup> The shorter life expectancy is *not* caused by disability itself but is due to the worse living conditions and the poorer health care people with intellectual disabilities receive. Heslop et al. note: "Avoidable deaths from causes amenable to change with good quality health care are more common in people with intellectual disabilities than in the general population" (893).<sup>15</sup> The conclusions of this and of more recent studies provide concrete evidence of the violence of the notion of intellectual inadequacy.<sup>16</sup> The report also calls attention to how devaluation of lives marked as mentally/intellectually/developmentally disabled is an inherent part of the system of medical/expert care. In other words—and with direct reference to the case of Věra Musilová, the concept of *lege artis* itself is implicated in the rationality and moral legitimacy of differential care.

This rationality was clearly articulated in the national debates on the use of cage beds in social and medical institutions. The Czech professional community and the general public shared the premise that restraining devices are indispensable and unavoidable tools in medical (and social) treatment (e.g., Kališová et al.).<sup>17</sup> To name this shared rationale, the social scientist David Kocman coined the term "policy of necessity" ("Mezi"; "Klecová"). The cage bed was perceived not only as "an instrument of care anchored in the reality of current practice" but as that which is "realistically" possible in treatment of intellectual and psychiatric disabilities (Štrunc 36–37, 50–52).

Even though restraints are considered a part of treatment, in 2013 the UN special rapporteur on torture issued a declaration stating that "there can be no therapeutic justification for the use of solitary confinement and prolonged

restraint of persons with disabilities in psychiatric institutions” (Méndez; see also MDAC, “Cage Beds and Coercion” 17). Pavla Baxová, one of the commissioners who took part in the inspections of the psychiatric hospitals conducted by the Public Defender of Rights, questioned the doxa of the therapeutic use of physical restraints: “Cages are used long term, not for one specific problem. Some clients spend most of their life in them.” Justifications given for such “care” are, for instance, “A man gets up on his feet and falls, and we don’t have carpeting here” (cited in Bártová, “Škromach”). The comments from medical staff working in psychiatric hospitals indicate that the use of physical restraints is often dictated by their needs rather than the needs of clients. A physician cited in the 2014 report of the Mental Disability Advocacy Center (MDAC) acknowledged that the use of restraints is guided by efforts to “control” patients in poorly staffed wards, confirming conclusions of the ombudsperson’s report. MDAC also reports on the simultaneous use of multiple physical restraints (“Cage Beds and Coercion” 12; see also *Cage Beds: Inhuman*).<sup>18</sup> Echoing Věra Musilová’s case, a fourteen-year-old girl died in the care of a psychiatric facility in a cage bed with metal bars while wearing a straitjacket. A bar from the bed frame fell and killed her (“Cage Beds and Coercion” 18).<sup>19</sup> Yet acknowledging that cage beds may not be the ideal therapeutic tool—“I’m not a stubborn advocate of cage beds, *but do we have anything better?*” (Kubín cited in Šmerglová 22; emphasis added)—upholds the rationality of necessity. Acknowledging ambivalence defines not what is best but the scope of what is *realistically possible*. It demarcates the horizons of ethical responsibility of the society toward people classed as “mentally retarded.”

The municipal court recognized Jaroslava Musilová’s right to an apology from the hospital. But it founded its decision (and its revised version of the apology) on the fundamental statement about people with an intellectual/psychiatric disability having a lower level of human dignity:

[In] *the case of patients with a mental illness as serious as this, the boundary of human dignity is on a different level and is defined by their illness.* When these persons are a danger to themselves and to others, they must be constantly under control, and there are various limitations that are associated with this illness that the plaintiff would have to be familiar with. (Nejvyšší soud; emphasis added)

Although this ruling was quashed by the Supreme Court, its wording illustrates key features of the rationality of realism, which here institutes a

position of moral pragmatism that resembles what Povinelli calls the politics of abandonment. First, by requiring the hospital to apologize for insufficient supervision of Věra Musilová, the municipal court declared that her death was causally linked to her disability. While it is believed that “[physical restraints are] *generally applied for the benefit of the patients and for their protection*” (Kališová et al., 303; emphasis added) the reality described in the multiple reports of the Office of the Ombudsperson, as well as of international organizations, question whether it is really “the benefit of the patient” that is observed. The court regards the form of care provided and the use of physical restraints (bed straps, cage bed, restraints while on the toilet, isolation)—because of the patient’s disability—as a realistic reflection of what is therapeutically possible. Because the court ruling described the hospital’s fault as a lack of supervision, it is possible to infer that the court regards these practices an adequate treatment in cases where the level of human dignity is defined by intellectual disability.

The municipal court’s statement sheds light on the ways in which care that is “realistically possible” is dictated by medical diagnoses: “mental retardation” justifies realistic (not the best available) treatment, even if it leads to death. Or the diagnosis of “mental retardation” sanctions the practices of neglect, and these practices of neglect are integrated into the unequal and hierarchized system of care.

### Exceptional Measures and “Unalterable States”

One of the premises underlying the belief in the indispensability of restrictive beds is that the condition of most people who are “(severely) intellectually disabled” is permanent and unalterable. Cage beds seem to some authorities an appropriate and realistic treatment precisely because “mental retardation” is conceptualized as a disability for which there is no realistic hope of a cure or improvement. The seemingly straightforward causal logic of this *realism* is upended by Philip M. Ferguson’s *Left to Their Fate*, a study of the history of institutional care. Ferguson sees an entirely different kind of causality, where the creation of special wards, “back wards,” has less to do with the actual condition of people with disabilities than with a shift in the social approaches to disability. Ferguson argues that back wards emerged in the moment when Enlightenment science gave up on its mission to reeducate and declared intellectual disability to be therapeutically unalterable and incurable. As Ferguson noted, “For these chronic cases, an atmosphere of permanence comes to envelop their lives on the edges of the cultural uni-

verse. . . . *The worst feature of a prognosis of chronicity is not that it is terminal, but that it is unending.* The ‘condition’ will not kill you, but it will follow you to your grave” (16; emphasis added).

The “restrictive/protective beds” thus materialize the (ostensible) distinction between the acute and the chronic. Like other physical restraints, they are defined (and codified in legislation) as extreme and temporary measures, but in practice they illustrate how the exceptional comes to determine the chronic normality of the everyday: another woman was restricted by such a bed for at least nine years.<sup>20</sup> This very transition of a procedure from an *acute treatment* to a *standard practice* is described in the excerpt from the ombudsperson’s report: Věra Musilová’s medical record “contains recurring notes, especially toward the end of her hospitalization, that [she] was calm when in the cage bed. Nevertheless, she continued to be kept there” (Šabatová, n.p.). The report also points out the paradoxical argumentation that since the patient has already spent a long period of time in a restrictive bed (or in isolation), the restriction is continued. Similar argumentation guided the online debates on the use of cage beds: “The more time a person spends in a cage bed, the more a cage bed becomes the best place for them” (Štrunc 48).

It was the chronicity calculus—that, there is no hope for improvement—that led to Věra Musilová’s placement in the Bohnice Psychiatric Hospital. The chief psychiatrist reportedly urged Jaroslava Musilová to place her daughter in permanent institutional care, reasoning that there was no chance of her condition improving and therefore no reason for her to return to the world outside the hospital (Šabatová, n.p.). The fire in Měděnec had such a tragic number of victims due to analogous geography of chronicity. The institution was internally hierarchically organized based on the promise (or lack thereof) of improvement: “bedridden” patients and the “most serious cases” were located on the locked floors at the top of the building, with no chance of escaping the fire.

As “unchangeable,” the chronicity of “mental retardation” negates future horizons, cancels the future for disabled lives that are seen as beyond rehabilitation, beyond “humanization,” beyond care, and “out of time” (Kafer 47–68; see also Steele; Pyne). To lay out the violent closure of (crip) futurity for (intellectually) disabled women, Kafer returns to the case of Ashley X (7–68). Ashley X was sterilized at her parents’ request and—without her consent—surgically stripped of her sex/uality, to be forcibly kept in a time and space of chronic nondevelopment. The argument used to justify such radical “treatment” was that keeping Ashley in a state of perpetual and permanent infan-

tivity (prepuberty) would ensure her “a quality of life” and protect her from sexual violence. In other words, only forcibly keeping her in permanent non-development sustained the conditions under which Ashley could be cared for. Věra Musilová’s incarceration (in the institution, in isolation, in a cage bed), too, followed the calculus of chronicity: the assumption that her state of development was unchangeable, inveterate.

Yet the ombudsperson’s report challenges this. Věra Musilová’s incarceration was preceded by changes in her behavior that led to more frequent states of anxious unrest, or “acute agitation.” The report suggests these changes might have been caused by her growing sexual frustration and, indeed, *development*. The possibility that Věra Musilová might have been undergoing sexual development represents a multifaceted conflict with the concept of chronicity because it suggests a change, “growing sideways,” in words of Kathryn Bond Stockton (*Queer Child*), where no growth and development is foreseen or even imaginable.

The possibility of Věra Musilová’s developing and adulting crip sexuality remains inarticulable, unintelligible, an embarrassing frustration. It is not acknowledged by any of the medical, expert statements. Thus, it remains out of time and out of place. Furthermore, the “acute agitation” that might have been linked to *sexual* frustration becomes evidence of the “chronicity” of Věra Musilová’s “retardation,” thus, a confirmation that “no future” is possible for her beyond incarceration. The chronicity of “mental retardation” justifies restricting Věra Musilová in her movement through time as much as through space; chronicity becomes a horizon of morally legitimate abjection and neglect.

Věra Musilová’s case supports Ferguson’s argument that conceptualizing disability or “mental retardation” as a chronic and unalterable condition sanctions the “continuum of social marginalization” (16) and as such reflects social resignation and failure. Further, the ombudsperson’s and the MDAC’s findings underscore how big a role in determining the right therapeutic/medical approach is played by socially conditioned categories (such as age, gender, disability, race or ethnicity) that define the value of human disabled life. As part of the moral pragmatism that underpins the policy of abandonment in the public debates over restrictive/protective beds, suggestions have regularly been made as to how the beds can be made more “humane” (Štrunc). In addition to improved versions of the bed or of—literally—the cage, people recommended ways in which to provide a person in a cage bed with stimuli (Štrunc 45–46), and how to “humanize”<sup>21</sup> the fact that by definition people

put in these beds are excluded from the normative definition of humanity, spatially as well as symbolically.

Stories like Věra Musilová's must therefore be read against a wider context, as they are indicative of more than just the deficiencies of our current social policies and the flaws in medical ethics and the rationality of care. Nor can they be dismissed with the claim that they are part of the enduring legacy of state socialism. Such interpretations simply do not hold against the rich archive of disability scholars' work mapping out the global histories of institutionalizations of disabled people. The heart of the problem highlighted here is the core conflict between the concept of "mental retardation" (and the related expert knowledge and care), and the normative definition of humanity. "Mental retardation" is instituted as a criterion for defining the value of life—a notion of value shaped by the tradition of Enlightenment and legacies of colonial domination, an argument that I elaborate below.

Juxtaposing the story of the fire in Měděnec or, more precisely, the representation of this horrific event in *Requiem for a Doll* with the deaths of intellectually disabled persons in institutional care, I seek to challenge recurring assumptions that exclusion of disabled people is a practice of the past and that the post-1989 developments brought unquestionable progress in integration, inclusion, and recognition of the rights of people with disabilities. My aim in discussing Věra Musilová's death here is not to reopen the debate over whether the hospital acted correctly or not, but to expose the deeper, collectively shared cultural imaginaries of "otherness" and the very concrete and material ways in which this modern typology of *disability* informs expert norms of care and impacts the im/possibilities of life, and to uncover the ways in which collectively constituted forms of affective attachment or abandonment are interlocked with the specific rationality of care defined by notions of *the necessary* and *the possible*.

Importantly, though, I do not present the cases of tragic deaths of disabled women as a contrast to the visions of moral rehabilitation of the postsocialist society and visions of building an open civil society. On the contrary, in the cripp reading that I offer, I challenge us—following Povinelli's prompt—to entertain the fact that the stories discussed here are an extension of debate about the civic, open, tolerant society. They might represent the metaphorical "child" kept in the broom closet whose suffering is the public secret securing the good life of the others. In the remainder of the chapter, I trace how the genealogical histories of the categories of disability and race converge and are intertwined in the legacy of colonial Reason.

### Humanist Adventures in an Asylum

In 2011, amid major restructuring of public and welfare expenditures that followed the financial crisis, “Adventures in Ward 14” (“Dobrodružství v pavilonu č. 14”),<sup>22</sup> an article describing “a madhouse inside a madhouse” (Třešňák 48), put the Bohnice Psychiatric Hospital in the spotlight again. The reportage from inside the hospital’s closed unit for “severe cases” presents an appealing case for the importance of a good care.

“Adventures in Ward 14” tells a simple story of a relationship between a committed caregiver and a young man, Ivan Kaliáš, with “severe mental retardation” and psychiatric disabilities. Ivan Kaliáš was considered a hopeless case till his caregiver’s selflessness and belief in the power of good care broke through the isolating walls of “retardation” and “brought out” Ivan Kaliáš’s humanity: “The walls [of this ward] have seen everything, but no one here can remember a patient like Ivan Kaliáš. This is the story of *a person who descended into the darkest depths of the human soul and of the hospital attendant who helped him find his way back*” (46; emphasis added).

This story was told many times before. It is a story of “the boy from Aveyron,” Caspar Hauser, and other “feral children,”<sup>23</sup> used by science to demonstrate modernism’s civilizing force. This version of the feral child tale offers a happy ending. Interestingly, in this postsocialist version, the emphasis falls not on the power of the science and Enlightenment rationality alone, but also on good care, the caregiver’s sympathy and empathy, and his willingness to believe in humanity of the disabled person.

“Adventures” presents a vision of humanism where “care” offered to vulnerable groups defines the level of society’s civilization. Good care extended to the disabled and vulnerable people, and even to the supposedly “lost cases,” is approached as a civilizing force—both for the disabled people and for the whole society. Good care then becomes a tool for general societal development and progress. As such, it provides an important counterpoint to “humanization” of the institutional care that equals more and softer padding on the walls. Moreover, narratives of good and empathetic caregiving serve as a counterpoint to rationality of austerity measures, redefinitions (read: cuts) of social solidarity. The discussed article itself even offered a support position for cage beds and did not call into question the institution itself—it belongs to the discursive foundation of carceral humanism.

The following passage could very well rival the closing horror scenes of Tod Browning’s legendary *Freaks*, enhanced with modern homosexual angst:

For a person finding themselves unaccompanied in Ward 14 for the first time, the few meters are an unexpectedly powerful experience. Men in sweatpants are shuffling around the hallway, their sunken faces marked by years of mental suffering. Some are sleeping on top of others along benches, others are rocking rhythmically back and forth and plugging their ears to block out the voices that no one else can hear. . . . A tall man in black is walking quickly in a circle and shaking a pair of socks in front of his eyes. A piercing scream rings out from somewhere. . . . I urgently need a woman. . . . More figures of ill men peel themselves away from the wall and approach the visitor. *Locking the toilet door from inside had never before been so important.* (Třešňák 48; emphasis added)

These descriptions of “acute agitation” and intellectual/psychiatric disability dramatize the boundaries between the human and the nonhuman/animal. The blurring of such boundary was similarly a recurring feature of Věra Musilová’s story: every reference to her agitation and unrest or repeated statements that she “choked on her own excrement” (Lamper, “Minulý týden” [2006] 24) is a performative reaffirmation of her separation from humanity. Even in the far more optimistic narrative about Ivan Kaliáš, “states of agitation” function as reminders of humanity being threatened by irrationality and animality and as signs of the dangerously fragile boundary between the human and the nonhuman/animal: “You can identify the attendants in [Ward] 14 by their hands . . . , their forearms . . . are marked with scars—souvenirs of being bitten while dealing with ‘the agitated’” (Třešňák 48).

Emphasizing Ivan Kaliáš’s destructive behavior, “states of agitation and restlessness,” an uncontrolled aggression toward himself and the people around him, the story echoes the narrative about Věra Musilová. However, as the following passage illustrates, the stories differ profoundly:

[Ivan Kaliáš’s caregiver] finds that touching, attention, soothing voices, regularly having something to do to fill [Ivan’s] time evidently make [Ivan] feel better. . . . The revelation is clear. The man about whom for years it was said required isolation and solitude, the aggressor whose teeth were feared by most people around, is longing for human contact. . . . *The discovery of an understanding of his real needs, hidden behind unruly destructiveness, marked the start of a change for the better.* (Třešňák 52; emphasis added)

Responding to the journalist's question about what lessons he took away from his encounter with Ivan Kaliáš, the caregiver said: "We often notice that someone is acting up, biting, shouting . . . and then stop them from doing it. It sounds trite, but it's much more important to look for the cause. I learned that people suffer most when they are isolated" (Třešňák 52).

Whereas debates on restrictive/protective beds and about the unfortunate death of Věra Musilová foreground the discourse of realism, the story of Ivan Kaliáš focuses on a maverick, but nonetheless an expert, who "by violating the doctrine of realistic care" was able to help Ivan Kaliáš "find his way back" to human sociality, even if his disabilities made him "descen[d] into the darkest depths of the human soul" (Třešňák 46). Yet it would be a misleading simplification to believe that the two stories of two disabled people (Ivan Kaliáš and Věra Musilová) and their fate contradict each other. On the contrary, the highly individualized story of an encounter between Ivan Kaliáš and his heroic caregiver who could take risks and look outside the usual (and approved) care methods diverts attention from systemic failures. In Elizabeth Spelman's words, "The means by which attention is brought to suffering may prolong or deepen rather than alleviate it" (159). The interest of the public in this particular story (remember, the article won an international journalistic award) suggests that it negotiates the delicate line between the politics of belonging / politics of abandonment and that the narrative helps to balance the fragile moral economy of the postsocialist society that is, as I argued in chapter 1, invested in self-fashioning as civil, open, and tolerant society. While the liberal society is being moved by how the commitment of one caregiver reinvigorated lapsed humanity of another man swallowed by his disabilities, the specific politics of abandonment are effaced.

Furthermore, the story of Ivan Kaliáš, or rather that of his caregiver, offers to readers another less obvious form of fantastical identification with the power to subdue and normalize the unreason of intellectual disability and the "agitation" of insanity. Let us return once again to the figure of the "feral child."

The feral child was an invention of post-Enlightenment Europe—a kind of collective mirage that, as in the early days of colonialism, presented an opportunity to conquer a lost primitive human self. The category—for it served more as an orchestrating classification of medical science than as a description of individual behavior—brought together myth and empiricism by associating a child who was deaf, mute, and

perhaps autistic, with a condition that represented both *a form of sub-humanity and a radical humanitarian promise*. (Mitchell and Snyder, *Cultural Locations* 186; emphasis added)

“Adventures in Ward 14” continues the legacy of Enlightenment science and imperial reason by focusing on the assumed subjugation of the primitive territory of animality. The transformation it describes of bringing a “feral child” back into the sphere of humanity is a fantasy worthy of the conquistadors of postmodern skepticism: “You can’t travel the world with Cooke anymore. Set off on a journey to the Amazon jungle and you’ll find it’s been cleared. But you can still experience *a real adventure* here in Ward 14” (Třešňák 48; emphasis added). Elsewhere the text quotes the caregiver and the metaphors he used to describe his work in the ward that perhaps even more explicitly describe the power ambivalences of imperialist reason and the colonial violence of modern science: “We’re warriors on the front line. . . . We’ve been to war and there were bullets flying all around” (Třešňák 50).

“Feral children” remain a part of Western/European cultural consciousness as the antithesis of the stories of modern science. As the embodiment of the ambivalent boundaries between the civilized and the primitive, the colonizer and the colonized, and the human and nonhuman, “feral children” are part of the archive of modern discourses of normality, disability, sexuality, gender, and race, and they surface again and again whenever the boundaries of normative categories are being redrawn and negotiated, like in the controversial stories about restrictive/protective beds.

“As modern subjects,” Nelson Maldonado-Torres writes, “we breathe coloniality all the time and everyday” (243). It is hard to escape the effects of coloniality, in part because “the cultural complex known as European modernity/rationality was constituted . . . [d]uring the same period as European colonial domination was consolidating itself” (Quijano 171). Even more pointedly, Lisa Lowe, as I have already noted in chapter 2, traces how modernity’s investment in the idea of a subject endowed with free will and desire for freedom is part and parcel of the notion of colonial expansion and subjugation of “the primitive other.” I turn to these critical projects, excavating the colonial rationality of modernity, because they also draw attention to the ways in which “coloniality of power is based upon ‘racial’ social classification of the world population under Eurocentred world power” (Quijano 171) and thus allow a more expansive view of how disability (intellectual disability in particular) and racialized notions of the other intersect—intersections that have been largely overlooked in the context of contemporary postsocialism

and in the context of contemporary discourses on/about Eastern Europe. Modern histories of Central and Eastern Europe tend to be associated more with having been colonized than with being complicit in colonial endeavors.<sup>24</sup> What would it then mean to introduce more expansive understandings of coloniality into thinking about postsocialism and think them together through a crip perspective?

The body of disability research that maps the many ways in which intellectually disabled and/or neurodivergent people of color are surveilled, disciplined, policed, and institutionalized (and often killed in the process) has grown significantly over the last decades in the US context (Adames and Erevelles; Ben-Moshe, Chapman, and Carey; Ben-Moshe; Bruce; Burch; Erevelles; Hilton; McGuire; Metzl; Price *Mad*; Pickens). However, neither the MDAC reports nor the inspections of psychiatric hospitals carried out by the Czech Office of the Ombudsperson pay attention to whether the discourses of race and ethnicity enter the practice of using restraints or the quality of care provided in hospitals. The cultural imagination of feral children or of “eternal children”—which is what Věra Musilová as well as other “mentally retarded” people who were kept long term in restrictive measures and in restrictive/protective beds were made into—are clear indicators of the important role colonial legacies of racialized categories still play in conceptualizations of intellectual disability (and humanity as such) and how much they underwrite the public debate about care and institutionalization in the postsocialist Czech Republic. The following quotation picturing Ivan Kaliáš through colonial imagery offers a good illustration of how fantasies of “eternal childhood” of intellectual disability rely upon tropes of coloniality. Coloniality remains, as Antonio Quijano notes, “the most general form of domination in the world today, once colonialism as an explicit political order was destroyed” (170).

Ivan Kaliáš bobs contentedly in the horse’s saddle. His look of desperation is gone, and his black eyes gleefully take in the surroundings. *Suddenly he looks to the sky, and a bloodcurdling sound emerges from his throat. For a few seconds he looks like an Apache chief.* (Třešňák 52; emphasis added)

### The (Eternal) Child and the “Cages” of Paradisal Fantasies

Mel Chen’s reading of the “interarticulation” of the history of Down syndrome with the history of British imperial expansion and the so-called opium wars



Figure 7. *ISOLA BELLA*, 2007/2008  
Source: Danica Dakić

provides a poignant illustration of the “co-constitutive” dependence of race and disability (“The Stuff” 235; see also *Intoxicated*). Juxtaposing legacies of violent utilization as they materialized in imperial expansion and scientific/medical explorations, Chen highlights how historical concepts of “feeble-mindedness” and “mongoloism” have become “internally organised, informed, by race or racial difference” (“The Stuff” 235) and traces the way in which imperial expansion, military violence, and exploitation worked through interlocked concepts of race and disability. As Chen argues, the sedimentation of these historically developed co-constitutions continues to influence present-day discourses of Down syndrome and Asian identities. Devoting attention to such “interarticulation” (“The Stuff” 236) also opens the way to a more accurate understanding of intercollation of colonial legacies in postsocialist contexts, and to an understanding of how concepts of intellectual disability continue to carry often invisible and intangible yet powerful and material legacies of racialized conceptualizations of Reason. Drawing on Chen’s work, the remainder of this chapter elaborates on how disability and racialized notions of “the primitive other” co-constitute each other, and work with and against each other in representations of Eastern Europe more broadly.

“Isola Bella,” an image of idyllic, exotic, lush greenery, is a motif in a decorative wallpaper design that shows a beautiful but fantastical island paradise untouched by industrialism and civilization. Designed by Eugène Ehrmann, Georges Zipélius, and Joseph Fuchs, it was first printed and sold in 1842 and was awarded a wallpaper trade gold medal soon after. Intended to adorn the interiors of imperial homes and to represent wealth, domination, and class as well as racial superiority, *Isola Bella* is another example of what Anne



Figure 8. *ISOLA BELLA*, 2007/2008

Source: Danica Dakić

McClintock terms “commodity racism” (33–34),<sup>25</sup> which played an essential role in translating the largely abstract and to the broader public inaccessible “science” of the differential value of human races into material practices intelligible to the public. Thus, “commodity racism” translated white (and human) superiority into fashionable, tangible practices. The colonial bric-a-brac that found a place in domestic spaces were unobtrusive and everyday material markers of racialized, sexualized, gendered, and ableist classifications of humanity and nature.

The fantasies of *isola bella*, a beautiful island, resurfaced recently in the name given to a multimedia art piece that Danica Dakić, an artist born in Sarajevo and currently living in Germany, produced in cooperation with disabled people living in Pazarić, Bosnia and Herzegovina, in an institution for disabled children—yet here again the temporality of disability does not run in straight lines, as most of the disabled people spent their whole lives in the Pazarić institution. The institution in Pazarić, as I discuss shortly, also attracted international attention during the wars in the 1990s.<sup>26</sup>

The *Isola Bella* series consists of videos and photographs that situate disability as a material trace of past imperialism and as a reminder of the current

resurgence of imperial perspectives on Eastern Europe. The backdrop of the Isola Bella wallpaper creates a stage for the Pazarić residents to tell short stories from their lives and to perform brief tales that they themselves composed.

Even if most of the reviews of the piece focus on Dakić's artistic creativity and directorial decisions, the performances themselves offer a powerful critique of the ableist preconceptions that our society cherishes and holds against people with intellectual disabilities (and that also misrecognize creativity of people with intellectual disabilities). For instance, one of the sketches opens with a figure walking on stage and asking: "Where is the audience?" and "Where are the actors?"—disrupting the power dynamics of subject and object in the theatrical gaze and summoning the power of the stare that the disabled subject attracts. The audience is then confronted with the reversed gaze and pushed to question "our" own role in the legacies of incarceration rationality and of (post)colonial fantasies of beautiful savagery. What sort of audience do we make as we listen to and witness the visions, plans, and desires expressed by the "actors" against the backdrop of the institutional walls taking up the imperial visions of paradise?

To make the transhistorical intersections thicker, the performers wear half-face masks made of paper, depicting women with piled-up hair or the forehead of Henry VIII, shaped to represent leather masks with driving goggles and bizarre gas masks, masks with a Native American headdress and a top hat, a conductor's cap and an Indian turban, each with its own sharply drawn face fixed in an expression of amazement, doubt, happiness, or boredom. The masks are in fact a form of citation and reiteration of the masks that were popular at fancy-dress parties in Edwardian and Victorian England. The masks are techniques of theatrical gesture "exaggerating expressivity" (Holert 68) and stage performance but could be also read as a playful critique of the notions of "truth" and "authenticity." Surely they are all that. Yet they are also more than *just* that.

Using the wallpaper, the masks, and other props, Dakić and her disabled collaborators intervene in imperial fantasies and lay bare the ways in which visions of an idyllic island untouched by the ravages of industrial modernity bind imperial histories, the long (post)colonial exploitation of land and its resources, together with the logics of containment. The juxtaposition of the commodities of racism (the wallpaper and masks), to paraphrase McClintock, with the reality of the institutionalization of people with disabilities (and in particular people with intellectual and psychiatric disabilities) alludes to the past and present practices of exhausting and/or dispossessing bodies that are seen as merely a bare life, the scientific rationality of the Enlightenment,



Figure 9. *ISOLA BELLA*, 2007/2008  
Source: Danica Dakić

racialized dominance and moral pragmatism, and, on the other hand, fantasies of a good life. In other words, in light of notions of “ferality” and endless infantilism of intellectual disability, I lean on the artwork *Isola Bella* to highlight the deep-seated and naturalized legacies of imperial rationality and colonial domination that strategically enmesh categories of race, disability, gender, and sexuality to construe a differential value of lives (or, more precisely, to construe only some vitalities as fully human and worthy “lives”). But again, what do the colonial expansions of the Western empires, their imprints and material histories (and here I continue the discussion from chapter 2) have to do with institutionalization of people with disabilities and with arguments about the “realism of care” in postsocialist contexts?

To argue that there is an easy parallel between political economy and the practices of colonial expansion that accompanied industrial capitalism on the one hand and the realities of the postsocialist renderings of neoliberal capitalism on the other would be historically imprecise and false. However, Dakić’s citational reworking of imperial fantasies of virgin beauty and savagery shed light on the transhistorical entanglements that exist between imperial reason, discourses of racialized disability, and Eastern Europe. I trace them below.

Eliciting fantasies of a beautiful island that exists outside of normative time, *Isola Bella* gestures to the tourist economy, in which Croatia, Bosnia



Figure 10. *ISOLA BELLA*, 2007, C-Print © Danica Dakić, VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn  
Source: Danica Dakić

and Herzegovina, and the countries of Southern Europe with access to the Adriatic Sea are positioned (and exploited) as such islands of refuge. Yet the image in Figure 10 of a winter landscape dusted with snow, a thick fog that calls to mind the cold and bleakness of winter, the blowup poster remake of the *Isola Bella* wallpaper propped up in front of a wire fence, complicates such fantasies and juxtaposes them to the realities of the institutional life of disabled people. “In the winter, all but a hardy few remained inside, where months revolve around staring at a wall” (Roane, n.p.). This description of conditions in the Pazarić institution provides a painful counter to fantasies of the *isola bella* of the summer vacation. The promise of relief performed and actualized in the images of a beautiful tropical island set against a cold and bare landscape of the fenced-in institution disrupts notions of the institution as the sheltered and “natural” place for disability.

In the act of “crip signing,” *Isola Bella* draws out and makes more tangible the ways in which legacies of coloniality—as a form of modern rationality poised against “primitiveness” that can be harnessed, bent to use, or exploited

for the ideologies of humanity—manifest in forms of abandonment. It also, as I argue, makes intelligible the ways in which the racialized logic of coloniality underwrites concepts of “ferality,” “mental retardation,” and intellectual disability more broadly and even in less violent renderings. In this sense, Dakić’s artistic collaboration with the disabled people in Pazarić performs a critical reflection on the legacies of colonial violence that resurface—in different ways—in the practices of institutionalization of people with disabilities.

The Pazarić institution made international news before its collaboration with Dakić. In 1996, during the war in the former Yugoslavia, the *New York Times* published an article titled “In a World Gone Mad, Mental Home Offers Sanity” (Roane) reporting from Pazarić. The article was later republished with an updated title, “Bosnia-Herzegovina [*sic*]: Mental Patients Watch the Madness Outside.”<sup>27</sup> The article celebrated Danico Sladoje, the institution’s director, “who has braved shells, starvation and disease *by choice*” (emphasis added), “unlike his . . . dependents . . . , a group of mentally retarded [*sic*] and physically disabled patients whose families either could not take care of them or refused to do so. They were left to fend in a war zone with only Mr. Sladoje to provide” (Roane, n.p.). Unmistakably, the *New York Times* relies on the same tropes as the “Adventures” narrative to spotlight the director who does not abandon his “dependents.” The more severe the disability portrayed, the more “helpless” the disabled people, the greater the bravery and sacrifice of the director. Once again, people with (intellectual) disabilities serve as narrative props to accentuate the depth of humanity of the caregivers.

Furthermore, this article construes the “mental hospital” in Pazarić as an isolated space (an island?) of sanity and a refuge in the midst of ethnic war tearing apart former Yugoslavia. The so-called Balkan wars were in the West (and parts of the East) construed as the new location of threatening alterity that filled the vacuum left after the end of Cold War. The representations of the Pazarić institution were posited against the narratives of “the usual regional attributes: chaos, savagery and backwardness” (Hammond 141). Against the images of the barbaric *ethnic* wars, disability helped to uphold image of humanity.

Leading with the play of reversals (madness/sanity), the article positions the Pazarić institution—since there was no other place that would accommodate the disabled people—as the best (available) place for disability, a place where humanity provoked by the disabled’s vulnerability surmounts ethnic difference and ethnic violence. When interviewed about *Isola Bella*, Danica Dakić herself reminisced: “The initial impulse came from a picture: the historic panoramic wallpaper *Isola Bella*. . . . I had read about [the insti-

tution in Pazarić] a long time ago. I remember being fascinated by the fact that this home functioned *like an island of sorts even during the war*: it did not suffer serious damage or casualties” (cited in Dakić et al. 49; emphasis added). Dakić’s recollection is taken up, reproduced, and circulated further. For instance, Emily Gonzalez (for the Hammer Museum in Los Angeles exhibition featuring Dakić) draws upon the “war story” as the point of origin of the *Isola Bella*: “After reading about the institution, Dakić was struck by the way that it had survived the Bosnian war of the 1990s *untouched*. Her choice of the *Isola Bella* wallpaper reflects her view of *the home as an island amid the turmoil*. It functions as an island of sorts—*paradisical* or deserted—for many of the inhabitants as well” (n.p.; emphasis added).

All three of these texts use the metaphor of an island to refer to an institutional “home” and re-envision the “institution” as an “island amid the turmoil” (Gonzales, n.p.), “an island of sorts [that] even during the war: . . . did not suffer serious damage or casualties” (Dakić et al. 49), as “a place offering sanity” (Roane, n.p.); a haven, a refuge from the war raging outside. Such impressions of an idyll are, however, incommensurate with the hard realities of the life in the Pazarić institution during the war. Even the romanticizing article published in the *New York Times* shatters any fantasies of the “home” as a peaceful refuge. In contrast, it records the casualties and damages caused by the war and postwar austerity:

When Mr. Sladoje came to the hospital 13 years ago, it was one of Bosnia’s premier institutions. More than 100 doctors, nurses, specialists, therapists, and their staff cared for 460 patients. . . . [During the war] provisions were sparse, and even today the patients live in abject conditions. Children lie motionless in iron beds among the stench of recent waste. Others sit crowded on rows of benches, rocking to the beat of scratchy records and being tended by the handful of staff members left.

The “home” was not hit by a bomb, was not attacked, and the direct violence of war might have not penetrated its walls. But the interview with the hospital’s director shows candidly that scarcity and neglect likewise produce casualties of war and that any idealized notions of an institution as a “safe haven” are erroneous. A total of ninety-eight disabled residents died during the war and are now “buried under homemade wooden crosses in a nearby field” (Roane, n.p.). “Their deaths were not necessary,” states Danico Sladoje. Sladoje further points out that

an institution that had only five or six [deaths] a year suffered dozens during the war because of winters without enough coal, bad diet and exhaustion. . . . A simple cold was enough to kill. . . . Our electric supply was gone and we were virtually cut off from all sides. . . . We had enough food for only two months and the only thing that saved us was a tonne of protein powder we had stocked away. (Roane, n.p.)

The austerity of wartime furthermore persisted into peacetime:

Although Bosnia-Herzegovina [*sic*] has been a land of peace for more than four months, *the trickle down of funds that is supposed to rebuild the country have yet to reach the Pasaric* [*sic*] *hospital*, and no firm commitments are in the works. . . . There is only a small amount of coal for heaters, the roofs leak, and food remains basic and in short supply, said Sladoje. “But the government has said they cannot help us and *no international organizations have come forward to provide funds.*” (n.p.; emphasis added)

Fantasies that blot out the violence of chronic neglect and war austerity are indicative not only of the precarity of disabled lives in times of war, but the precarity of disabled lives in general. Specifically, such fantasies highlight how destruction and precarity become invisible through specific chronospaciality attributed to—or even found appropriate for—disability and disabled people.

To understand what role the stories that juxtapose the image of a “magical refuge” against narratives of brutality of ethnic war have in (re)producing racialized narratives of Eastern Europe, we need to set them in the context of discourses on the “former communist Other,” Balkan wars, and (Western) Europe’s amnesia about colonial violence and self-identification as an inclusive society.

Feminist theorists analyzing the constructions of the Balkan wars pointed out how the representation of the arguably unintelligible and surprising surge of “irrational ‘ancient ethnic hatreds’” (Kovačević 159) was utilized for the multiple and often contradictory post–Cold War narratives. Neda Atanasoski argues in *Humanitarian Violence* that as the “Cold war enemy” narrative lost its power, the discursive gap was filled with, on the one hand, narratives foregrounding the triumph of “American liberalism and the fulfilment of the promises of civil rights,” and, on the other, narratives giving prominence to the rejection of such values as modernity and foregrounding the region’s descent

into ethnic and religious conflicts (33–34). “Against vivid accounts of ethnic cleansing and religious hatred rooted in the failures of the socialist experiment,” Atanasoski notes, “multiculturalism emerged as an emblem of national unity and liberal democracy” (*Humanitarian Violence* 35). Nataša Kovačević then illustrates how representations of the wars in the former Yugoslavia have been used to “externalize irredeemable criminal behavior (authoritarianism, violation of human rights, ethnic cleansing, economic plunder and speculation)” (156) elsewhere in Eastern Europe. Such “post-communist ‘criminalization’” of Eastern Europe amounts to “ethnicizing guilt” (156) for the wars, as well as for the failed promise of European multiculturalism.

The story of the Pazarić institution that foregrounds the deeply humanist/humanitarian commitment of its director to his “dependents” against discourses that position the Balkans as “paradigmatic of the post-communist turmoil” (Kovačević 158) and “a portentous symbol of Europe’s future (if multiculturalism fails), as a testament to innate cruelty in the human species” (Kovačević 157) prosthetizes disability. The stories of the Pazarić institutional “home” for people with disabilities serve as a discursive base upon which the contradictory narratives about Eastern Europe are confronted in another double bind of disability. On the one hand, the stories about Pazarić underscore an idea of war and conflict as “primordial and natural in certain parts of the world” (Atanasoski, *Humanitarian Violence* 35) and use the representations of vulnerable intellectually disabled people to underwrite the violence of ethnic war; on the other hand, they focus on the bravery of the disabled people’s keeper, the director of the institution, and his adherence to humanitarian values. The intellectually disabled people thereby form a rich metaphor that fuses discourses of primordial backwardness, savagery, and ethnic hatred with humanity and hope (even if unfulfilled as yet) that are directed at the international community and appeal to the values of liberal charity. The Pazarić example thus highlights how “mental retardation” is used to serve discourses of modernity, “catching up,” civilization, and progress—and their humanizing function.<sup>28</sup>

To conclude, this chapter thinks about the ways in which normative regimes of time and space take concrete material shapes through racialized and disabled lives; specifically, it discusses how forms of neglect are brought about and legitimized by temporal and spatial politics that places racialized disability outside teleology of progressive time and into the zones of durational chronicity. The unnamed women who died in the flames of the institution they could not leave, Věra Musilová who died locked in a bed, in an isolation unit, in an institution, all of which were supposed to protect her

from herself, residents of the institution in Pazarčić entrapped by neglect and war—all of them are positioned as objects rather than subjects of history, their chronic “mental retardation” barring them from historic agency. Their lives are narrated as historical “events,” and yet at the same time they themselves are positioned “outside” history. They are both of history and without history, living in the “durational present,” attached to past and with no future. Their lives are perceived as universalized, representing universal truths about human vulnerability, and at the same time as too particular and too specific to speak about “human life.” As such, they embody the postsocialist paradoxes.

Thinking about chronicity—not (only, or primarily) as a diagnostic temporality, but as a *chronospatial biopolitical regime and configuration*—and how it conditions disabled lives and their livability is at the center of this chapter. The examples discussed show chronicity as conflictual, a temporality out of bounds, temporality that breaks down the teleological linearity of the passage of time. The multiple narratives of “mental retardation,” as a specific discourse of about intellectual disability, that I discuss here link intellectual disability with chronicity as a state that is continuous as well as constant, describe the attributions of “inertia” and inveterateness. The “chronic” state of certain lives thus allows for logic of moral pragmatism to “relocate” resources, to create zones of “bare life” or minimal livability. People perceived/diagnosed as having intellectual disability—as Mel Chen’s discussion of the historical legacy of theories and concepts of Down syndrome lays out (“The Stuff”)—are seen as delayed and somehow relegated to the past, an embodiment of contradiction to progress and modern development. The temporal ideologies of modernity/progress versus backwardness and even “historical delay” are key mechanisms legitimizing the special logic of institutionalization and segregation.

There is specific relevance to portrayals of “inertia” and “inveterateness” in the postsocialist context overdetermined by discourses of transition, transformation, and moral imperatives of development that means “catching up” (I develop this theme further in chapter 4). The idea of development conveys a specific rationality and morality based in concepts of time. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines development as “a gradual unfolding, a bringing into fuller view,” an “evolution or bringing out from a latent or elementary condition,” or as “the growth and unfolding of what is in the germ.” Each of these definitions illustrates that the concepts of development are sutured with morality of reaching assumedly better, more advanced forms of existence, and by a temporal plan and a direction toward the future. “Mental retardation” embodies a direct opposition to the imperative of development. Furthermore, considered chronic and inveterate, the concept of mental retar-

dation carries ambivalent significations for the discourses of Eastern Europe and postsocialism. An overabundance of stories picture deplorable conditions in institutions for people with disabilities across Eastern Europe. More often than not they are accompanied by photographs that—like Jan Šibík’s project discussed in the introduction—border on pornographic fetishization of (intellectual) disability and poverty. These projects are not invested in disability justice but rely, as the examples discussed in this chapter make clear, upon discourses of disability, gender, and sexuality to *imagine Eastern Europe* as the racialized, forever delayed crip “Other” to the progressive West.

## *Four*

### The Inadaptable (Non)citizen

#### *The Racialized Capital of Abandonment*

---

#### When the Provisional Becomes Permanent

In the summer of 2018, hundreds of people, many of them families with children and the majority of them Roma, faced forced relocation and/or homelessness<sup>1</sup> as many hostels and provisional housing capacities (*ubytovny*) closed down.<sup>2</sup> *Ubytovny* emerged as a direct consequence of the rapid and sweeping privatization of previously state- and municipally owned housing. Privatization of housing is, as Liviu Chelcea and Oana Druță point out, one of the spheres where neoliberal restructuring affected Eastern and Central Europe most. Among other things, the 2018 housing crisis brought to the surface and into public debate the previously obscured mechanisms of racial capitalism that preyed on the neoliberal fetishization of private property, racial and class prejudices, and racialized scripts of inadaptability, which together hold the state system of welfare hostage.

The provisional housing capacities or projects emerged as a form of significant and risk-free profit-making enterprise and accelerated in the first decade of the new millennium. “In towns with collapsing industries, entrepreneurs have profitably bought out former housing complexes dedicated to workers. Now they accommodate the socially precarious and make profits through the high rents paid through state-provided social benefits”: this is how the then government Commissioner for Human Rights, Monika Šimůnková, succinctly describes how the housing projects represents the mutually profitable cooperation of the neoliberal state with private interests (“Ubytovny” n.p.).

For majority of the people living in them, these provisional hostels and projects were the only housing they could find while racial prejudice and

sedimented histories of racial exclusion made rental contracts and homeownership utterly inaccessible. The dissolution of the municipal and state housing funds after 1989 contributed to rapid growth of ethnicized/racialized inequalities and rendered the institutions incapable of conducting effective social housing policies.

Thus, the calculus of profit-making has been very simple: the housing “entrepreneurs” buy out housing capacities, often in locations marked by racial and social stigma, and subsequently target people in a precarious position on the “housing market,” that is, people who lost access to municipal or social housing and who cannot access the private housing market for lack of economic or social capital or are excluded from it due to racial, ableist, and other prejudices.<sup>3</sup> At the same time, the “renters” are often recognized by the state as in need of social assistance and thus receive subsidies to pay rent. In this way, renters are turned into an access point to the social-welfare system and are extracted and exploited for their precariousness. It is precisely the renters’ social vulnerability, (racial) stigma, and exclusion that become commodifiable in this form of capital-building. The housing providers are not required or pushed to uphold health and safety standards, and thus, as I discuss shortly, the living conditions are appalling, undignified, dangerous, but also virtually inescapable.

Starting from this example of postsocialist racial capitalism, this chapter moves across several cultural locations to map out how its logic regulates public space and its geographies, defines who does (not) belong in public shared space, and who becomes vulnerable to violence that is understood as legitimate and morally defensible. But, as I illustrate, the logic permeates private spaces as well and becomes part of the definition of the family and its cohesion. Bringing all these supposedly unconnected cases and examples together, I attempt to think through the racialized logic of abandonment not as an exception from, but as a counterpart to, the scripts of rehabilitative citizenship. Expanding the argument of the previous chapter, I wish to frustrate the understanding of chronic neglect as produced by unintended failure of the system and of social communities, and as materializing on the system’s/society’s peripheries. Instead, this chapter identifies forms of chronic conditions that Lisa Maria Cacho calls “social death,” which are produced along the axis of racialized difference and as a direct outcome of the normative morality of rehabilitative citizenship. Not an effect of social invisibility, I argue here, chronic abandonment becomes integrated into the social and moral economy of the postsocialist society and even becomes a mechanism of economic calculus and profit. In other words, racialized abandonment and

discourses of “inadaptability” reflect what Minelle Mahtani and David Roberts call the neoliberalization of “race” and the “racing” of neoliberalism (250).

Adding to the analysis of affective politics that govern rationalities of (non)care offered in chapter 3, I map the formation and the ideological uses of another metaphor of crip chronicity—“inadaptability”—that sanctions structural abandonment and abjection of Roma communities. In fact, in the course of this chapter, I highlight how abandonment and forms of social deadening are and need to be hypervisible (even as they simultaneously maintain a fantasy of invisibility) to fulfill their function in upholding the postsocialist consensus.

### Motherhood of White Erasures

It is not very often that a relatively thin book of fiction becomes the center of public debate and creates waves that last for over a decade. Yet this is what happened in 2008, when Tereza Boučková, a writer with the profile of an anticommunist dissident, signatory of Charter 77, and the daughter of Pavel Kohout, a leading figure of the immigrant dissent intelligentsia, published her novel *The Year of the Rooster* (*Rok kohouta*). The text reads as a diary-style intimate record that weaves together Boučková’s reflection on her struggles as a writer with her struggles as a mother, wife/lover, and daughter. Out of all these strands in her narrative, the one focusing on being a mother to two adoptive Roma sons and one biological son defines all others.

Taking stock of her twenty-odd years of motherhood, the author zooms in on a moment of crisis when her adoptive sons are breaking away from home, falling into substance use, committing petty crimes, and generally abandoning the moral vision given to them through her and her husband’s parenting. Overwhelmed by despair over their life choices and by what she sees as a failure of her guidance, the writer and mother admits to thinking of ending her own life. In interviews in which she talks about her experience as an adoptive mother to the two Roma children, Boučková notes, “It was too big of an investment. Futile, nonetheless. Indeed, it cost me so much. I have given the boys nearly twenty years of my life” (Pecháčková 12). In another interview she sums up the experience as a loss so grave that she wishes to “erase that motherhood” (Anthová 10).

And yet, despite such candid testimony about what is essentially a narrative of failed mothering, Boučková’s book enjoyed an overwhelmingly positive reception. The level of encouraging and favorable feedback is striking, especially when set against the multiple affirmations flooding the public

space that document the survival of the conservative myth of (heteronormative) motherhood and a mother's responsibility for care labor as well as for the ultimate "successes" of the family unit. As other scholars have shown, the cultural imaginaries of kinship—and motherhood specifically—have been crucially important to the postsocialist ideologies of rehabilitation.<sup>4</sup> What then made this particular heteronormative art of failure appeal to the nation so powerfully?

Below, I trace how Boučková's intimate account of her experience with the exhausting labor of motherhood became mobilized as a statement of much larger significance, and how, in a surprising turn of events, this account of the personal indeed became political. I look at how her gesture of "erasing that motherhood" and her candid account of how adoptive mothering became too much, an excessive expenditure of her own and her family's capacities, become utilized as a statement beyond the question of adopting Roma children. In the public reception of the novel, Boučková is refashioned into something larger than herself, into a version of what Fiol-Matta describes as a "mother for the nation." *The Year of the Rooster* became much more than an individual story of exhaustion from mothering that did not—despite all her efforts—lead to a middle-class happy ending. The drama of the failing parenthood to Roma adoptees—juxtaposed with the trouble-free mothering of the biological son—is paradoxically simultaneously read as a drama of finally understanding the essential differences between the ethnicities. As the anthropologist Ladislav Holý noted, in the context of negotiating ethnic identity in the Czech context, motherhood carries the symbolic value of the figure of "motherland" (*matka vlast*, 71) and nationality/ethnic identity is defined by one's symbolic attachment to the mother (nation).

I turn to this particular performance of *white* motherhood as one of the overlooked locations of the genealogy of the figure of "the inadaptable" (*neprizpůsobivý*) that haunts the postsocialist collective imaginary of belonging. Against the context of postsocialist investments in fantasies of transition, change, catching up, and adaptation, the concept of maladjustment constituted a powerful category articulated on the interstices and intersections of disability, race, gender, sexuality, and the nation. I also read the narrativization of white parental/maternal failure as a dramatization of what Aniko Imré describes as a moral transparency of whiteness. Paradoxically here, the failure of white parenthood to transform the adoptive Roma sons into "rehabilitative citizens" upholds whiteness as undisputable and authoritative moral discourse. As I argue below, the failed motherhood allows for articulations of racialized difference as undisputable where race is inarticulable. The emo-

tive and highly public rejection of adoptive, expansive, and racial-difference-transgressing motherhood is embraced by the public as a welcoming gesture absolving the nation of the possibly morally conspicuous rejection of racialized difference and of Roma people en masse. In brief, the failure of adoptive motherhood is celebrated as no other failure because it reinforces whiteness as the moral standard of rehabilitative citizenship and of the postsocialist consensus.

The concept of maladaptation has a history that reaches back into state socialism and even beyond it. In fact, state socialism for most of its historical duration utilized narratives of expert care for marginalized people to underscore the humanity of the socialist project. Moreover, given the traditions of racism in the interwar period, marginalization, and the often-abject poverty of the Roma communities throughout the Slovak and Czech lands, socialist ideologues pointed to Roma to illustrate the racist nature of bourgeois societies and to draw out the promises of socialist utopia. Under state socialism, Roma populations were seen as an alterity that needed to be governed, that is, “civilized,” reeducated, and assimilated. The paternalizing and racializing perspective is apparent in the debates about the urgency of finding “the socialist way of solving the so-called Gypsy question” (Kára 369). At the same time, the belief that a Roma person can be—with the proper guidance and expert care—transformed into “a healthy, comprehensibly educated, and harmoniously developed human being”<sup>25</sup> underlines the “constructivist” approach that emphasized the social plasticity of the Roma subject—like that of other marginalized subjects, for example, people with disabilities—and the power of the socialist state’s project of modern rationality and civilization to mold Roma people into proper socialist citizens. The Roma population was thus viewed as the unadapted (*nepřizpůsobený*) or as those who have not adapted yet. “The unadapted” was without a doubt category of social pathology, but for most part it was not linked exclusively to ethnicity or specifically (even if most often) to Roma people. On the contrary, to express the universalizing claim of the ideology of state socialism, it was fortuitous to keep the category both expansive and temporally imperfect.

Postsocialism, nonetheless, has brought a crucial semantic shift. The open horizon of the imperfect mode turned into a perfect one. Furthermore, the concept has radically changed its radius—if under state socialism the term “maladjusted” was part of the discourse of state governance and judiciary power, in the postsocialist period it lost its exclusive attachment to expert and governmental knowledge/power and made its way into lay discourses. The notions of Roma’s chronic “inability to adjust” to the scripts of “reha-

bilitating” society took center stage in the public debates about state welfare, social justice, and civic society. They have been instrumental in construing, legitimizing, and bringing to matter forms of abandonment that lead to crip-ness that remains beyond recognition and inclusion in the representation of disability. The figure of “the one that is unable to adapt”—a racialized crip figure—supplements the ideologies of rehabilitation that both prop up and destabilize the narratives of the successful and forward-rushing postsocialist transformation. The adoptive Roma sons in *The Year of the Rooster* are turned into exemplary versions of such “inadaptable” men, and the story of their coming of age is the story of a chronic failure to grow up, to adjust to the norms of normal, white, middle-class life. Their inability to grow up, their permanent positionality as “queer children” (Stockton) that grew sideways, away from the ideals of rehabilitative citizenship, serves as the queer crip marker of the impossibility of such endeavors. With their incapacity, the racialized, queer, crip, adoptive children haunt the landscape of postsocialism.

In his study of transnational adoption, David Eng proposes a concept of racialized intimacy to “mar[k] the collective ways by which race becomes occluded within the private domain of private family and kinship [at the same time that it gets] exploited to consolidate idealized notions of family and kinship in the global North” (10). Eng’s work guides me here through unpacking the ways in which the performative speech acts of failed motherhood carry affective weight for negotiating race trouble. *The Year of the Rooster* manages both to racialize the ethnic difference between Czech/Roma populations and simultaneously to occlude how race works and how it upholds the whiteness as invisible.

The control over reproduction and family has been traditionally the focus of the biopolitical surveillance of the Roma population in Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic. In fact, the success of *The Year of the Rooster* contrasts with the persistent international critique of the treatment of Roma people in the Czech Republic and especially against the repeated emphasis that international reports put on the enforcement of institutional care for Roma children.<sup>6</sup> At the same time, the number of Roma children given to international adoption has been so high as to provoke comments that referred to the practice as “export” of Roma children (cf. Nosálková).

The racialized difference of Roma children in the center of a white family embodies race trouble. Revealing that the figures of the adoptive Roma children had been turned into a synecdoche for the racialized difference inside the body of the nation, the reviews of and public debates over *The Year of the Rooster* were dominated by strong opinions about the inevitable failure of

interracial parenting, mirroring the common and deep-seated belief that “a Gypsy cannot become a Czech” (cited in Holý 71). One review sums up this consensus: “This book offers not a politically correct and not a comprehensive but very powerful message about how cohabitation of two ethnic groups (or cultures) . . . failed” (Trávníček 16–17). Another reviewer asks, “Is it possible to adopt a child of different nationality [*sic!*] without ruining one’s life?” (Ljubková 54). Even though the fight against genes proves futile (Peñas; Chuchma) and may have nearly broken the “mother of the nation,” it is recuperated and transformed into a rehabilitative lesson for many: the author’s viewpoint “is not,” a review notes, “a recommendation to those who would be considering similar adoption. *The Year of the Rooster* is for this reason a book that offers an important perspective for the lay public, as well as for psychologists and potential adoptive parents” (Anthová 10). Such summaries arrive at a preexisting conclusion that ethnic difference cannot be rehabilitated and Roma children cannot be adopted and incorporated into the white nation.

The reviews emphasize that *The Year of the Rooster*’s real value lies in its truthful depiction of the consequences of not upholding the natural order of race. The spectacular failure of white adoptive motherhood is interpreted as an illustration of the perils and repercussions of the willful intermingling of two ethnic groups and as a factual depiction of how hazardous such intermingling is. The literary text is transformed into and mobilized as a narrative providing a true scope of an “unnatural act” that threatens to unsettle the “naturally” orchestrated social order of racialized separation.

*The Year of the Rooster* provides the authority of the experiential knowledge to support this “truth” of race. Experience gathered in the most intimate relationship, an experience that can fall back on the evidence of care and loving attention, provides a legitimization that cannot be dismissed as biased. How would you blame someone for holding a negative bias who has given over twenty years of her life to these boys! Turning the narrative of the failure of transethnic motherhood into a tool of rehabilitative pedagogy, critics and reviewers point to the “authentic,” “hard learned,” and lived lesson that documents “the depth of crisis that can, under certain circumstances, result from *the romantic desire to improve the world*” (Peñas 68; emphasis added). The reviews also make abundantly clear that this is particularly the risk when such romantic desire is projected onto “*completely incompatible* elements that cannot be socialized: *creatures without character*” (Kopáč 15; emphasis added)—the moniker one of the reviews gave to the adoptive sons.

Where does the race trouble lie exactly? What is the danger of ethnic otherness? And how does *The Year of the Rooster* construe race without talk-

ing about race? How does the book—and its public reception—manage to simultaneously construe ethnic alterity as dangerous while occluding its own racializing strategies?

The book itself does not construe a direct or causal link between the ethnicity of the adoptive sons, their criminal behavior, the failure of kinship, and the near ruin of the mother and whole family. And it is precisely the fact that the book manages to provide a script that racializes the Roma sons without explicit references to racial difference and through references to their character, capacities to navigate life, and primary trauma of institutionalization, that makes the narrative crucial for the public imaginary of racialized modes of inadaptability and, by extension, for the national project of rehabilitation.

The novel and, even more so, the ways in which the wider public has made sense of it highlight how race was coded in and construed through significations that ostensibly did not involve race. The racialization of the adoptive kinship is achieved not only—or even primarily—through the attribution of ethnicity. It is rooted in disability and in racializing specific forms of disability. Expressing racialized difference through substitutive discourses is a key mechanism in the workings of racialized symbolic orderings, as it allows for less morally objectionable representation and conceals the struggle over signification.

To highlight how such intermingling function, I explore how race is “interarticulated,” to invoke Mel Chen’s phrasing again (“The Stuff” 236), by registers of disability. How do the various disability discourses racialize the adoptive sons as embodying an irreparable difference, and how do they, at the same time, construe the adoptive motherhood/family as white? And finally, how are the disability representations called upon to make such racializing maneuvers invisible?

Chen’s theorizing of intersectionality, however, cuts deeper; it does not describe mere substitution, but ways in which racialized, sexualized difference or difference in capacities materialize at the junction of these discursive knotting. The adoptive sons become disabled and crip as an effect of racialized orderings, while their incapacities turn into a matter of race. The adoptive sons—as we have seen repeated in the reviews cited above—are claimed to be inherently incapable of adjusting to the family; they resist integration and refuse to follow social codes and prescriptions. The narrative explains the adoptees’ failure to adjust and integrate through “emotional deprivation” due to prior institutional foster care. The “brokenness” of the adoptive children is articulated through descriptions of their presumed affective disability, an incapacity to form any familial relation. In the mother’s frustration at

the impossibility of forming a deep emotional bond with her sons, she calls herself—with bitter irony—“Mother Baby Formula” (Anthová 10). Formula was the only thing that made the babies smile and be content, suggesting that regardless of love and care, the adoptive sons are capable of affectively bonding only with the material sustenance, not with her as a mother and not with their new family. The metaphor of “mother formula” haunts all the other discussions of maladjustment with a similar moral judgment of exploitation, broken bonds, past offerings taken and not paid back, and debts overdue. Public reception of the book was quick to translate the mother’s complaint about the absence of affective bonds into the adoptees’ inability to form any social bonds at all, and beyond that into a more general lesson about the incapacity of the whole ethnic group to relate to the larger social body: the book records “the deep family, individual, and value crisis [. . . when the parents are] confronted face to face with the total incapacity of their adoptive sons to adjust to social norms” (Janoušek 3).

The adoptive sons are described as “utterly incompatible elements, impossible to socialize,” or “completely socially inadaptable” (Kopáč 15). The discourses of disability essentialize the assumed moral flaws and to occlude any possibility of acknowledging the underpinnings of structural racism. For instance, taking the narrative about the children’s “emotional fixation” and affective attachment to sources of immediate pleasure and material sustenance at face value, the essentialized and *racialized* interpretation of (emotional) and social incapacity/pathology covers over the ways in which these might be linked to deprivation and the effects of institutional care/racism, the temporal horizon of which precedes the birth of the two children. This essentializing and pathologizing understanding of disability stands in for race and the assumed pathology of racialized difference.

Disability and states of incapacity play, however, a more complex role in the interpretations of the book’s narrative and in the racialized implications the reviews draw from it for Czech society. Disability is deployed to articulate the threat to the “white family” (the overall deprivation of the adoptees leads to their incapacity to adjust, love their parents, or adhere to social norms, and to near destruction of the family that took them in). And their social incapacity to integrate burdens the surrounding society. As one of the reviews retells the words of the mother: “The boys are not capable of understanding the social system and the responsibilities that follow from it, to acknowledge *that the space surrounding them is a space shared with other people with their own needs*” (Anthová 10; emphasis added).

Simultaneously, though, another register of disability is utilized to

describe—indeed make eth(n)ically intelligible—the mother’s (and the society’s) ultimate rejection of the adoptive children. These registers of disability are racialized as well as gendered. On the one hand, the disruptive and socially dangerous disability of maladjustment, the arguably innate incapacity to coexist with, and to inhabit the social rules of, the white majority, is ascribed to racially marked masculinity. On the other hand, the author’s frank and, at times, harrowing intimations of exhaustion, depression, and anxiety, which culminates in her having suicidal thoughts, are—in this instance—not only acknowledged but even offered recognition as the result of mothering—of this particular mode of impossible (white) mothering to (racially *othered*) children. The symbolic recognition that is extended to the symbolic white mother of the nation contrasts with how categories of anxiety, stress, and depression are inarticulable—indeed unthinkable—in relation to lives *already* devalued by “mental retardation” (discussed in the previous chapter) or lives *already* devalued beyond recognition through ascription of the racialized lay diagnoses of inadaptability, as foreshadowed by the story of Žaneta (chapter 2) and stories inhabiting this chapter. Experience with mental ill-health in the Roma community is oftentimes dismissed as the *natural* outcome of their racialized existence rather than life in social precarity. Even though depression, anxiety, and other forms of mental ill-health abound among Roma people, they remain “occluded” and dismissed as a result of a bad lifestyle and moral depravity.<sup>7</sup> More pointedly, I argue that it is precisely through this particular juxtaposition that the white feminine experience of disability is granted recognition. The white mother’s disability is offered a conditional recognition because it serves the fantasy of the white nation and because it helps galvanize notions of Roma pathology.

The racialized logic that emerges by holding up the white mother’s story against the stories of the Roma people discussed throughout this chapter reveals a performed distinction in the representations of disabilities: it distinguishes between forms of legitimate disability and abjected forms of incapacity. Whereas the modalities of exhaustion and ill-health are given recognition as legitimate effects of the stress of the rehabilitative attempt of *white* adoption/inclusion, the disabilities experienced by the racialized subjects—substance addiction, learning difficulties, incapacities to adjust, stress and anxiety, difficulty forming affective bonds, and so on—are stripped of any structural context. They are abjected as the opposite of and a danger to bourgeois work ethics (one of the feared outcomes of this adoption was that the mother would lose her ability to write/work), a distinction that proves crucially important in the framing of the discourse of maladjustment.

In the book's reception, disability is mobilized to express the cause and effect of the inevitable failure of transracial adoption, while the clear racialized logic divides states of debility into the ones that supposedly indicate the threat of ethnic conflict and the ones that signify its outcome. The exhaustion of motherhood, the inability to work (since when is society so protective of women's creativity?), fatigue, and desperation are framed as the result of an attempt to "provide a home" to those who are and remain unadoptable: "Write?" exclaims Boučková during one of the interviews. "I could not even sleep! I did not know what to do, how to live . . . I have always held people who commit suicide in contempt. Now I understand them! The futility [of the mothering] demotivates me and decomposes me" (cited in Pecháčková 14–15).

In short, symbolic of the figurations of "the one who is chronically behind," the Roma adoptive children enable and secure the project of white rehabilitative citizenship defined through the exclusion of its others. As Holý sums it up in an ironic paraphrase of the racialized concept of maladaptation, "A Gypsy will always be a Gypsy" (Holý 71).<sup>8</sup> This symbolic function shows how the structures of exclusions and of materialized abandonment are turned into a constitutive element of the project of postsocialist rehabilitation.

Yet allowing for abandonment requires powerful affective legitimizations, especially since postsocialist rehabilitative citizenship depends upon the fantasies of "overcoming" and rejecting the "totalitarian past," on the one hand, and building up democratic and civil society, on the other hand. The mother's (and the author's) public and dramatic performative of "erasing" her past twenty years of transracial adoptive care correlates with the twenty years of post-1989 history. *The Year of the Rooster's* reckoning with regrets over the futility of attempts to rehabilitate (as in making them the same) those who cannot be rehabilitated echoes the broader negotiations of postsocialist collective belonging.

The text performs a complex (transtemporal) ideological labor. The year of its publication (2008) also saw the onset of the global financial crisis, which raised once more questions about future horizons (and also made salient another figure of a "maladjusted racialized crip" in representations of "the lazy and irresponsible Greek" living off EU subsidies). Coinciding with a strengthening of the neoliberal discourse of austerity, *The Year of the Rooster* provides narrative closure for the horizons of "adoptive children of the white nation." It imagines the Roma as racialized crip figures without capacity to rehabilitate and thus without a future. *The Year of the Rooster*, in other words, exploits this historicity to provide absolution for a past

marked by violence against Roma communities (discussed in chapter 2 and below) and to provide an affective directionality for the future: both of which simultaneously crucial for the articulations of rehabilitative citizenship and formations of racialized chronicity.

Furthermore, 2008—linked to the financial crisis and the ensuing austerity cure—was marked by another wave of escalating racial tensions and anti-Roma marches across poorer regions, conflicts that I trace in the next section of this chapter. Against this backdrop, *The Year of the Rooster* is mobilized as an ethical justification of the systemic abandonment of the racialized communities. The exceptionally positive reception of the book, I want to emphasize again, indicates how the performative gesture of separation—read as the separation of a white family from its racialized other—proved useful in the larger public debates on “inadaptability” and in legitimizing forms of racialized abandonment. It is only in writing, “I reject this motherhood” that the maternal ties are broken. As the adoptive parenting reads as a synecdoche for the relationship between the Czech and Roma populations, *The Year of the Rooster* can legitimize renunciation of collective ties to the Roma subject.

A story of heartbreak and intense loss experienced by one family is utilized as a blueprint to construe a moral economy of social death for the Roma subject, and especially of young Roma masculinity. Thus, the dramatization of the failing attempt at racialized kinship represents an affective gesture that offers to reconcile the recognition that postsocialist belonging for some has been embedded in and relies upon complex forms of abandonment and race-motivated violence. In this sense, white motherhood is indeed rehabilitative.

#### “Nothing Much Happened”: The Violent Inarticulability of Race

Boučková’s powerful affective testimony to the failure of transracial kinship serves much larger cultural discourses about Roma and the white family/nation. The exhaustion of the white mother, the destructiveness of her experience adopting ethnically different children, marks the limits of national belonging. *The Year of the Rooster* portrays the failure of twenty years of white investment in transracial sociality as “too an big investment” that cost “too much” and was “futile” and thus legitimizes the decision to withdraw it. The withdrawal also seems to uphold the claim to whiteness so precarious for Eastern Europe (Kalmar).

I now turn to stories of violence and brutal attacks against Roma people and communities and discuss the ways in which premises of maladjustment and inadaptability allowed for the presumption of guilt and the criminalizing

of victims. There is an important mirroring between the ways in which the public as well as the judicial power viewed and dealt with the anti-Roma violence and the public reception (and even re-production, re-presentation) of the melodramatic narrative of white motherhood.

On New Year's Eve 2012, two young Roma men, brothers, were shot, one of them fatally, the other seriously injured, in Tanvald, a small northern Bohemia town. The attack on the two men came on the heels of the social tensions that had erupted on the eve of the economic crisis and austerity government in regions struggling with unemployment, economic precarity, and the effects of structural divestment. The conflicts were taken advantage of (if not initiated) by right-wing, neo-Nazi groups. The self-proclaimed protectors of "decent people" supposedly oppressed by their "inadaptable" fellow citizens marched through towns and threatened the Roma population. In many places, these groups succeeded in radicalizing the local population and intensifying racial tensions, or, more precisely, they managed to translate the experience of precarity into animosity toward the Roma. I trace the cultural memory of the violent events as recounted in the documentary *Life and Death in Tanvald* (*Život a smrt v Tanvaldu*; dir. Remunda and Klusák, 2013). Reading the documentary, I follow the ways in which the violent attack is made sense of against the background of narratives of community and collective belonging.

The circumstances of the incident have remained unclear, and the documentary is driven by the desire to juxtapose two contrasting versions of the events and complicate the rendering of the Roma brothers as villains in most of the media coverage. In the version of the events recounted by the man who shot them, he fired in self-defense after he was attacked by the two men, who he claims tried to rob him. The surviving brother presented a very different version of events. According to him, he and his brother were shot at without provocation as they were passing the other man along a narrow path on New Year's Eve.

The film crew tests the atmosphere in Tanvald at the gates to the cemetery, where the burial of the man who was killed is in progress. A local man is eager to offer a rundown of what happened. He narrates a story in which the man who was killed "robbed and attacked [the man who shot him] with a knife." He emphasizes the absence of any moral ambiguity about the act of self-defense, stating, "I agree with what he did." In this gesture of symbolic and affective endorsement, the death of a young man and his brother's serious injury are weighed against the (alleged) defense of private property. As this version of the tragic event relies on our readiness to recognize the two Roma

men as dangerous to property and the lives of righteous white citizens, there is no space left to mark the tragedy of a life lost.

The police closed the case and left the family of the two brothers struggling with questions about what happened, and why their neighbor, whom they had known for years, killed one of them, and why other neighbors said that they agreed with what he did because “they can no longer accept the way people who ignore the law, and steal are protected by the government.” The notion that Roma people play the system and live at the expense of others transforms the death of a young man into a morally intelligible and acceptable outcome of a dispute between neighbors or—since we do not know what happened—just an unlucky encounter in the street, and encounter that the rhetoric of “inadaptability” helps to transform from an everyday neighborly occurrence into a fatal confrontation.

The events in Tanvald were preceded by other violent deaths of Roma men and women. Like the deaths of Jaroslava Musilová and people with intellectual disabilities discussed in the previous chapter, the deaths of Roma people have been less an isolated and exceptional event than a symptom of the racialized calculus that devalues lives (and deaths) located at the intersections of disability, race, class, and other refractions of power and privilege. It is the same economy that foregrounds the suffering of the white mother over the structural harm to the subjects who are, then, easily identified as incapable of adjusting, as criminal, and as a source of trouble.

For instance, when in 1991 a house inhabited by Roma families in Klatovy, a town in southwest Bohemia, was raided and burned down and its inhabitants were chased down, beaten, and, in one case, killed, the local police chief saw it as a conflict caused by the criminal behavior of the Roma families who were attacked. The same concern over private property that supposedly justified building of the wall dividing “decent” from Roma neighborhoods (discussed in chapter 1) or killing in Tanvald did not apply here. The police chief provided the following commentary: “They just beat each other up. . . . But I would not read any racism into it” (cited in Topol 5). He based his assessment of the incident on the fact that the house was locally known as the “house of horror” and the inhabitants as “criminals.” Downplaying the importance of the incident, the police chief added, “*The death of Emil Bendík* [the man killed] *is of no interest to anyone here anymore*” (cited in Topol 5; emphasis added).

Two years after Emil Bendík was killed, three young Roma men were attacked by a large group of skinheads. On September 24, 1993, the men were forced into the Otava River in Písek and not allowed to get out of the water

until one of them, eighteen-year-old Tibor Danihel, drowned. The whole incident happened during the daytime and in the center of an idyllic historic town, while many people (the reports spoke of group as big as forty people) stood by and watched the Roma men struggle in the water (cited in Šídlo, “Prvních” 4). Even though in this case skinheads may have initiated the attack, whole local communities are always implicated in deaths such as this one. In Písek, the bystanders may have been scared to protest and to protect the drowning men. In Klatovy, however, many of the town’s inhabitants—“orderly” and “ordinary” citizens—were quick to join in the “crusade” that was marching to attack the house of the town’s “infamous” family.

When the case reached the court, the State Attorney Jiří Sigmund described the drowning of Tibor Danihel as “a boyish prank” that got out of hand (cited in Šídlo, “Prvních” 4; Šídlo, “Den,” n.p.). The state attorney pointed out the young age of the attackers. He also noted that the equally young Roma men were—as he believed—up to no good and probably doing drugs (Šídlo, “Prvních”). It is the assumption of criminality and the bad behavior of the Roma children that cancels the racist attack and violence. The state attorney’s comments illustrate that the prosecution considered it difficult to charge the perpetrators with a racially motivated attack and perhaps the cost of doing so was not considered worth the effort:

If it turned out that [Tibor Danihel] drowned because he was intoxicated with toluene [an aerosol inhalant drug], we would not be able to prosecute any of the skinheads. It is impossible to prove that they wanted to kill him. As I said earlier: *they just wanted to beat up some Roma. That is all.* Let us not foist something on them that they are not capable of at their age. (Šídlo, “Den,” n.p.; emphasis added)

Petr Cigánek, who took over the office of state attorney after Sigmund, likewise expressed his reservations about calling the attack a racially motivated crime: it was the not attack itself but the probability that it would cause serious injury that determined whether it was racially motivated. “Perhaps if it had happened in winter and the water was freezing, or if they [the young Roma men] had been thrown off the bridge . . . but this happened in September and the water was relatively warm” (cited in Šídlo, “Den,” n.p.). When this proposed scenario actually happened, though, and a Roma woman was chased into the rough waters of a winter river, drowning, it was still not considered a racially motivated crime. This is how Helena Biháriová died on February 15, 1998.

The ease with which the representatives of the state and the judiciary in all the discussed cases rejected the possibility that the attacks *could* be related to race reflects the racialized logic of value that Lisa Maria Cacho theorizes as the rationality of “social death.” In particular, Cacho lays out how “certain bodies and behaviours are made transparently criminal while privileged bodies and their brutal crimes are rendered unrecognizable as criminal or even as violent” (37). As Cacho further notes, “Processes of criminalization regulate and regularize targeted populations, not only disciplining and dehumanizing those ineligible for personhood, but also presenting them as ineligible for sympathy and compassion” (37).

In an interview that documents the judge’s—in this context—rather unusual precision and care in handling the case of the attack in Klatovy in 1991, the violent acts of the attackers are judged against the (assumed) criminal record of those attacked. In the case of Emil Bendík, who was killed and whose family lost its home to arson, the judge notes that the attack “was caused by the victim.” The court convicted the attackers of manslaughter because it is “illegal and unacceptable to take the law into one’s hands.” However, the judge added with regret, “I am sorry for them [i.e., the young white men] since *their* lives are ruined” (cited in Šídlo, “Do Klatov” 10; emphasis added). Where the attackers were readily seen as “deserving redemption” (Cacho 48)—what else than their youth, masculinity, and whiteness spoke to their credit and to the belief that their acts of brutal violence were “simple” mistakes?—the (murdered) victims of the attack were, on the contrary, suspected of past and *future* crimes, and, in fact, even denied the status of victim. Instead, the racialized constructions of what Cacho terms “*de facto status crime*” (43–44, 66) were ascribed to the victims of the attacks,<sup>9</sup> that is, “others’ perception that a person of a certain status is certain to commit future crimes and may well have already committed crimes unwitnessed” (Cacho 43). Not victims but “*de facto* criminals” themselves, their harms had no value on their own, other than ruining the young white men’s future prospects. Upon hearing the verdict, the citizens of Klatovy expressed their support for the sentenced men. As one person noted, “What a cock-up, so many years of imprisonment. . . . The boys did not deserve it at all and thank God they did it [attacked the Roma families]” (cited in Šídlo, “Do Klatov” 10).

Furthermore, the attacks, the criminal trials, and the public reactions illustrate what is (not) recognized as violence guided by racialized perspective. In the Klatovy case, the judge spoke of the impossibility of deciding whether the attack was racially motivated. He was wary about declaring the events racist, despite the fact that the Roma families had reportedly received a threatening

letter signed “Ku Klux Klan” prior to the attack. In what the judge understood to be a complex and nuanced evaluation of the case, he stated: “I do not rule out the race motive. I simply do not consider it proven. Even the hurt party . . . admits that the attack was caused by their own violent behavior. However, I do see a certain race subtext here. I repeat, *subtext, not a motive*” (Šídlo, “Do Klatov” 10; emphasis added). In other words, the attack was about race, but not sufficiently about race. Or to put in differently, the attack might have been caused by racial conflict, but the victims brought it on themselves by being difficult, by being “inadaptable,” by causing trouble. At the same time, the judge acknowledges, “I am not sure that if similar deeds [similar to those committed by the attacked family] were committed by white criminals, that so many people would get together ready to defend the law and order in the town” (Šídlo, “Do Klatov” 10).

The judge’s striving to parse out what constitutes racially motivated crime and what constitutes its legitimacy highlights the importance of Cacho’s discussion of how (assumptions of) criminal activity—often decontextualized from its social underpinnings—is at the same time objectified as a justification for social reprisal and punishment and is read apart from social axes of inequality (here race/ethnicity). Cacho, however, argues that the construct of a “de facto status crime” functions as *the* racialized vector of violence. A person does not need to do anything to commit a status crime because the person’s status is the offense in and of itself. Rather, “A de facto status crime does not refer to illegal activity. . . . A de facto status crime is not contingent on criminal conduct; it is premised upon bodies perceived to be criminal” (43–44).

The structures of a “de facto status crime” (and thus social death that devalues the significance of one’s life, death, and suffering) are observed in the *Life and Death in Tanvald* documentary. By relating to the surviving brother, the documentary allows its (presumably white liberal) audience to experience firsthand the affective dynamic that Lisa Maria Cacho describes in the concept of social death. While at the start of the film the survivor is one of our sources of information whose credibility is supported by his status as survivor, it wanes quickly as we learn about his criminal record, addiction, and other “bad” decisions—decisions that very well may not actually have been choices—and it becomes more and more difficult for the film crew (and ourselves) to believe his version of events.

Similar overlaps between the racialized status of the victims and perceptions of their criminality underwrite the judgments on the violence in Klatov, in Tanvald, and in Písek—and vice versa, as the victims of these crimes

were always already marked as criminal (due to the constructions of the de facto status crime): “Nothing much happened.” The attackers have remained even after the act of violent crime, as a consequence of the assumed criminality of the victims, recognizable as “rights-bearing subjects” and as “explicitly *not* criminal and even *unable to become* criminal” (Cacho 38; emphasis added). The criminal intent and even criminal actions of the “rights-bearing subjects” are read as always only instigated by and causally linked to the criminal status and behavior of their victims, which always precedes the “white” crime in question. The attackers in these stories are then “rendered innocent even if guilty” (Cacho 38). Sometimes they are even considered the “real” victims, harmed by punishment that has “ruined their young lives,” or the attackers are presented as harmed by the people they killed or hurt.

The juxtaposition of narratives spun around the transracial kinship and around the killings reveals the inarticulability of race and the impossibility of naming racism even in the case of violent acts of deadening. In the next section, I follow social deadening through the public spectacle of inadaptability made into the banal everydayness.

### No Benches and No Relief for the Undeserving

In November 1992, Jirkov, a town of twenty thousand inhabitants in northern Bohemia, approved a municipal ordinance that caused a national stir (“Obecně . . . Jirkov”). Among other measures of surveillance, it proposed that every person staying in the town longer than three nights had to register with the town hall and pay overnight fees. The ordinance responded to what the press described as “the unprecedented increase of unregistered inhabitants, mostly of Roma origin” (Hrbek and Klein 16) in the months leading up to the separation of the Czechoslovak federation into two nation-states (the Czech and the Slovak Republics) on January 1, 1993.<sup>10</sup> It was clearly conceived and understood as a tool to prevent the Slovak Roma from relocating or from joining their families in the Czech Republic. Even if the ordinance was eventually blocked by a higher authority and never put into practice, it inspired other towns to consider similar forms of surveillance and expulsion of Roma inhabitants. The small border town became a sort of social laboratory foreshadowing future developments against the backdrop of the post-socialist transformation.

In fact, Jirkov made the news again with municipal ordinances at the turn of the new millennium and then throughout subsequent decades. The ordinances (e.g., “Obecně . . . 4/2005”) were arguably and apparently concerned

with public order, aesthetics of the public spaces, upkeep of greenery, and rules of decorum for public behavior. Implicitly, everyone understood that they were meant to regulate the towns' "inadaptable" population. In this way, the municipal ordinances document how both good governance and orderly citizenship are defined through obviously racialized notions. Regulating the *proper* and *orderly* use of public space, the ordinances were quickly and with irony referred to as the "bench ordinances" (*lavičkové vyhlášky*), or ordinances against public loitering (*vyseďovací vyhlášky*; literally "sitting around"). Similar ordinances were proposed by towns across northwest Bohemia and in each case the wording was nearly identical. In 2015, Duchcov focused on regulating "harmful activities" that

*could* disturb public order or *might be* in conflict with public decorum (*dobré mravy*), safety provisions, health and property, or *might be* further in conflict with protecting public greenery or disturb the aesthetics of the town's appearance. ("Obecně . . . Duchcov" n.p.; emphasis added)

The focus on decorum and the aesthetics of the public space is mobilized in the name of protection of the town's inhabitants. This measure of surveillance echoes Susan Schweik's study of the so-called ugly laws against public beggars, US city ordinances that prohibited "unsightly" bodies (where unsightliness proved to be a flexible category for disciplining and profiling, as it managed to encompass bodies "marked" by attributes assigned not only to disability but also to racial difference, social difference, and poverty). Helpful for my own discussion here, Schweik's analysis foregrounds the ways in which public concerns with propriety, aesthetics, and cleanliness—values that claimed modern rationality on the grounds of construing and maintaining orderly and clean civic urban spaces—served not only to legitimize the policing and exclusion of "unsightly" bodies (i.e., bodies that frustrated notions of modernity and its aesthetics) but also materialized a legacy that situates disabled, racialized, and other "monstrous" bodies as out of place and out of (modern) times. Whiteness is associated with an avoidance of disgust (4).

The racialized logic of flexibility and social adaptability construes those that it names *inadaptable* as "alien" to the white, able-bodied, and heteronormative communal space. The "undisciplined" and "unruly" bodies threaten both private and public spaces (cf. Růžička; Baršová; for a discussion of dynamics of negotiating solidarity in urban space see Ferenčuhová). "Unsightly" and maladjusted are such activities as

- (a) placing [in the public space] as well as using objects [already situated in the public space] for *resting, recreation, and eating* (tables, benches, chairs, armchairs . . . and similar furniture) and for the *preparation of food* (grills, cookers, smokers, and similar equipment) and
- (b) *sitting* on construction parts, objects, and pieces of equipment that are not designed for such a purpose. (“Obecně . . . Duchcov” n.p.; emphasis added)

Defining how the public space can and cannot be used and the moral rules of postsocialist rehabilitation-abiding subjects, the bench ordinances have expressed exclusionary logic by pushing the racialized Other out of spaces reserved for the respectable Citizen and his Family (remember the controversy around the “wall” discussed in chapter 1). Different codes of behavior, uses of space, and different regimes of time are called out, identified, and ruled out as offensive and as—indeed—“unsightly” in the sense in which “inadaptability” supposedly threatens the social order of the neoliberal calculus of productivity and privatized timespaces.

Clarifying the breadth of “de facto criminal status,” Cacho points out that it applies also to situations where “conduct is only criminalized and penalized when committed by a person who occupies a legally vulnerable racialized status.” Similarly, in case of the bench ordinances, the above-named activities are banned because they *could* have a harmful effect on public safety, health, and decorum. However, the conditional of “could” becomes actionable certainty and the activities “transparently recognized as ‘criminal’ when they are attached to statuses that invoke race” (Cacho 43), that is, when they are attached to bodies that are marked as “inadaptable.”

According to the mayor of Duchcov, one of the towns that inaugurated the ordinance, it “was supposed to bring order” by inducing policing measures targeting specific behaviors. “I do not see any reason why people should hold picnics or similar activities out in the streets” (cited in Jandáková, n.p.), he argued. Yet these specific behaviors were always already attached to specific communities and specific “unsightly” bodies. There was no doubt—as broad public discussion indicates—about the fact that the bench ordinances targeted “status” and population-specific behaviors that were singled out and criminalized. Despite repeated reassurances from the local political representatives that “the ordinance is directed at those who are disorderly, and this cannot be taken to mean only Roma” (Jandáková, n.p.), the ordinances were easily understood for what they were: means of disciplining the Roma community and positing them as the ultimate “problem citizens.”

The following quotation indicates that the ordinances were introduced both as a tool for disciplining and punishing otherness and as a tool that positively reinforces the codes of responsible and respectable citizenship, and—perhaps even more importantly—the division between the “respectable” and “the unsightly,” “decent citizens” and “the inadaptable.” Disciplining the precarious, poor, and racialized Roma people, furthermore, offers a symbolic gesture of protection to those who respect the laws and codes of orderly behavior. The bench ordinances were introduced, it has been argued, so that

inadaptable citizens could [not] . . . behave as they see fit without considering the rights of other people, the rights of those who *observe the laws, go to work, do not freeload on the welfare system, and pay taxes*. [The ordinance wants to ensure] that these people can take a walk through the housing complex where they, unlike their inadaptable neighbors, *pay rent*; that they can go into the buildings they live in without having to face verbal abuse as they push their way through people hanging out on the stairs; that a housing estate that used to be one of the most beautiful in northern Bohemia before the invasion of the inadaptable Gypsies [*sic!*] from other parts of the country does not during the warm summer days turn into a camp of travelers that respectable citizens are afraid to walk through. (Baudyšová, n.p.; emphasis added)

The quotation illustrates the normative understanding of what defines an “orderly citizen” and what is the minimal trade-off for the orderly behavior. Interestingly in the context of these debates, the access to public and communal spaces is conditioned by one’s orderliness, while it also should be guaranteed that one is protected from encountering the harassing existence of “the unsightly.” In this sense, the municipal ordinances represent a haunting parallel to the imaginations of civic society and the outline of the rehabilitative program discussed in chapter 1; both and only together they speak to the tensions within rehabilitative citizenship. Furthermore, it is a historic irony that the language of the ordinances, rhetorical figures that rely on the ideology of race while occluding it by references to “specific behaviors,” as well as the normative coding of “good citizenship” in work and merit based on work, mirror racialized discourse on Roma, as well as the strict normative of “Who does not work shall not eat” used by the state socialism to repress dissident “elements” and people diagnosed as “asocial elements.”

Returning to the ways in which the postsocialist towns navigated between supporting “good citizens” and disciplining “the inadaptables” unworthy of

care, we can observe that the ordinances needed to offset “criminalized” activities. Hence, they specified that sitting or resting elsewhere than on “objects designed for such a purpose” is allowed only when identifiable as exceptional and provisional time needed to “catch a breath” before moving along:

An exemption from the [above] prohibition is granted to people with disabilities who use a prosthetic device (e.g., walker with a seat) or other similar prosthetic device that allows them to sit, and this for the purpose of *a short-term rest and recuperation before moving on*. (“Obecně . . . Duchcov” n.p.; emphasis added)

The disabled subject—the one granted an exception to behavior otherwise not allowed in the public space such as “sitting” or “resting, recreation, and eating”—is mobilized to limit the imaginary of the legitimate functions of the public space and its use. The positioning of the disabled subject and the racialized subject at the two extreme ends in this disciplining applied to the space allows for the constructions of the fantasy of the “respectable citizen” and activates the affective attachments to such a fantasy. (I discuss the juxtaposition of race and disability in the neoliberal context of Czech Republic in more detail in chapter 5.) After the ordinances were subjected to criticism from the public and from state institutions and eventually repealed by legal authorities, the towns still defended them as, in fact, positive measures that facilitate good governance by balancing the tension between “decent citizens” and those who would not adjust to and respect the rules. The ordinances were arguably to secure, on the one hand, the protection of the rights of decent people and respectable citizens—“The city needs to defend the rights of the decent people” (Baudyšová, n.p.)—and, on the other hand, to discipline and punish those (maladjusted) who arguably infringe on the rights of the “decent” people and citizens: “We do not want to let the inadaptable citizens<sup>11</sup> terrorize their neighbors” (Baudyšová, n.p.). In this logic, it is this disciplining/punishment that prevents racial unrest or even outbreaks of racism. The ordinances are, hence, defended as a governance tool for subduing racial trouble: “Zero tolerance . . . reduced social tension” (Baudyšová, n.p.). Such argumentation is, in fact, illuminating. It reveals the central role the public performances of disciplining/punishment of the racialized subjects (onto whom the “incapacity to adjust” and to come to terms with the rules and responsibilities under the new regime were projected and externalized) played in negotiating social consensus.

The racial logic of the ordinances becomes even clearer when we note that

the ordinances were not usually applied to the town as a whole, but selectively to parts of the town that were considered “problem localities” (Jandáková, n.p.). In a circular logic, the ordinances were arguably needed to solve problems in “problem” localities, while the bench or antiloitering ordinances named and thus truly created the “problem” localities. In other words, the ordinances served to reinforce the logic of racialized spatialization to visibly mark troubling differences.

The strategy of spatializing race depoliticizes race and allows the governing institutions to transform the problem into a problem of a specific locality, a zone of maladjustment, a zone of unworthiness. Localizing the social tension and conflict legitimizes the use of different governing strategies grounded in the logic of exceptionality. The logic of exceptionality is closely connected to politics of disgust, or more precisely creating a zone that would allow good citizens to avoid disgust, or contact between bodies and their parts that should not touch and meet. As Matthew Wolf-Meyers argues, such disgust needs committed cultivation and education. “The form of disgust that it produced was one that was ‘cultivated’: it had to be produced through specific ways of imagining substances and bodies that cast the acquisition of disgust as the development of ‘civilized’ attitudes about one’s body, the bodies of others, and social interactions that brought bodies into contact” (5). The various strategies and regimes of racializing/segregating space and time I discuss in this chapter are part of the education of the capacity of disgust directed toward rightly selected bodies and subjects. Such a cultivated disgust then becomes an affectively powerful tool of whiteness and white superiority (Wolf-Meyers). And, as I discuss in greater detail in the following section, creating zones of exception defined as disgusting was also a precondition for the profitable business of the projects.

### The Projects of Capitalizing Racism

“We want dignified housing for us and for all” (cited in Bakošová, “Vzpouora” n.p.), was a motto put forth by women from Ubytovna Markéty Kuncové, or “Kuncovka,” a nickname derived from the name of the street in Brno where the housing facility was located, who rose in protest against the landlord.<sup>12</sup> The unprecedented revolt surprised the public in spring 2017 and confronted it with the extreme conditions in the housing projects. Kuncovka was without heat, electricity, or a water supply for most of the winter. The flats and shared spaces were infested with mold and cockroaches. Many flats did not have functioning windows. The temperature in some flats never rose above

five degrees Celsius throughout the winter, making its inhabitants sick—all this despite the extremely high rents. One of the women leaders noted, “It is impossible to carry on. The children and older people suffer the most. Since I moved in, three people have died in these conditions” (cited in Bakošová, “Vzpoura,” n.p.).

Despite the abhorrent conditions inside,<sup>13</sup> the front wall of the building was rented out as a billboard space to maximize the house’s profitability. In the spring of the revolt, an advertisement for security doors was installed on the wall. The image of a happy family of “decent people” was supposed to embody the slogan, “Doors behind which you’re at home”. A group of activists, many of them Roma from Brno—Džuvle collective—came out to support the revolt and replaced the fantasy image of a happy white family with the huge image of a cockroach. The statement released by the Džuvle collective says:

We cannot look any longer at this cynical image. . . . We decided to correct the image of the whole building. . . . The photo of a cockroach, which the building is infested with, [provides] a more realistic reflection of the lived reality of the people [at] Kuncovka. . . . We can no longer passively look on as the crowds . . . pass by and instead of the suffering of the inhabitants oppressed by their landlord, they only see happiness and success. (“Kuncovka?,” n.p.)

The revolt at Kuncovka was exceptional, mostly because it was organized and led by women and supported by the inhabitants living in the housing complex. As one report indicates, “The force of the collectivity helped to overcome the specter of physical and mental threats from the landlord and made the fight for the right to dignified housing possible” (cited in Bakošová, “Vzpoura,” n.p.; see also Bakošová, “Chceme bydlet”).<sup>14</sup> The protest at Kuncovka also helped to launch the first Czech project following the philosophy of “housing first,” Rapid Rehousing in Brno. However, despite its immense successes<sup>15</sup> (and even despite the fact that numerous towns across the Czech Republic are following its lead), Rapid Rehousing was canceled after the elections in 2018, suggesting again that housing projects directed at economically and socially precarious and racialized populations are politically and economically profitable.

The crisis in the summer of 2018 that led to hundreds, possibly thousands of people losing their homes might have been exceptional in its scale, but more than an acute “crisis,” it needs to be understood as a chronic symptom of

inadequate and discriminatory social and housing policies in the postsocialist Czech Republic. The focus of this chapter is the rationale that has made it possible to turn the forms of provisional housing into both an economically and ideologically profitable enterprise. This rationale, I argue, is grounded in the project of rehabilitation and its dependence upon the racialized figure of the “inadaptable (non)citizens” and their spectacular and hypervisible social failures. In other words, housing projects are a logical and economically “smart” effect of the ways in which the postsocialist rehabilitation produced its racialized Other, which was then—as the free and unregulated market advises—turned into a profitable commodity.

It was the combination of the lack of state regulation of the privatized housing market, on the one hand, and the state’s provision of social benefits (that also cover housing), on the other, that enabled this specific form of racialized capitalism to prey on the socially precarious people who are forced into provisional housing. Despite a decades-long push by NGOs and other actors, even though several governments had social housing as part of their official agendas, and despite several attempts to draw up and pass a law regulating social housing, the law was never passed through the parliament. I thus offer an analysis of how the absence of such regulation creates beneficial conditions for turning powerful mythology of postsocialist rehabilitation about inadaptability into exploitative racial capitalism.

This perspective shifts away from reading the housing crisis and the precarity of those considered “inadaptable” as solely an effect of the state’s ineffectiveness. These contemporary developments are more than merely an indication of racialized exclusion. They need more complex questioning that considers the ways in which structural racism, long-lasting abandonment, and a permanent state of “provisional conditions” serve the ideological frameworks of postsocialist rehabilitation and create perfect conditions for crisis capitalism in which abandonment and social death are turned into profitable ventures supported by commodifiable narratives of the postsocialist eth(n)ics of (ir)responsible citizenship.

The social housing crisis in the summer of 2018 with which I opened this chapter was provoked by new legislation that was not (at first sight) expressly driven by an austerity rationale. In contrast, it professed to curb the exploitative practices of the owners of provisional housing projects.<sup>16</sup> Taken at face value, the law targets the profitability of a previously risk-free investment. In the absence of functioning housing programs, the regulation, however, primarily impacted the people dependent on the housing that the projects provide. The law has shown how the neoliberal state subjects those manifestly

vulnerable to “entrepreneurial” speculations, to extra punitive procedures, and thus “violat[es] the democratic norm mandating that all citizens be treated in the same manner” (Dawson 1768).

During the discussion of the law, representatives of towns with a larger concentration of the provisional housing projects lobbied successfully to include a clause that allows the towns to regulate (i.e., withdraw) the provision of housing benefits to people in housing projects. Drawing on the same logic that drove the municipal ordinances, the law gives the towns the authority to mark “areas with a higher rate of occurrence of socially undesirable phenomena” (*oblast se zvýšeným výskytem sociálně nežádoucích jevů*), where housing and other welfare benefits would not be paid out. The bill proposal defines “objectionable phenomena” as “primarily disturbances of public order (*veřejný pořádek*), phenomena having an adverse influence on children, and the occurrence [*sic*] of people under the influence of addictive substances” (“Sněmovní,” n.p.). “A higher rate of occurrence” of such phenomena is taken as a reason to subject whole “areas” to specific regimes of surveillance, and the people living in these areas to denial of social welfare-state funds.<sup>17</sup>

The clause about “areas with a higher rate of occurrence of socially undesirable phenomena,” added to the law on social welfare, illustrates the strategies of spatializing racial marking. The racialized marking of nonwhite citizens as criminal and of lower status (established through discourses of aesthetics and public decorum) is transferred onto whole communities and the spaces they inhabit. The rapid implementation of the law by towns with a large Roma population has revealed how welcomed it was as a tool of *legitimized* racialized exclusion. The employment of the clause that allows labeling of whole sections of town as “areas with a higher rate of occurrence of socially undesirable phenomena” has been defended by the local municipalities as a strategy that would prevent additional expansion of housing estates and prevent a further influx of the “inadaptable.” In this logic, the new law thereby functions as a containment mechanism, regulating or—more precisely—curbing the mobility of those who rely on state welfare. The benefit may not be granted, or may be taken away, when applicants have “moved out of the previous housing without serious reason to do so”; “if no link between the place of [new] residence [and the applicant] exists,” or if “such a link exists between them and another town and another housing option in the original place of origin” (“Sněmovní,” n.p.). This regulation, among other violent effects, interfered with right to movement, as if people who receive state support are bound by the fact of that state support to a single location.

Principles of racialized exclusion do not, however, fully explain the affec-

tive power of the new provision, nor the public proliferation of racialized images of the ghetto and the paradoxical fact that “ghetto” often became a form of racialized self-ascription. If, arguably, the point of the clause about “socially undesirable phenomena” was to provide the municipalities with an instrument that would allow them to regulate the “poverty business,” aka racial capitalism, public response and application of the law made clear that the concept of the (morally bankrupt) “inadaptable” subject (mis)directs the effect of the regulations from the poverty entrepreneurs onto the most vulnerable tenants. Very quickly, the vulnerable population has become dehumanized as *the undesirable* phenomena themselves (as in “an excessive concentration of socially undesirable phenomena [where the speaker literally means the actual people who have moved into the housing] has occurred in a certain locality and the community . . . has no idea how to solve the situation”), or even as—I will exemplify shortly—the “vermin” that infests the housing, the public spaces, and the cities themselves. In other words, the dynamic and moral logic of exclusion is legitimized by rhetoric of dehumanization and deadening. The following section traces, in some detail, how the dehumanization of “the inadaptable” mobilizes the fantasies of punishment and political gain.

“Ghettos” usually provoke powerful discourses of moral panic. As Wacquant reminds us, much of Western Europe experienced a “diffusion of a moral panic about ghettoization” (“Ghettos” 113) in the 1990s. Even the post-socialist Czechoslovakia / Czech Republic heard the echoes of such concerns, most notably in the debates over the wall built in Ústí nad Labem discussed in chapter 1. Wacquant notes:

The media, politicians and even some researchers came to believe that working-class neighborhoods at the periphery of European cities were turning into “ghettos” on the pattern of the United States. And so public debate and state policy were reoriented toward fighting the growth of these so-called ghettos, based on the premise that urban poverty was being “Americanized,” that is, stamped by deepening ethnic division, rising segregation and rampant criminality. (“Ghettos” 113)

Here Wacquant criticizes the transfer of the US-based conflict and concept into the European contexts as too quick and too easy, obscuring thus more than it highlights.

The “area with a higher rate of occurrence of socially undesirable phenomena” has in the public debates been indeed dubbed a “ghetto.” Ústí

nad Labem, the regional capital city of the northwestern part of the Czech Republic, even used the regulation to name itself, that, the whole of the town, as such an “area,” or as—in the words of the public vernacular—“a ghetto.” How are we to understand this paradoxical move? Why would a town declare itself in its entirety “a ghetto” and thus describe itself through an abjected imaginary?

The law has created the effect of an extraordinary situation, an artificially produced crisis that sets the stage for creating what are effectively areas *with heightened (and objectionable) profiling and disciplining* and zones (and subjects) subjected to exemplary governance, while it also communicates to “the (imaginary) respectable citizen” that such profiling and surveillance mechanisms are not directed at them, but represent, on the contrary, an exceptional measure intended to protect them. Turning one’s town into an “area with a higher rate of occurrence of socially undesirable phenomena” is paradoxically understood as an act of self-protection, a “fortress” that should protect the town from (racialized) “newcomers.” It is the wording of the phrase “area with a higher rate of occurrence of socially undesirable phenomena” that creates the fantasy of recognition of social problems, while it leans against the racialized scripts of rehabilitative citizenship to personify, spectacularize, and “deadened” the most vulnerable, who thus become themselves “the objectionable phenomena.”

During the election campaign in the summer and fall of 2018, while hundreds of people lost their housing as the new law took effect, political platforms in several cities affected by the law ran with slogans that still managed to shock. For instance, in one of regional centers, Most, the competing political initiatives and parties used slogans such as “Zero tolerance for the inadaptable!” and “We will build a village for the hoi polloi [out of the city of Most],” promising to “whitewash” the city. But also, “Rodent control is not enough for the vermin!” (Ryšavý). Images of bedbugs, rodents, and cockroaches accompanied the election posters. The politicians defended the slogans by claiming to have attempted to draw attention to the infestation of houses (e.g., Ryšavý; Skoupá and Frouzová). But every occasion on which the politicians were pushed to “explain” their slogans, however, allowed them to further cement significations that linked “undesirable” insects to “undesirable phenomena” and to people structurally and systemically pushed into the housing projects.

The orange vests that the women wear in the election poster for Most function as metaphors in their own right. The vests are an intertextual reference to the institute of “public service” that, since its introduction in the early

2010s under the “austerity” government, has become a controversial mainstay of the Czech public debate (and politics) on social welfare. The institution of public service was originally introduced for the long-term unemployed as a symbolic form of payback. The above discussion of the bench ordinances pointed out the symbolic role of the public space in the negotiations of the postsocialist prescriptive norms of citizenship. The “rodent control” poster points out another connection to the merit-based logic of austerity welfare. The minister of labor and social affairs noted, “I consider it to be perfectly normal that [people receiving welfare benefits] will at least partially pay back their fellow citizens who contribute to [their benefits] by performing some sensible work” (Drábek, cited in Kolářová, “(Ne)Přízpůsobeni” 53). He was seconded by the minister of finance, who said:

This is not the first time in the discussions of this issue [public service] that what I am hearing is as though there is some shame to sweeping streets, as though this was a subservient . . . form of work. I am convinced that . . . there is only work that is done badly. But surely no work is less important than other. Not as a young or old man would I be ashamed to do a good job sweeping the walkway belonging to my neighbors, who are earning money for my benefit. There truly is nothing shameful about this. (Kalousek, cited in Kolářová, “(Ne)Přízpůsobeni” 53)

People performing public service “in exchange” for welfare support wore the same bright orange vests as the women in the poster. Visibly marked for the public to see that whoever is leaning against the welfare funds needs to “pay society back,” they perform publicly the principle of neoliberal welfare based on an exchange of labor for merit. As Kalousek summarizes it: “You support my unemployment benefit, and in exchange I will sweep your walkway” (cited in Kolářová, “(Ne)Přízpůsobeni” 53). Similarly, the new legislature was supposed to function as a tool of social disciplining. Unsurprisingly, it strengthened the links between social welfare (housing benefits), performances of social adaptability, and geographical place: recipients of the (housing) benefit need to demonstrate a connection to the place through their work or children’s school, or prove some important reason for their residence in the place (“Sněmovni”).<sup>18</sup> A policy supposed to fight the “poverty business” is, in fact, clearly guided by the moral logic of merit that is defined through a contrasting foil of “maladjustment”; the cruelty of this arrangement reveals how the scripts of rehabilitation and the affectivity of promise (of delayed fulfill-

ment) requires its own negative twin, a foil onto which respectable citizens can project the “ugly affects” produced in the frustration that the promises are (forever) far from being fulfilled.

The forms of profitable abandonment that this chapter lays out factor into materializing distributing (and racializing) disability under postsocialism. The housing projects and the living conditions in the tenements themselves are an obvious mechanism of disablement: the inhabitants are exposed to toxic mold and unsanitary conditions and lack regular access to running water, electricity, and heat—all that compromises their health, growth, capacities, and development and, as the inhabitants suggest, in some cases even leads to premature death. The structures of disablement also become mechanisms of slow but very effective social deadening.

Roma health remains a widely underresearched and underthematized issue.<sup>19</sup> Even less visible to researchers and politicians are the connections between social exclusion, disability, and disablement. In 2015 the state initiative to support (preventive) health in localities prepared a booklet *Supporting Health in Socially Excluded Localities (Podpora zdraví ve vyloučených lokalitách, Janata)*. It indicates—unsurprisingly—that the health of the Roma population is significantly worse than of the “white” majority. Roma people (and specifically those living in poverty and/or experiencing social exclusion) face higher rates of cardiovascular disease, diabetes, and diseases of respiratory and digestive systems. The booklet reveals that “the prevalence of psychiatric diseases is higher in this population, largely psychiatric diseases related to excessive alcohol consumption” (Janata 8). The report records further discrepancies in health, for instance, headaches and migraines (occurring among 28 percent among Roma population vs. 8.8 percent of the majority), depression (14 percent vs. 5.1 percent), and other mental illnesses and disabilities (6 percent vs. 1 percent) (Janata 9). Yet even this booklet prefaces the disturbing information about the ill-health of the Roma population by announcing that the main finding here is that “the unfavorable state of [their] health . . . is not the effect of their ethnicity *but of their lifestyle*” (4; emphasis added), proving yet again how hurtful and uncritical the discourse of “lifestyle” is, but, more importantly, also giving truth to the words of Lauren Berlant that “health itself can . . . be seen as a side effect of successful normativity” (cited in Puar, *The Right* 13).

In this not so subtle way, the state institution argues that the ill-health of Roma population cannot be laid at its door and that it is not a result of social and/or structural racism. Rather, it is to be brought back to the people who do not know and do not care how to live well. In this sense, the booklet echoes

the viciously racialized metaphors of “vermin” and of discourses of inadaptable Roma people who tend to practice substance abuse. They all highlight how discourses of health are frequently mobilized to counter attempts to draw attention to the violent effects of racialized exclusion. Despite the fact that it is the Roma community (and other precaritized subjects) whose health, longevity, and flourishing are compromised as they are forced into the exploitative economy of the “provisional housing projects” and precarious tenements, health-related moral panics are mobilized to reinforce their racialized exclusion. For instance, in the late 1990s, when Jirkov took part in the European campaign “Healthy City” (*Zdravé město*), an article in the local newspapers drew a link between a “healthy city,” de facto status crime, and the postsocialist rehabilitation. It noted that the town representatives “know that town is a living organism that needs to be treated complexly: protect the air from smog pollution *and the decent citizens from thieves*” (Řeřichová 29; emphasis added). The racialized footing of this version of curative logic is revealed as all the ills of the town are attributed to the socialist past and connected to the town’s problems: “Certain groups of population incapable of adjusting [because they] are morally weaker” (Řeřichová 28). The moral weakness of “certain groups of the population” points to the moral weakness of the socialist regime (which arguably took these groups under special protection) as it threatens to compromise the current collective efforts at rehabilitating Jirkov into a “healthy city” (Řeřichová 29).

This chapter maps out how the supposedly ethnic(ized) propensity to maladjustment becomes a tool of “racial subjection” that not only engages the “logic of exclusion” but also uses structural as well as symbolic mechanisms of social deadening, or, as Silva terms it, a “logic of obliteration” (). I move here among several diverse and seemingly unconnected cultural locations and discourses that manifest the othering of the Roma subject as inherently “inadaptable,” and as such, the foil to morally binding visions of rehabilitative citizenship. The banal racist notions of unruliness and maladjustment that position Roma outside the bounds of decent citizenry; visions of Roma as *the* threat to white propriety, white motherly womanhood, white family, and white nation; and violent acts of actual deadening that, however, remain beyond naming as such and beyond prosecution—all these are connected through the logic of obliteration. Social death not only devalues a person’s death but also construes the racialized subject as an “illegal alien” (Cacho). The presumption of criminality effectively estranges people from their social surroundings, produces an alien in the given space, an alien in the national body, and an intruder in the heart of the “white family.” Only through tying

all these discourses together can we, as I have argued here, appreciate the dynamic and the scope of “racial subjection” and its disabling effect in the context of postsocialist transformation. In other words, a crip reading of the cultural figurations of maladjustment showcases the centrality of intersections of disability, ethnicity, and race in articulating the moral economy of postsocialism and “the other of Europe.”<sup>20</sup>

## *Five*

### Avatars and Gifts of Freedom

#### *Aspirational Exceptionalism and Impossibility of Belonging*

---

When, in late September 2015, John Oliver's show *Last Week Tonight*<sup>1</sup> centered the discussion of what the US media safely distanced as the "Europe Migrant Crisis" around the story of a young disabled Syrian woman, Nujeen Mustafa, it touched, in a roundabout way, upon a key aspect of the "crisis." Bringing the story of a sixteen-year-old "disabled from birth" woman, the segment of the show—"Migrants and Refugees"—highlighted how disability, both as an embodied experience anchored in histories and legacies of (neo)colonialism, imperialism, and global capitalism, as well as an analytical category reflecting on these contexts, is manifestly absent from considerations of the movements of the millions forced to become "refugees."<sup>2</sup>

Furthermore, this particular segment of *Last Week Tonight* illustrates aptly how Eastern Europe gets framed in the "refugee crisis" discourses. Much of the "Migrants and Refugees" episode focuses on European politicians attempting to scare refugees away, yet the Eastern European politicians stand out. For instance, the Hungarian president pleads with refugees: "Please do not come. It is not safe to come. We cannot guarantee that you will be accepted here." The show then notes that Hungary was "responsible for some of the ugliest mistreatments of refugees in Europe." A video documents refugees in one of the main facilities being "fed like caged animals in a holding pen." The ultimately "shocking video" caught a Hungarian camerawoman "as [she tripped] a man running with his child in his arms [among] waves of desperate migrants sprint[ing] away from a holding camp in Hungary. The woman also kicks other migrants as they run, including a young girl" (all quotations from "Migrants").

The shocking cruelty of a woman kicking a child and people in despair encapsulates the (projected) moral failure of the whole of Eastern Europe. The show links the outrageous “Hungarian” cruelty with a scandalous depiction of refugees delivered by Poland’s representative in the European Parliament, who repeatedly likened the movement of people seeking refuge to an “invasion of human trash, human garbage that does not want to work.” The Slovak Republic is ridiculed for refusing refugees “because there are no mosques in Slovakia,” without realizing that, as John Oliver offers, “you can build them” (“Migrants”).

Many of the reactions of Eastern Europe’s politicians and public to people fleeing war, destruction, violence, and economic destitution have been ugly, xenophobic, and Islamophobic. Speaking from the Czech context, some of the outpouring of Islamophobia and racism far outdid *Last Week Tonight’s* ridicule. Yet xenophobia and angst do not obey geopolitical borders, and the way in which Eastern Europe has exemplified moral failure and cultural ignorance is itself a xenophobic gesture. Thus, even though the so-called Visegrad Four (i.e., Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovak Republic)<sup>3</sup> deserve hard criticism for their politics in response to the influx of people fleeing war and unlivable conditions, the widely circulating vision of Eastern Europeans as morally failing, and the notion of the “Eastern European subject” metaphorically kicking back at Europe’s (and the West’s) civilizing mission, require as much reflection.

Political anthropologist Dace Dzenovska argues that the “migration crisis,” like any other crisis, “produces Europeanness anew” (“Eastern,” n.p.). In these reconfigurations, “Eastern Europe emerged as an ideal type—an unsympathetic not-quite-European subject mired in racialized paranoia about foreigners, exaggerated concerns about self-determination and self-preservation, and timeworn claims of historical suffering” (Dzenovska, “Eastern,” n.p.). The widespread criticism of Central and East European countries was a critique of Eastern Europe for failing to have become properly European and properly compassionate. The criticism thus not only reinforced representations of Eastern Europe as “failing” but also underlined compassion as the sign of Western Europe’s moral superiority. In the face of the intensifying repressive European migration regimes (e.g., Dzenovska, *School*; Fassin, “Compassion”), pointing to Eastern Europe as the “morally failing subject” has of course proven useful to certify “the moral goodness of Europe [proper]” (Dzenovska, “Eastern,” n.p.). Redirecting the moral outrage toward Eastern Europe likewise helps to divert attention from the ways in which migration/refugee emergencies are interwoven with disabling and debilitating colonial legacies and embedded in global geopolitics.

I open with reading of a US-focused popular show to bring attention to three larger themes that this chapter explores and that have significant transnational resonance. First, the figure of the kicking Hungarian mirrors the post-Cold War positioning of Eastern Europe as torn between the historical forces of the East (representing the past and the tugging power of the backward slope) and West (standing for modernity and the progressive pull of the future). The discourse of moral inadequacy focused on the failure of the region's capacity to outgrow its past is always a part of the transnational discursive scape of postsocialism. Second, *Last Week Tonight's* focus on the happily ending story of the disabled Muslim refugee woman when discussing so-called migration crisis illustrates the ideological construction of empire that Mimi Thi Nguyen traces in acts of "gifting freedom." *Last Week Tonight* illustrates the power dynamics at play in construing the refugee as "an object marked for rescue and refuge" (Nguyen 24). Its version of Nujeen Mustafa's story reinforces the fantasy of an altruistic self-concept that glosses over legacies of colonialism. Building off the critique of the paternalizing presentation of Mustafa's extraordinary journey into "freedom" granted by "European humanity," I explore several symbolic acts of "giving freedom" performed by Czech projects—while highlighting how these gifting gestures are simultaneously acts heavily invested in the ideological project construing the identity of the giver.

And finally, the ways in which the story of Nujeen Mustafa, a disabled young woman, is simultaneously honored and turned into a problematically "inspirational" story foregrounds this chapter's exploration of discourses of exceptionalism in relation to Eastern Europe and to disability in Eastern Europe.<sup>4</sup> Specifically, discussing both sexual and disability exceptionalism employed by variously politically and ideologically positioned subjects, I zoom in on the ways in which aspirational exceptionalism hinders transnational solidarity as well as radical disability/crip intersectional politics. However, I also attempt to lay out how clinging to exceptionalism can be understood as a result of abandonment or violent homophobia and ableism.

"Migrants and Refugees" calls to compassion and criticizes Eastern Europe for lacking compassion and thus failing in humanity and civility. Yet the politics of compassion have been subjected to rich and dense feminist critique. Nguyen's and Dzenovska's analyses, on which I lean here most, elaborate on how positing compassion as a political virtue exploits a hierarchical relationship between the subjects and objects of compassion. Furthermore, the requirements of compassionate politics in the context of the "migration crisis" clash with the transnational dynamics of postsocialist transition that have reinforced (perhaps even imposed) Eastern Europe's position as *the*

subject of suffering” (Dzenovska, “Eastern,” n.p.; emphasis added) under Soviet domination and socialist totalitarianism. Even the reactive narratives that contrarily point to the European Union as the source of political pressure/oppression exerted against Eastern Europe build on the notion of “suffering.” Either way, such (self-)positioning as the subject of suffering and the object of compassion within the transnational political landscape complicates any response to redefined politics of compassion and its directionality.

Bringing these points of interest together, this chapter focuses on how compassion, (transnational) solidarity, and humanitarianism intersect with discourses of exceptionalism and minority politics. I turn to how transnational solidarity is imagined within LGBT P/pride, through transnational medical humanitarian help and, last, explore the im/possibility of intersectional solidarity in the context of disability organizing under austerity.

### East of Pride: The Rehabilitative Power of Sexual Exceptionalism

In August 2014—only months before the media and political discourse were to be preoccupied with the “refugee crisis,” Prague Pride celebrated its fourth year. In that year, “For the first time,” it looked, as its director emphasized, “outside of the borders of the Czech Republic” (Prague Pride, press release).<sup>5</sup> With mottos such as “Rise Against Homophobia” and “Pride Unites Us,” it proposed to spotlight global homophobia and focus “on those countries where human rights of LGBT people are violated” (Prague Pride, “Výroční” 5).<sup>6</sup> Introducing the focus, the Prague Pride director remarked: “We raise our voices for those who are *less free*, for people who *still* struggle for their basic rights” (Prague Pride, press release). Very soon, however, the global situation became “the unfreedom of homosexuals *in the countries of the East*” (Prague Pride, press release; emphasis added). Below I think about how such framing reflects on the promises of transnational solidarity, and how much it serves as a vector of rehabilitative citizenship and national aspirations.

Prior to the foundation of Prague Pride in 2011, LGBT/queer pride marches were organized outside of the capital in regional centers as early as 1998.<sup>7</sup> Prague Pride brought a change of political tactics. It was established as a weeklong “cultural festival,” and in words of its longtime director, “From the very start we did not want to put on a priori a political agitation. . . . In a strict sense, [Prague Pride] is not a political event.” Prague Pride arguably has aimed to “improve the public attitude to LGBT people” (all quotations Sloboda, Walek, and Schlesinger 53) and thus to build broad public support for legislative changes that would ease discrimination against LGBT people.

Prague Pride has indeed managed to gain public and political support despite being also defamed as a “pressure event of homosexuals” that usurps public space and fosters a “culture of death” (“Homosexuálové,” n.p.). Already in its inaugural year the Prague mayor’s office endorsed it as an opportunity for the city to show itself a proper European metropolis, not “a city of petit bourgeois, chauvinists, and xenophobes, [but . . .] a modern city such as Berlin or Vienna” (cited in Štáhlavský n.p.).<sup>8</sup>

Proudly announcing, “*East from us*, people cannot have festivals like Prague Pride” (press release; emphasis added), Prague Pride capitalizes on the fact that the Czech Republic is often juxtaposed against the rest of the Eastern Europe as “the most liberal countr[y] in Central Europe regarding gay rights,” with Prague being seen as “one of the most gay-friendly cities in Europe” or even “the gay metropolis of the former Eastern Europe” (Nedbálková, “Idle” 264). Accepting queer people is read as a barometer of the country’s successful overcoming of the totalitarian past (“Despite its communist past, the Czech Republic is the 18th most gay-friendly country in the world”),<sup>9</sup> and even as overcoming Czech national character: “Although Czechs aren’t [an] overly accepting nation, many of them support LGBTQ+ community.”<sup>10</sup>

Socialist Czechoslovakia indeed decriminalized same-sex sexual acts in 1961, much sooner than many countries of the West. Domestic partnership was legalized 2006, and an antidiscrimination legislation ratified in 2009. Public opinion regarding same-sex marriage has been increasingly supportive.<sup>11</sup> And yet the push for equal marriage law still did not yield results despite the public support and years-long campaign; gender-affirmative transitions continue to be conditioned by surgeries that enact a violent intervention into bodily integrity and end procreative capacities of the transitioning person, and the EU-wide Istanbul Convention to combat and prevent violence against women and domestic violence has not been codified by the Czech parliament. All of this underscores the fact that the claims to the exceptional position of the Czech Republic in the Eastern European context with regard to gender and sexual rights and sexual citizenship are more aspirational than factual, and that the claims to sexual exceptionalism that I discuss here are used as a rhetorical device meant to reinforce the rehabilitative “becoming West.”

Prague Pride rightfully called attention to a new global wave of legislation criminalizing queer and nonheterosexual relationships. “Gay propaganda” laws were installed by the Russian parliament in 2013. In the same year, Uganda passed an “antihomosexuality” law. The convolution of national-

isms and anti-LGBTQIA\* discourses intensified globally and across multiple transnational locations, including Eastern Europe. The need to find ways for feminist and queer (as well as crip) transnational solidarity and support is hence ever more urgent. Yet it is even more pressing to find ways of articulating a stance of solidarity without playing into discourses of culture wars. Or as Katharina Wiedlack phrases it, we need to determine “how to criticize and condemn anti-gay sentiment, prejudice and violence in Russia *and elsewhere* . . . without perpetuating notions of western hegemony” (“Quantum” 1; emphasis added). And we need to remind ourselves that LGBTQIA\* rights are often used for political projects not aligned with rights, access, justice, and respect for queer lives.

The 2014 Pride proclaimed to draw attention to homophobia, political repression, and the curtailing of sexual citizenship under authoritarian regimes across the globe. Yet statements such as “Prague Pride . . . explor[es] *the differences in the lives of LGBT people* . . . between [the] liberal *West guaranteeing many human rights* and the *East criminalising LGBT people*” (Prague Pride, press release; emphasis added) soon galvanized the focus around the East/West axis. Politicizing homophobia in the *East* (i.e., elsewhere from “us”), articulated what I term here *aspirational exceptionalism* that was hoped to facilitate trans/national belonging. But, as I propose here, the “rehabilitative logic” of the progressive liberal frameworks close off potentially broader, critically energizing coalitional generative horizons, queer as well as crip, failed to respond to the imperialist violence both linked to homophobia (as well as underwriting the Othering of East) and thus fed the “culture wars” and national(ist) resistance to sexual tolerance.

In one of the 2014 Prague Pride promotional videos, Prague is situated as the heart of the rainbow of freedom, tolerance, and sexual liberation, and from which colorful rainbow streaks reach across Europe, which stands in for the globe (*sic!*) (Fig. 11). Prague is reimagined as the exceptional “space between East and West” (Prague Pride, “Výroční”, 5), an imaginary point of contact between *both* worlds.

Accentuating the fact that the attempts of LGBTQ\* activists throughout Eastern Europe to organize public celebrations of queer pride have been countered by state and violent public opposition,<sup>12</sup> Prague Pride assumes the position of a mediator of the experience of a free and “authentic” queer existence where “people do not have to be afraid to hold each other’s hand” (“LGBT Avatars,” n.p.).

Prague Pride is hoisted up as an exemplary place on the borders between East and West, where a (partially) fulfilled sexual citizenship underscores the



Figure 11. LGBT Avatars-case study  
Source: Prague Pride

success of the postsocialist development of the “formerly communist” Czech Republic (“LGBT Avatars”). Featuring the Pet Shop Boys as the main guest to open the stage with their hit “Go West” underwrite the invitation to “enjoy [Prague] Pride 2014” with a reminder to “choose which side [of progress, of history, of the two worlds] you are on” (Prague Pride, press release, “Prague Pride 2014”). The 2014 Pride hence aptly illustrates the dynamic that Robert Kulpa called “leveraged pedagogy” (“Western”). “In its simplest,” Kulpa comments, “this relationship can be understood as a didactical and cultural hegemonic relation of power, where the CEE [Central and Eastern Europe] figures as an object of West/European pedagogy” (432). Kulpa explains that the approach to Central and Eastern Europe differs from figurations of the Muslim as the “Other” to “Western” modernism. “Not able to reject CEE as the absolute Other (as it does with Islam) due to the geographical, religious, and cultural proximity, and in the face of the EU enlargement, it is sexuality that provides a new arena for the revival of the West/EUropean orientalism towards the CEE” (440). Prague Pride directs its pedagogical lessons toward the rest of the *East*: “The goal of [2014 Pride] was to *showcase Prague* as a place friendly to LGBT people” (Prague Pride, “Výroční”, 5; emphasis added), the Czech Republic as “the most tolerant nation *in the former Eastern bloc* when it comes to LGBT issues (“LGBT Avatars”; emphasis added) and

Prague Pride “as a model for LGBT organizations from postcommunist countries” (Prague Pride, “Výroční”, 5; emphasis added). Through this, Prague (and the Czech Republic by extension) “becomes West.”

Prague Pride is not exceptional in symbolically invoking Western values as a defense against the violence of homophobia. Notions of Europeaness and modernity have been frequently used to defend other Prides against the nationalist, conservative, and homophobic attacks across (Eastern) Europe. For instance, during battles around the Belgrade Pride in 2009, Pride was discursively construed as a “demonstration of Europeaness” (Johnson 13; see also Moss, “Split”). Similarly, in the context of the 2008 Budapest Gay Pride, homophobia was defined as “anti-European” or “sub-European” (Rédai 55; Plakhotnik and Mayerchyk; see also Huber). Such argumentation is not reserved for the former “Eastern bloc.” Claiming “sexual exceptionalism” has been an effective strategy used across Europe and in particular from positions of European peripheries. “In Europe it’s different,” for instance, read the slogan of the 2009 Turin Gay Pride. Europe and European values of progress (which equal sexual citizenship) were invoked as a guarantor of sexual rights (or rather same-sex marriage) against (south) Italy’s presumed backwardness and older versions of “homosexuality” (Colpani and Hated).

The gestures of leveraged pedagogy made sense against the project of postsocialist rehabilitation. While Islam reverberates in the Czech context (and I discuss these forms of othering shortly), it is Russia that fulfills the role of the intelligible and threatening Other, to whom the barbarous nature of totalitarianism and homophobia can be ascribed while looking away from one’s national legacies of systemic racialized and sexed violence and embeddedness in imperial histories. Within the Czech context, queer sexual identities are then invoked to accentuate the barbarian character of Russia and, in contrast, to underscore the improvement of the democracy of a nation that once lived under totalitarian oppression and Russian domination. Moreover, sexual exceptionalism that puts the Czech Republic forth as a rare “oasis of tolerance” (“LGBT Avatars”) in the postsocialist Eastern Europe serves as a powerful polysemic signifier not only of sexual freedom, but as importantly, of a release from former Soviet influence and embrace of ‘Western’ liberation. In other words, the version of pedagogy that Prague Pride activates utilizes the West/East dynamic as much to claim adherence to Western principles of sexual citizenship and equality as to mark difference, distance, and “development away from” the ghost of Soviet and socialist totalitarianism. If, in the context of postsocialist Eastern Europe, the claims to sexual exceptionalism are employed mostly as a strategic and pragmatic gesture in

the hopes of creating a (precarious) platform to facilitate belonging for the LGBTQIA\* population in the collective body of the nation, it also draws on newly revived historical anti-Russia resentments to achieve this goal. The (eroticized) attachment to the West (as well as the Othering of the East) might be very well understood as a pragmatic political strategy that attempts to leverage fantasies of transnational belonging (and being part of “Western” democracy). Below, I examine how the representations of homophobic Russia (and indeed the positioning of Russia as *the* epitome of homophobia) buttress narratives of postsocialist rehabilitation from Eastern backwardness and authoritarianism, while simultaneously and paradoxically reproducing Russia’s imperial ambitions and phantasies. All this only few months after Russian invasion and annexation of the Crimean Peninsula and onset of military actions in Donbas (Plakhotnik and Mayerchuk, “Pride Contested” 4).

### Rise Up

The official poster of the 2014 Prague Pride (Fig. 13) features two apparently able-bodied men, hands intertwined, their gaze fixed beyond the frame of the poster, as if looking toward future queer horizons. Over their heads, two flags flap in the wind: fully visible, the transnationally recognized rainbow flag sways; behind it, partially hidden in the background, peeks the flag of Russia. The Czech flag does not need to be represented here, the image suggests, because it already is included in the global rainbow nation. The poster cites state socialist propagandist iconography of the stately fighters for socialism and communist utopia. Here, however, the comrade-like union of the two shapely men marching to convert the old and build the new world is appropriated for an ironic tour de force under the gay flag connecting the East and the West.

The poster is based on a photograph of the Pride director and his Dutch husband, who married in the Netherlands shortly before. The love story is not lost on us—the global queer audience taught to eagerly listen for happy-ending stories of love that can finally say its name and receive state recognition, love that can unite East and West. As for the chance that the significance of the love story is lost on us, the festival press release spells it out: “Th[is] private story [. . . is] *a perfect example of East–West communication.*”

The sexual desire of West-meets-East, boy-meets-boy fantasies channeled into (gay) marriage becomes the perfect example of the (promise of) postsocialist rehabilitation through sexual citizenship. It evokes Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick’s analysis of “I do” (“Paranoid”) as the speech act that ties the knot



Figure 12. Prague Pride Postcard

Source: Prague Pride

between social order and normative ordering of sexuality. Here the flexibilized sexual norm of the gay marriage between a boy from the East and a boy from the West underscores how the cultural grammar of postsocialist rehabilitation overlaps with “returning” to liberal culture and values of the West. The ironic citations of socialist aesthetics in the poster further suggest that the couple bravely stands on guard against the ghosts of the oppressive past and what is (falsely) understood as its recent reincarnation in Putin’s Russia.

Prague Pride . . . has risen in importance, especially in the wake of Putin’s homosexual propaganda law. . . . Prague Pride organizers are on a mission to send a message of support to the many LGBT in Eastern Europe who face persecution by their government and extremist groups. (Barker, n.p.)

Positioning Russia as *the* East—a position that always equates Russia with (only) the ghost of Soviet totalitarianism and Soviet domination—“leaves ‘Russia,’” as Alexei Yurchak argues, “outside of the geopolitical context, reducing it to a zone that is subjected to its own internal logic of authoritarian-

ism” (“Trump” 4), or at best as “the spectacle of history shifting abruptly into reverse” (Gessen, n.p.). Framing the homophobic legislation as an echo or reinvigoration of the past totalitarian tendencies reproduces the invisibilisation of other modes of colonial expansions that underwrote Russian as well as Soviet state-building (e.g. Huttenbach; Mosely; ‘Nothing about us’; Portnov; Tlostanova “Janus-faced”). It cannot, and perhaps is not interested in providing a more complex understanding of the violence of the “neo-empire expands” (Sagramoso), or “the neo-imperial turn” (Tlostanova “Between”) in Russian politics. The critique offered by 2014 Prague Pride singles one specific form of Russian imperialism – Soviet dominance over other socialist countries—and leaves out the colonial violence against non-Russian communities, nations and subjects that were forcibly made part of the Soviet Union. Ignoring these internal struggles and colonial violence within the ‘Russian’ state (past and present), might allow for articulation of the exceptional aspiration and nationalist construction of *postsocialist* Pride, but it essentially “replaces criticism of Russian imperialism with essentially another version of racist narrative” as Olga Plakhotnik and Maria Mayerchyk very pointedly noted in response to my earlier version of this text. This inhibits more nuanced understandings of how the present authoritarian regime that exploits gender ideology and homophobia to reinforce its legitimacy builds off the post-1991 developments and the austerity of the post-Soviet period, or understanding of how the “spread of the empire of capital where Russian and Western capitalist geopolitical imperialisms collided” (Yurchenko 2020, n.p.) affects countries that build their state subjectivity on the intersection of such collisions. Olga Plakhotnik and Maria Mayerchyk insist on the need to focus critically on both imperial formations while tracing naturalized colonial discourses in Pride politics (“Pride Contested” 3). Furthermore, the sexual exceptionalism that underwrites the Prague Pride campaign leans against the universalized notion of sexual identity that disrespects the queerness of queer epistemologies. Alexander Kondakov argues, the Soviet and Russian contexts brought various forms of queer epistemologies that cannot be subsumed under the Western notion of proud and out subjectivity, and yet are queer (“Queer Epistemologies”). Paradoxically, sexual perversity has been ascribed to Russia both by Cold War rhetoric and by the “capitalist cures” of postsocialism. Decontextualizing the criticism from these complex contexts, we not only lose sight of the embodied effects of the shock therapy that led, as Anastasia Kayiatos documents, to health and masculinity crises that “set national heterosexuality up for a spectacular failure” (39 and then in turn for violent reassertion. Thus, strategies of “fagging Putin up” (remember the posters presenting Putin

dolled up in heavy, bad makeup that circulate at Prides?), and of ridiculing Putin's regime through ascriptions of effeminacy assist in concealing the larger implications of the regime's gender and sexual politics, and the ways in which the utilization of the patriarchal gender order affects in particular those who do not and cannot (pass so as to) embody normative genders. The homophobic and rigid gender discourses in Russia rely on disability discourses when portraying queerness as a dangerous contagion, as perversion threatening the healthy development of children (Kondakov, "Crip Kinship"), or as positing disabled women as unworthy of motherhood (Battalova). And (queer) people with disabilities are hit by the discourses of gender normativity in ways that the discourses of sexual exceptionalism obfuscate. Yet the beautiful graphic novel by Victoria Lomasco *Other Russias* and the queer love stories collected by Masha Gessen and Joseph Huff-Hannon in *Gay Propaganda* are just two documents of "Other Russias" inhabited by crip and queer bodies folded together in solidarity, care, and love.

The crip critique of the rehabilitative paradigm of postsocialism debunks the self-serving function often embedded in the otherwise rightful and needed criticism of Russia: given the doubled failure of Russia (both as the ghost of the socialist past and as the parexcellence example of sexual and gender bigotry), the "rehabilitation" of the Czech Republic and its "oasis of tolerance" seem closer to reach. Yet the liberal discourses of sexual exceptionalism that pit East against the West reinforce their binary twin, that is, the construction of the West and Western sexual and gender liberalism as a threat.

### "Welcome Mighty Avatar"

Pride parades are political sites that generate collective identities and "transnational solidarities" (Eleftheriadis). Prague Pride has been actively engaging people from across borders and building its transnational networks.<sup>13</sup> Prague Pride dedicated 2019 to celebrating the legacies of the Stonewall riots, and 2022 to once again marking the effects of sexual oppression worldwide, this time "even in the Western counties" (Mračno, n.p.). As part of its acknowledgment of global differences in sexual citizenship and sexual rights, and support of LGBT people barred from participating in public events (let alone organizing them in their own country), Prague Pride 2014 commissioned an app called LGBT Avatars. It was supposed to empower LGBT survivors of (state) homophobia—even if only virtually and vicariously—to break down national borders and national(ist) regimes of homophobia and join in the celebration of queer sexuality.

Developed by Ogilvy Czech, a private public relations company with transnational capital, and offered to Prague Pride as support in kind, the app was built around the promise of transnational queer solidarizing.<sup>14</sup> It was designed, in words of Prague Pride's annual report, "to enable LGBT people from countries where their rights are curtailed *to at least virtually experience the feeling of freedom and be themselves*" ("Výroční" 14; emphasis added). The Avatars app worked as follows: a secured website linked people who were looking for an avatar ("I want an Avatar. I cannot attend Prague Pride 2014"), with those who were willing to become the avatar body for others ("I can be an Avatar. I can attend Prague Pride 2014"; see also Figs. 14 and 15). The former group then had the opportunity to ask their queer Avatars to go places for them and allow them to vicariously experience sexual liberation. The Avatars then could communicate experiences of repression and mediate what life under a homophobic regime (in Russia) looks like.

Avatars materialized a transnational intercorporeal connectivity in becoming a prosthetic embodiment for enactments and education of LGBT pride. This concept of cyborg connectivity (part organically embodied, part technological) was not devoid of radical potential. The Avatars carried promise of vicarious activism as well as sexual liberation (and sexual play). In fact, LGBT Avatars coincided with both crip and queer movements exploring technologies as a means of access and a tool of "world-making" that would reflect different capacities, creative resources, and global positionalities—issues that became more urgent with the recent global pandemic (e.g., Felt; Fritsch; Hamraie; Hamraie and Fritsch). These explorations, however, underscore the question of what it means for building transnational solidarities if the promises of support are—as in the case of the LGBT Avatars—embedded in transnational capital and in the discourses of the "slope of civilisation" (Melegh) that unequally situate global locations along the axis of modernity. Furthermore, I argue that the imagined empowerment via sexual pride is outweighed by the lack of imagination of solidarity. By relying on sexual exceptionalism, the app itself, its visual language, its codes, and its affective politics employ ideological frameworks that complicate or even vacate performances of such solidarities.

The LGBT Avatars app was much more than a vehicle for connecting people to share queer experiences across political landscapes. The promotion of the app put as much emphasis on showcasing the freedom and pride of those who "can attend Prague Pride" as on mediating experiences of sexual oppression and state homophobia. The app's motto highlights the point I make: "[W]e brought Pride to those who had none." The materials emphasize



Figure 13. LGBT Avatars  
Source: Prague Pride

the capacity of the “*more fortunate* brothers and sisters,” that is, those who have already achieved sexual citizenship, to model pride, freedom, and self-realization (freedom to “be oneself”) (Prague Pride, press release). In other words, the app not only imagines (and promotes) specific significations of sexual freedom or oppression but also mobilizes them to reinforce the ideological framework of the East/West slope. Prague Pride, and by extension the Czech queer subject, becomes Western(ized) by helping subjects who are “less fortunate” (read: less free, less developed, and less authentically themselves). Note that the discussion of the state/institutionalized homophobia focused on Russia seems to be mobilized mainly to offset the achievement of sexual freedom, pride, and self-actualization in the Czech Republic, that “oasis of tolerance” (“LGBT Avatars”). Who would not be thrilled to become “the mighty bear[e] of freedom and sexual liberation” welcomed, celebrated, and “saluted” by *his* (the imaginations of sexual freedoms are written in cis- and gender biases) “comrades everywhere” (the LGBT Avatars visuals; Figs. 14 and 15)?

While perhaps tech sexy (in 2014), the Avatars app simply rehashes hackneyed Cold War significations that divided the world into zones of “the free” and of “those who need to be freed” and illustrates that they remain profitable, politically, affectively, and economically. The linkage between private moneys and visions of gay liberation materialized in this app-ed version of freedom that hinged upon privately owned technology for proud owners of a smartphone.

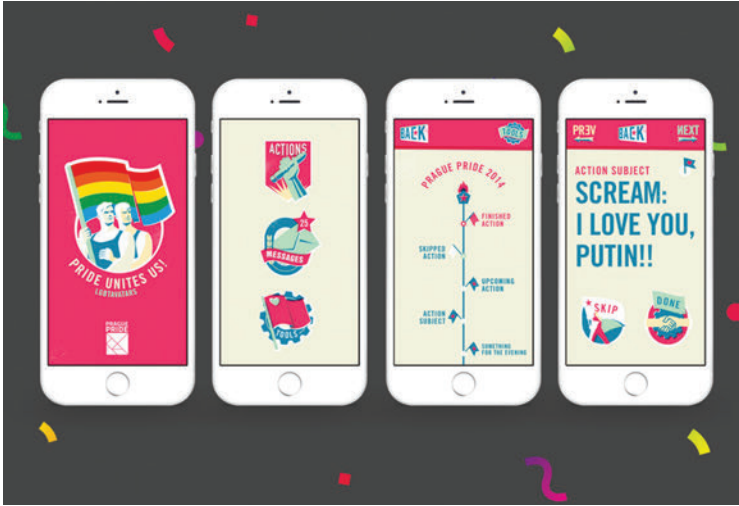


Figure 14. LGBT Avatars visuals  
 Source: Prague Pride

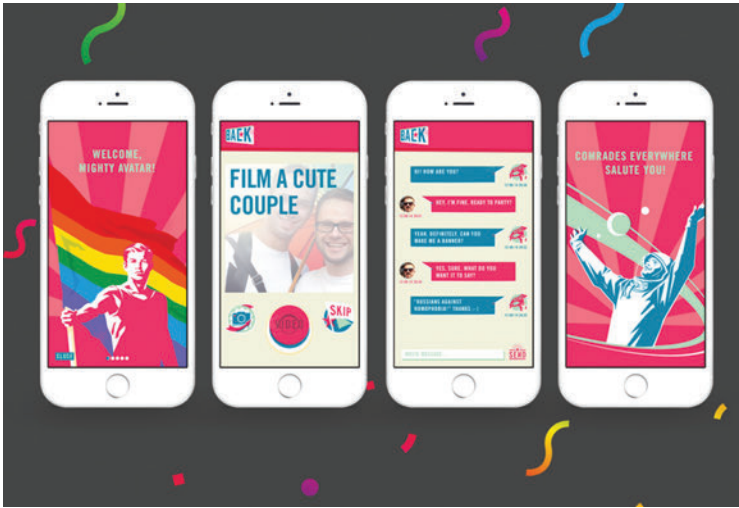


Figure 15. LGBT Avatars visuals, cont.  
 Source: Prague Pride

But utopian horizons are important, and especially so for queer and crip world-making. And while fleeting, temporary and only symbolic, in many queer contexts the Avatars app could provide a version of queer utopia, or the only “freedom” imaginable. But, for this very reason, we need to critique *how* the Avatars app summons such notions and how imaginaries of freedom are underwritten by notions of the capacity for movement, the physical (or technologically assisted) ability to move.

“The right to freedom of movement within EU [constitutes] the defining hallmarks of European integration,” the migration movements, the New Keywords Collective theorizing the migration “crisis” points out, “dramatically expos[e] the deep limits and exclusionary dimensions of these particular EUropean formulations of “freedom in the context of the broader government of human mobility” (Reidner et al., n.p.). Mobility is granted to those who can embody the promise of profitability, while “migrants’ are those who perennially threaten the viability of national economies and social welfare systems” (Reidner et al., n.p.).

The LGBT Avatar intercorporeality promises a transitional experience of sexual freedom through (the fantasy of) freedom of movement, while observing the structuration of mobility/migration. People displaced from their homes or threatened by wars or other unlivable situations are forced to adopt a mobility that turns them into “migrants” and “asylum seekers,” whereas the individualized and privatized fantasy of the avatar solution to unfreedom situates LGBT Avatars alongside anxious discussions of the need to restrict the mobility of “migrants.” LGBT Avatars promulgates a false vision of mobility and its governance. The app commodifies a limited version of transcendence that does not extract one from the oppressive conditions and contexts but promises a temporary relief through offering *him* a fantasy of freedom, sexual liberation, and even pride.

The imaginaries of freedom and mobility is what symbolically connects the LGBT Avatar app with disability, and with migration and (enforced) movement in search for a livable life. To clarify, I am not arguing that LGBT Avatars should have addressed the refugee crisis. In fact, Prague Pride did address the humanitarian crisis and the plight of the refugees over the following years. But the app rests upon notions of mobility, freedom, and liberal benevolence that echo the European governance of mobility/migration. What interests me here is how the imagined freedom offered in the gesture of queer solidarity highlights the globally differentiated access to mobility, and how liberal values of compassion, solidarity, and freedom get mobilized to reinforce such differentials.

It is the notion of “granting” or “giving freedom” itself, Mimi Thi Nguyen notes, that is worth critical deliberation. In *The Gift of Freedom*, she argues that the fantasy of the liberal West freeing people “from unenlightened forms” of oppression is a technology of power that reestablishes imperial ambitions. “The gift of freedom is not a universal value or a formal structure, but is instead the frequent name for the both familiar and strange ways in which liberal empire marshals its forces for and against others and elsewhere” (Nguyen 4). *Freedom* is therefore a force that can embrace and inspire but also humiliate and exclude. Nguyen argues that “*to be given freedom is a process of becoming without being*” (18). Being granted freedom, its recipient is becoming free without “ever” being free (of the gift and thus of the power relationships that frame the gift and the act of giving in the first place). The gift of freedom always carries with it a “stubborn remainder of [freedom’s] absence” (Nguyen 18), enforcing the notion that those who were “given freedom” “*will never be like us; they can never catch up*” (Nguyen 19). Nguyen’s critical framework uncovers another “technological” (in the Foucauldian sense) function of the app-ed version of “granting freedom”: to buttress the claims of sexual exceptionalism to aspirational politics of transformation.

Avatars tend to inhabit spaces on multiple and complex intersections that tie together sexuality, race, and disability,<sup>15</sup> yet the LGBT Avatars app is limited in its imaginations of access, capacity, and what assistance it offers. The technology could be a tool for crip “bed activism,” to invoke Akemi Nishida’s term (*Just Care*), yet the idea of crip/disability access is not included in the imaginations of “freedom” or mobility granted by the app. Even though disability adorns the Avatars app’s promotional materials with the promise that the avatar will be *your* “eyes and ears” (Prague Pride, press release; LGBT Avatars clips), imaginations of queer proud-and-out identity remain—as the 2014 poster indicates—married to the norm of able-bodied gay masculinity.

Further, the overdetermined focus on the East-West connection and the replay of Cold War positionalities block more capacious notions of access. The technology was used to attest to the Czech Republic’s democracy, a development that is normatively coded as overcoming the bad past and not getting stuck in the intolerance of the post-Soviet and Eastern zones. Its aspirational exceptionalism, furthermore, aspired to facilitate belonging for the LGBT subjects in the collective body of the Czech nation. In this sense, the app was a vehicle for affects invested in normalization, rather than being a form of access and a tool of transnational solidarity and justice.

As I have noted above, the imaginary of the LGBT Avatars app is able-bodied/able-minded as much as it is linked to normative cisgender categories.

However, the significance of this app and its politics for disability/crip analysis go beyond this obvious relation to normative and compulsory regimes of dis/ability. The ways in which Prague Pride and the app itself rely on sexual exceptionalism indicate the power of the rehabilitative script for articulations of intelligible (and therefore legitimate) identity categories and for national belonging. Thus, for the purposes of crip analysis and as I continue to map how sexuality and disability are called on in the articulations of the rehabilitative project, I tease out how exceptionalizing discourses relate to each other, and how these intersections call up notions of race and ethnicity. In the rest of the chapter, I hence think through disability exceptionalisms and the forms they assume in the discourses of normalization and rehabilitation that underwrite the ideologies of the nation, national belonging, and national reconstruction.

### Aspirational (Disability) Exceptionalism

While Prague Pride raised awareness about homophobia's intensifying "Eastward," the discourse of "migration crisis" entered European publics. Despite a few gatherings that proclaimed, "Refugees welcome," the Czech media and public space were filled with portrayals of refugees as threats to national security, the national heritage, and the moral landscape. Multiple false alarms were raised picturing hordes of Muslims illegally crossing Czech borders. Politicians shared selfies taken next to the barbed-wire barriers at the national or European borders or posing with firearms to document their readiness to protect the nation and "European values." Czechs who proudly call themselves the most atheist nation in Europe suddenly became vocal apologists for a Judeo-Christian lineage. Public figures who issue calls to arms in a fight against feminism are simultaneously alarmed by Sharia law's infringement on women's freedoms. These "cultural warriors" enacted bizarre performances of provincialism, sexism, racism, and Islamophobia. Some implored concerned citizens to boycott kebab<sup>16</sup> and perform their proud resistance to Islam by consuming pork or by walking their dogs in parks frequented by Muslims. Czech women were asked to contribute to the fight for national security by wearing revealing attire. And on the anniversary of the Soviet invasion of 1968 in 2016, the platform "We do not want Islam in the Czech Republic"<sup>17</sup> staged an "invasion" impersonating a squad of fully armed Islamists.

In the 2015 migration movements, the Czech Republic was mostly a transit country, not a destination. Despite this, migration became a hot topic in

political debates, with impact on national and international political relations, as the socially democratic government allowed itself to be pressured into a hard-line rejection of EU attempts to solidarize with the countries bearing the highest human and economic costs of the migration movements. Along with other Eastern European countries, the Czech Republic was considered to lack sympathy for either the refugees or countries more directly affected and the political project of unified Europe—in short, it lacked “proper Europeanness.”

The resolute unwillingness to participate in the EU “quota” system of “distributing” refugees in 2015, the unprecedented solidarity with people fleeing wars during the 1990s and the so-called Yugoslav wars, and the openness and generosity with which Czech families and homes were opened to (white, Slavic) Ukrainian refugees following the Russian attack in 2022 highlight the racialized prejudice. All this points to the fact that refugees and migrants have been caught up in a larger political play about national sovereignty, increasing resentment settling across the Eastern Europe over the power dynamics embedded in discourses of “proper Europeanness,” as well as reactive constructions of the national body and identity. In the Czech context, the 2015 “migration crisis” was used to fabricate the fragility of the nation as faced by sexualized and racialized otherness. It is important for my following discussion to note that figurations of disability and femininity manifested the nation’s vulnerability threatened by the oversexualized, able-bodied, and religiously overzealous masculinity of the Muslim Other. In 2015 (and now as the Russia’s war against Ukraine extends), the disabled subject is used to deny charitable help to “outsiders.”

In what follows I discuss the construction of the disabled subject as the governing force of the conditional and exclusionary welfare system. Before I delve into my two larger examples of how disability articulates different and yet interconnected versions of nationalist exceptionalisms, it needs to be said that the 2015 crisis exposed the inadequacy of refugee and asylum help, its disciplining and deterrent nature that not only further disadvantages already disabled people but also functions as a disabling apparatus. Similarly, the fact that amid unprecedentedly kind and generous acceptance of refugees coming from Ukraine (I touch upon this shortly), Roma and non-white Ukrainians were either cruelly “returned” to countries of first entry into the EU, kept in improvised tents, or left camping on the floors of the Prague Train Main Station (a place discussed also in chapter 2) highlighted beyond doubt the racialized differentiation in the refugee system.

### Gifts of Dignity: Disability and Politics of Humanitarianism

The “migration crisis” exemplified how gestures of giving freedom tie together politics of compassion with disability, rehabilitation with nation reconstruction, and Europeanness with performances of transnational charity. Medevac Czech is a program of medical humanitarian interventions funded by the Czech state and offered to war-affected countries and regions and to displaced people living in refugee camps.<sup>18</sup> The program was founded in 1993 during the wars in former Yugoslavia. Later, medical evacuations were sidelined and instead expert teams provided care and trained local experts on-site.<sup>19</sup> Only in rare cases are the patients brought to the Czech Republic for longer-term treatment; this of course evades issues with residence/migration status of the patients.

On the heels of the “migration crisis,” Medevac Czech started to draw more public attention (as well as government support). *Flying Medics (Létající lékaři)*, a photo exhibition promoting Medevac and documenting help offered in war-affected areas, traveled to both national and international publics. In 2018, it moved to the European Parliament in Brussels, to Geneva, and to Amman.<sup>20</sup> It drew attention to the debilitating effects of war but functioned also as a campaign tool that “deconstructs the frequent stereotype about the Czech Republic as a country that evades the difficult challenges posed by . . . migration and refugees.” Contrarily, it supposedly “brings the good news that the Czech Republic is not indifferent [to] human suffering and can offer meaningful help.” This quotation comes from the text “Help and Cure,” surprisingly published by a left critical journal. Admittedly a public relations article, it continues: “As in the Czech Republic, also in Iraq, Jordan, or Ukraine, people strive to lead normal lives: attend schools, work, fulfill their dreams. Health is what they need most. And excellent health care is what the Czech Republic can offer” (“Pomáhat,” n.p.). Here the notion of health (or absence of illness and/or disability) not only underscores the praise for the Medevac program. “Health” is also employed to ground an argument about likeness between contexts and conditions of living as drastically different as the Czech Republic and Iraq, or refugee camps. The assumption about universal value and meaning of health allows one to draw such overarching, tasteless, and troubling parallels. Looking at Medevac, I extend my critique of gestures of transnational solidarity and “freedom giving.” I explore how manifestations of transnational humanitarian care and compassion function against the Czech Republic’s adamant refusal to accept refugees. I propose that Medevac’s performances of “humanitarian reason” (Fassin) are designed

to (re)construe the image of the Czech Republic as a good European subject. Yet, the program also highlights the binaries between giving and receiving help and between the mobile and immobile subjects.

Further, I argue that Medevac Czech, like the LGBT Avatars app, employs formations of *aspirational* exceptionalism to lay claims to national identity well placed on the civilizational slope. The gifts to either actuate one's sexual identity, or—in the case of Medevac—one's freedom from sickness, suffering, pain, or disability resemble each other in how they elicit national identifications and affective investments in the project of postsocialist rehabilitation. The familial bond (if we take up McRuer's suggestion) between disability and sexual exceptionalisms highlights not only the connections (rather than the so-far privileged differences) between the liberal and the nationalist projects and thus between the "good" and the "bad" versions of (national) pride. Both projects, while different in their nature and scope, become gestures of giving that is embedded in the economy of (symbolic) indebtedness and are cashed in for the giver's aspirational self-positioning.

Below I work with a notion of disability exceptionalism that employs categories of disability, race, and nation to reconfigure belonging through the double bind of aspiration—to a "good humanitarian/Western/civilized subjecthood" and—conversely—to becoming a part of the nation's body. The conflict between these aspirations is negotiated through flexible interarticulations of race and disability. Following McRuer and Elman, who argue that when decontextualized and depoliticized, disability can be turned into a component of cultural capital (53; also McRuer, *Crip Times* 44), I first read news coverage of Medavac and how disability serves to construe transnational solidarity. I then move to map out how whiteness and disability are called up in articulations of aspirational disability national belonging.

The newspaper headlines laud Medevac: "Sick/disabled refugees wait years for treatment" (Beníšková), "We give them back their human dignity" (Holinková). The medical experts are applauded for "g[iving] Syrian refugees their sight back" and "sav[ing] human lives" but also for "improv[ing] international prestige of the Czech Republic" (Holinková, n.p.; Pasz, n.p.). In this narrative, "giving health back" is what makes the Czech Republic an active and compassionate agent of humanitarian global politics. In these transnational political gestures of giving freedom (from disability), the figure of the disabled refugee is utilized to fabricate a position of exceptionality—not only for the recipients but also, as important, for the "giver." Offering exceptional medical care becomes a manifestation of the exceptional morality and compassion and of the "proper Europeanness" of the Czech subject.

Obviously, these acts of “giving freedom” are too fraught with ambivalences, exclusions, and paradoxes. The available material covering Medevac activities suggests that some forms of disabilities are more suitable to be “gifted away” than others. The visible, intelligible, and morally inconspicuous impairments, or disabilities that can be—in the applied medical and benevolent frameworks—presented as surgically treatable, curable, or at least improvable, seem to be better suited for “the gifts of freedom” than disabilities, illnesses, and impairments that are linked to the inveterate stress of the war and its temporal and spatial proximity. In short, disability exceptionalism extracts the body “outside of any social, cultural, and political interpretations of the body” (Garde, “Inclusive Development” 164) to create exceptions within the disability spectrum itself. Disabilities that are linked to life in the refugee camps, debilitating stress, anxiety, trauma, and grief do not appear to be part of these medical gifts.

Medevac shares many traits of how disability operates in and through development help. Jonah I. Garde points out that inclusion of disability in programs “offered” to the global South falls back on the logic of coloniality and white supremacy. Garde argues that developmental policies generally “dismis[s] the historical roots and global causes of poverty and disability.” The development programs fail to recognize poverty as “an effect of colonial exploitation, transnational value chains, structural adjustment programmes, and global capitalism” as much as they fail to understand disability as “co-produced through imperial wars, international weapon trade, unsafe labour conditions, and the privatisation of health care” (Garde, “Inclusive Development” 164). In close paraphrasis of Garde’s argument, I argue that Medevac decouples disability from war that is the result of global politics and locates both war and disability safely “there” and disconnected from “here.” “The imagined suffering body” thus appears, as Miriam Ticktin noted, to be “a victim without a perpetrator—a sufferer, pure and simple, caught in a moment of urgent need. No one is responsible for her suffering; those who act to save her do so from the goodness of their hearts, out of moral obligation” (11).

The very promise offered by the above public relations text of life that is the “same as in the Czech Republic,” once the war survivors and refugees living in camps or in countries bordering on war conflicts, receive medical assistance and thence are able to see/move/hear again and/or better, is of course an expression of the cruel optimism of coloniality. Interestingly, the narratives through which the medical evacuations are presented to the national public hesitant to welcome refugees echo the moral “rehabilitation” of narratives of the postsocialist transformation. The gift of medical assistance and trans-

national solidarity obliges; it obliges to rebuild the respective countries; it obliges to stay (“there”) and not to immigrate (“here”).

Disability exceptionalism, a version of which I describe here, works “particularly efficiently in narrativizing austerity” (McRuer, *Crip Times* 44). McRuer’s note is pertinent not only with reference to the postsocialist landscape shaped by the various shocks of austerity (I discuss them shortly) but also in relation to governance of refugee flows to Europe. “Fortress Europe” is a materialization of the austerity rationale that molds imperatives to curtail the influx of new bodies to be “manageable,” to divide the so-called economic migrants from “true” refugees, and to subjugate the arrivals to appraisal of (moral) merit expressed in undergone hardships and threats to life that make them “deserving” of protection.

As Mimi Thi Nguyen argues, the *gift of freedom* discloses the collusions of freedom and imperial violence—“not just because the gift of freedom opens with war and death, but also because it may obscure those other powers that through its giving, conceive and shape life” (2–3). Nguyen’s critique targets predominantly the United States; thus it might not sound as convincing when related to the global insignificance of the Czech Republic or Eastern Europe. It might, however, itself be an effect of imperialism and coloniality that obscures the similarities. The Czech Republic’s exportation of weapons to Iraq, Syria, and elsewhere (“Weapons”) represents one of concrete forms in which the Czech Republic has been implicated in global conflicts. It is thus pertinent to ask, how do narratives emphasizing medical expert care and curing disabilities figure when juxtaposed to the debilitating realities of life in proximity to war (which the Czech involvement in the arms trade profits from)?

The fantasy of national empathy and the humanitarian gift can perhaps be more fittingly understood as an orientaling dramatization of modernity that is supposed to establish the identity of the giver and the liberal version of national pride. The biopolitical/necropolitical logic of the humanitarian reason overlaps here with the imperial logic of compulsory postsocialist rehabilitation that dictates that Eastern European subjects perform “humanitarian” acts as part of performative return to Europe:

The impact of the program is . . . unquestionable. When you operate on one Syrian refugee, another two hundred from their broader family will know about it. In this sense, *Medevac spreads the good name of the Czech Republic, the information that Czechs know how to help and that they do it well. Czech medicine is among the best in the world.* (Cited in Pasz, n.p.; emphasis added)

Nguyen's critical reframing of the gifts of freedom inspires me to probe the political significance of narratives about "the export of miracles that Czech medicine can deliver," about "the Czech Republic [as] a self-confident and rich country, even if it . . . might not be obvious" (*Létající lékaři n.p.* ""; Medevac promotional materials). These are gestures of orientalizing/imperial fantasies that turn both outward and inward, stoking national(ist) pride while simultaneously attempting to rehabilitate the image of the nation. It is the undisputed goodness of health and "freedom from disability" that is used to balance out and mend a reputation hurt by the anti-immigration stance of Czech politicians.

The following statement succinctly expresses the promise of the gift that Medevac offers: "Medevac is not only focused on health; *it brings people back to normal life*" (Pasz, n.p.). Or, as the nurse working on the Medevac mission says describing the program,

Most important, the cure and the gifts do not have just a short-term impact. They also have great social significance. Kids return to school because they can move their arms, adults return to work because they can again walk, elders can again play with their grandkids because they can see. (Pasz, n.p.; emphasis added)

As the ministerial coordinator of the program elaborates, the rehabilitative capacities of such a "gift" are not exhausted by the change that they introduce into individual lives; they promise to rehabilitate whole nations:

Hip-replacement brings people back to life. This has further significance as older people are the bearers of the history of their land. They carry its historical legacy. . . . Medevac differs from other humanitarian programs not just in that it saves people's lives but also in its attempt to improve people's human dignity. (Holinková, n.p.)

The fantasies of recreating, reconstructing, and rehabilitating the foreign country—"the other"—are beyond doubt invested in positing the Czech Republic as the charitable giver that brings civilization and modernity to the country/nation in crisis. Such a humanitarian gift enables the recipients, "the bearers of history and tradition" (symbolically located in the past), to create the future. Yet visions of the "future" (as well as of the past) are stripped of all historical situatedness and contextuality; fantasies of enabled future obfuscate the realities of war and its global contexts. Many of the medical interventions—

especially those that are directly related to the war in Syria—have been happening in the refugee camps and places that do not allow for building up a future—individual, community, or national. The people remain “a victim without a perpetrator” asked to “rehabilitate” through international humanitarian help to reestablish a pretense of normality as if no war happened.

Offering quality medical care, rehabilitation is undoubtedly of great importance for those who are forced to live in refugee camps or in countries scarred by war. However, this humanitarian intervention cannot undo the continuing disabling impacts of the camps, of the trauma and destruction—just as good-quality eyeglasses do not do away with the structural barriers for people with visual impairments. Medevac thus illustrates amply how transnational humanitarian charity is embedded in mechanisms of power and transnational governance. The Medevac program serves as a proof of Czech involvement in solving the humanitarian crisis even as the antirefugee rhetoric keeps shaping the political scene of “Fortress Czechia.”

Russia’s war against Ukraine brought an abrupt and unexpected turn in the public as well as political representation’s attitude toward refugees. It also changed the regular treatment of the refugees. Previously forcibly detained when caught crossing the borders, required to pay for accommodation and food while in detention, refugees from Ukraine experienced a radically different reception. Suddenly, refugees from Ukraine were indeed “welcomed” (or at least the white and Slavic lot of them); people were bringing refugees “home” and breaking bread with them. Solidarity bloomed over fears of foreign bodies. A similar shift affected the state’s approach, too, and the Czech Republic suddenly found it in its financial powers to provide various forms of support. This shift was not unique to the Czech Republic; other Eastern European countries (Poland, Belarus, Hungary, Slovakia, and Moldavia, which share borders with Ukraine) too offered help, and even Western European countries were more eager to help. A close friend living in a large northern German town and working in counseling reflected on how she and her colleagues were dismayed to note how much quicker and easier it was to get materials in Ukrainian ready, in contrast to materials needed in other languages for “other/ed” refugees (personal communication; see also Tozer). In February 2022, in contrast to the earlier influx of immigrants, the EU activated its “temporary protection” scheme, which allows Ukrainian refugees to live, work, and attend school in the EU without official asylum approval. The statement of Bulgaria’s prime minister, Kiril Petkov, “These are not the refugees we are used to . . . these people are Europeans,” captures well the difference in systemic approach to the refugees and how the willingness to

give humanitarian help is dictated by larger geopolitical directions and trans/national agendas (Tozer, n.p.).

I close this chapter by interrogating affects that motivate disability nationalist exceptionalism. Again, it is a cruel project—the postsocialist rehabilitative project has positioned disabled people ambivalently as exceptional objects of conditional inclusion at best, and the aspirational politics discussed here has not achieved any different. I map how disability exceptionalism leans against nationalist affects but also draw out how the very logic of exceptionalism undercuts the aspirational optimism of disability national belonging. What does the convergence of the nationalist and disability discourses say about the postsocialist context of the Czech Republic? How does it relate to or rely on the cultural grammar of postsocialist rehabilitation, and how does it reframe the notion of the inarticulability of crip positionalities?

#### Disability Rehabilitative Aspirations under Postsocialism

Though rarely mentioned explicitly, dis/ability shaped the fantasies of dangerous Muslim immigrants. As with Roma “inadaptability” discussed in chapter 4, disability becomes a metaphorical and rhetorical device to position “immigrants” as a threat to the moral fiber of the nation, its “natural order,” its health. For instance, one of the participants in the demonstration against the “Islamization” threatening the Czech Republic noted, “The Muslim way of life is *some kind of virus* with which they’re artificially vaccinated. . . . They really do have this evil deeply rooted inside them. They seem to *have raped minds, raped souls*” (cited in Slačálek and Svobodová 485–86; emphasis added). This quotation brings out the dense interweaving of ableism, racism, and sexism that figure in the imaginations of the “virus of Islam”: it is the virus of “irrationality,” of premodern backwardness that is manifested in its violence against women’s bodies, in the uncivilized sexual brutality that “rapes.”<sup>21</sup>

Gendered representations, gender norms, and sexual identities can be—and are—used by various actors and for diverging political agendas. For instance, in *Sex, Politics, and Putin*, Valerie Sperling documents that in relation to contemporary Russia, gender and sexuality serve as rhetorical weapons for both pro- and antiregime actors “because of the accessibility and resonance of these aspects of cultural identity at elite and mass levels alike” (2).<sup>22</sup> With this pairing in mind, I turn to how disability too can be utilized as an ally for the ultraconservative cultural front opposing sexual and gender liberalism.

In 2018, the president of the Czech National Disability Council (Národní rada osob se zdravotním postižením),<sup>23</sup> Václav Krása, endorsed the politics

of a relatively new, nationalist, right-leaning formation (Party for Direct Democracy, Strana přímé demokracie). This shocked many because PDD politicians have repeatedly uttered anti-Roma, xeno-, and homophobic statements that appear to conflict with disability politics. Yet even in their postsocialist formations, “disability nationalism(s)” (McRuer, “Disability”) cannot be thought about in isolation from how disability has been embedded into the political discourse of neoliberal governance, austerity, and nationalism. And, gesturing back to the book’s introduction, I propose that they are a continuation of the cruel optimism of national belonging. Diverging from other austere regimes, in the Czech context the rhetoric of merit-based evaluation reinforced the figure of the “deserving disabled/vulnerable citizen” that could be utilized as a tool of social governance against others supposedly less deserving.

Krásá has expressed, both in his personal blogs and in public interviews as the president of the Disability Council, concerns about the fate of European values. He warned that due to “misplaced regard for tolerance” the natural order of the European civilization would succumb to Islam. Defending European civilization must go hand in hand with protecting “traditional society” and the “traditional family” (all in Krása, “Asi”), which, as he argues, naturally guard the rights of disabled people. Disability here becomes a vehicle for moral panic defamations of “gender ideology” that “pushes us into extinction,” LGBT claims to recognition, and of the religious, spiritual, and cultural difference of Islam. And the entitlement to redistribution of people with (certain forms of) disabilities is construed through vilifying other forms of identity politics and social movements.

For instance, in a blog that “discusses” a case of surrogate motherhood for a gay couple, Krása marries the concept of “natural order” with the capacity to (heteronormatively) reproduce. He questions the notion of *help* or *assistance* of the surrogate carrying the child.

What was the point of the woman’s assistance? So that two men could feel like fathers? . . . *It is unbelievable that someone can consider such perversity an assistance!* This denies the basic principles that make us human: that a child is conceived by a man and woman who then take care of the baby together. . . . *If we relativize the natural manner of child birthing and childcare, our civilization will inevitably end. . . .* It is not permissible to use the concept of discrimination to push for the right of two women or two men to have a child. Because this is *against the natural order* of childbearing, the fact that such couples do not have

children *cannot be considered a matter of discrimination*. (Krása, “Asi,” n.p.; emphasis added)

I translate the Czech *pomoc* as “assistance” rather than “help” to underscore how paradoxically correlations between the discriminatory ableist notions of “natural development,” or “natural order,” devaluing and dehumanizing crip lives, and the rebuke of queer parenthood (with its misplaced focus on surrogacy that is accessible only to very few) are lost here. As a representative of the Disability Council, Krása is tasked to speak for the interests of people with disabilities, whose (assisted) existence and survival has been customarily likened to a threat to the sustainability of modern society,<sup>24</sup> and whose reproductive and sexual rights are frequently violated because disability reproduction is seen as endangering human futurity. He acknowledges that “we are always told that we must protect minorities. No one probably disagrees with this,” yet simultaneously manages to dis/qualify certain issues as proper discrimination/rights. Jasbir Puar has diagnosed such attempts to redirect “the pathos and stigma of disability onto different registers of bodily deviance and defectiveness” (*The Right* 39) as a violent politics of ablenationalism. Below I think about what light the affective attachments to “natural order” shed on the postsocialist figurations of disability exceptionalism, how disability exceptionalism relates to the postsocialist rehabilitation, and how it participates in materializing the inarticulability of critically crip horizons and critical cripness.

The aspirational and cruel nature of the attachment to the body of the nation becomes clear in the 2010s, the time of the global economic crisis and onslaught of austerity governance. The discourses of austerity have been activated, as I argue in this book, many times during the “transformation.” In fact, rhetoric of austerity has been the dominant and defining discourse of postsocialism. However, after the 2010 election, concrete and far-reaching plans to reduce social welfare have moved the society to protests. In spring of 2011 the Disability Council—already led for about a decade by Krása—joined an antigovernment coalition that brought together diverse socially critical projects opposing the government’s austerity measures.<sup>25</sup> The Disability Council co-organized rallies of disabled people that were crucial in undercutting the legitimacy of the government that while preaching austerity claimed to protect “those who really need it” and “who cannot help themselves.” The antiausterity demonstrations of disabled people were in fact the biggest public gatherings of disabled people in Czech(oslovak) modern history, and an important performative act reconstituting disabled citizenship in the postsocialist Czech Republic.<sup>26</sup> I return to this gathering led by the Disability Council and join-

ing forces with the critique from the left nearly a decade later to juxtapose it with the declaration of support for the political program of the nationalist party to—perhaps counterintuitively—argue that there is a line of continuity between the statements of Krása and the Disability Council then and now.

The protests of 2011 based their criticism on shaming of the government and on the argument that care for vulnerable and disabled people signifies the moral development of the postsocialist Czech Republic, its “rehabilitation” and “return” to the healthy standards of humanism. As one of the speakers declared at the gathering, “It is sad that after the *hopes that were brought by 1989, . . . and after the situation of people with disabilities started to improve . . .*, we find ourselves back in the streets to call for society’s empathy” (cited in Kolářová, “Affective” 263; emphasis added). Thus, the protesters aligned the presumed breach of the humanist consensus that disabled people should be supported and exempted from merit economics with the breach in the teleological transformation narrative that signified postsocialist progress with reacquiring the Western/European values of (liberal) humanism.

The speakers at the protest in 2011 appealed to the gathering as “dear colleagues in misfortune” and argued that disability serves as the litmus test of society’s moral maturity. Underscoring the moral urgency of the protests, the speakers stated that the society that materialized in the wake of government austerity is a “society *in a severe state of disorder*, [where] only the strong are allowed to stay aboard, while those who are brought down by misfortune are thrown overboard!” (cited in Kolářová, “Affective” 264). The appeals to humanism may very well reflect a strategy of political necessity rather than ideological preference. Nonetheless—or perhaps precisely for that reason—they highlight the political horizon that aligns with disability exceptionalism and with notions of a “healthy” society. Despite its frequent invocation as a moral dictum of humanism, I propose here that visions that link humanism with exceptionalizing disability inhibit more capacious social imaginations of (intersectional) justice and thus also inhibit disability justice itself. I also want to point out that positioning disability as an exception to moral economies based on merit can be employed for a liberal as well as a national/ist, conservative, and authoritarian political project. The logic of disability exceptionalism as it has been playing out in the postsocialist Czech Republic is thus paradoxical. Mapping out these paradoxes helps us to understand that the embrace of the “natural order” that presently aligns the Disability Council with conservative and national/ist political projects is neither a sign of illogical development nor a sign of the moral failure of the postsocialist disabled subject.

To start with, disability exceptionalism upholds a claim to welfare support

while also strengthening the neoliberal principles of austerity that threaten the very basis of the welfare state: the 2011 protests claimed a moral right to support and social inclusion for disabled people while they reiterated the principle of exception Deborah Stone diagnosed in her groundbreaking *The Disabled State* as the governing logic of welfare systems. The exception allows the disabled subject to be flexible for contradictory yet simultaneous policies of citizenship. Reinforcing positioning of disabled subjects as those “who really deserve[] [state assistance] because they cannot help themselves,” the protesters aligned themselves with the exception to merit-based moral codes. Yet, by allowing *the disabled people* to inhabit the position of a tolerated—and included as citizens—exception, the other (nondisabled, healthy, normal) *subjects* are even more fiercely interpellated by demands of individualized responsibility. The cuts in public spending and the restrictive trimming of the welfare system have been repeatedly legitimized by a discursive loop binding together rhetorical figures of debt, irresponsible expenditure toward those who do not inhabit the position of moral exception, and/or the outright abuse of public money. While in the Czech context, people with disabilities have not necessarily been poised as “scroungers,” as we witness in other global contexts (e.g., McRuer, *Crip Times*; Mladenov, *Disability*), the ableist principles of benevolence serve to police other social groups, most notably “the inadaptable,” that is, Roma and/or immigrants.

Disability exceptionalism hence articulates demands to welfare and assistance while it reinforces conditionality of such assistance. In this way the ethics of exception can become a vehicle for nationalist protectionism, such as when disability activists argue that “help cannot be demanded” by subjects who do not belong to the national body: “*Those people* [refugees, immigrants, queer and nonbinary people] are convinced that it is *our* responsibility to welcome them, feed them, and make sure they have housing and employment. . . . It is necessary to emphatically tell them that help cannot be demanded” (Krása, “O pomoc,” n.p.; emphasis added). It is ironic that it is the publicly recognized representative of the interests of disabled people who poses *benevolence* as the core principle for social solidarity, while simultaneously claiming a moral *right* to social assistance for those who are *of* the national body.

Postsocialist articulations of disability exceptionalism rely on fantasies of threats to the “natural order,” devaluing suffering and claims to solidarity. The crip activist Karel Chlouba pointed out that disability exceptionalism reflects a conviction that emancipation of people with disabilities conflicts with other social struggles and that solidarity itself is under an austere regime

(cited in Bican, n.p.).<sup>27</sup> Krása appoints himself to stand guard to protect the nation: “The integration of Muslims is impossible” (“Integrace,” n.p.). The cohabitation with Muslims would inevitably—he predicts—lead to the death of European civilization itself (“Co”). Once a vocal critic of institutionalization and a proponent of social integration of disabled people, Krása suggests containment and quarantine to protect “European civilization.” Beyond “curtailing the immigration of Muslims into Europe,” and “building camps where these people will wait out the duration of the war,” he proposes more daringly “to carve out an area among European countries and designate it as a place for refugees from war-afflicted areas to temporarily stay” (“Integrace,” n.p.).

The imaginary defense of the nation and of Europe also meant *conditional* and *bounded* compassion that should be extended “only to those who are truly in danger from the mania of war.” The acts of “granting help” must be regulated: “They [immigrants, refugees] need to be aware of the fact that we accept them only for a given time and that after the conflicts are over *they need to return home to help reconstruct their countries*” (“Integrace,” n.p.). The acts of “giving” refuge, help, or compassion again require the ones on the receiving end pay off the debt by respecting the conditions of the “visitation rights” and by leaving the host country in a timely way, not making further claims on its welfare system. The limited “help” needs to be paid back by actions that are oftentimes impossible: by leaving the “host” country, by promising to “go back” and work on reconstructing and “rehabilitating” the country of departure. All the preconditions for “giving help” are built upon the presumption of capacities to move, to travel, to work, not to be living with multilayered trauma of war and displacement. But most important, such “giving” refuses to acknowledge the legacy of global inequalities, imperialism, and the fact that wars and other conflicts both produce disabled bodies and are themselves effects of disabling imperial legacies.

The xenophobic, homophobic, and gender-reactionary stances that I illustrated here through Krása’s position correspond to figurations of the affective politics that Sharon Snyder and David Mitchell termed “ablenationalism” (“Ablenationalism”; see also Mitchell and Snyder, *Biopolitics*), a concept through which Mitchell and Snyder explain the paradoxical ways in which disabled people are recognized as subjects and citizens under capitalism. Similarly, Puar argues that “whiteness is not a by-product” but a constitutive feature of the disabled difference that leans against other normative regimes and moral economies to legitimize rights to existence and (exceptional) citizenship (*The Right* 39). Read through the critical lenses of ablenationalism, the current proximity of the nationalist rehabilitative project and (a

particular) disability politics appears as a performance of *aspirational* citizenship, aspiring through accentuated attachments to whiteness and nationalist sentiments. Such cruel attachments (cruel because they can never embrace disability for its own worth) highlight the failures of promises of politics considered more progressive and inclusive. Crip scholars—McRuer’s *Crip Times* is a case in point here—have laid out how harsh realities of austerity politics and intensifying precarity might effectively decrease capacity for solidarity of those who have been systematically drained and pushed to the limits of survival. My argument here expands these critiques by highlighting how the rationale of neoliberal austerity has been accentuated by the postsocialist project of national rehabilitation. It has, however, also drawn out continuities with seemingly more progressive and inclusive politics—the austerity-induced embrace of a nationalist agenda as a platform for disability politics not only testifies to despair from unfulfilled promises of post-1989 fantasies of building “civic society” (chapter 1) but also reveals—more importantly—flawed foundations of disability inclusion based in benevolence and conditional exceptionalism.<sup>28</sup>

I push against the fallacy of reading disability exceptionalism and emerging nationalism as distinct from what is often considered the original post-revolutionary attempts to build an open civil society. In fact, I argue that the chapters (1 and 5) that book-end this project are in direct dialogue—they both illustrate how precaritized and marginalized subjects are exploited in “rehabilitative” projects. In juxtaposing Disability Council positions and political alliances across the last decade, I am proposing that the present attachment to bigoted conservatism and traditionalism, racism, and xenophobia has to be read alongside the chronicle of postsocialist mobilizations of the figure of disability as the symbol of exceptional (in all senses of the word) vulnerability.

To conclude, this chapter returns to where the book started—promises of belonging, inclusion, recognition, gifts of freedom and empathy, and the ways in which minoritized subjects are called on and call upon themselves in constructing (myths of) civic, civilized, compassionate society engaged in transnational politics of solidarity. Here I am concerned with how such promises are utilized as vectors of minority belonging in political self-positioning and aspirational citizenship. This, I believe, allows me to highlight different limitations of the promises and the ways in which aspirational belonging takes Others hostage. Discussing the articulations of disability exceptionalism and disability nationalism alongside sexual exceptionalism illustrates that the logic of exceptionality always requires entanglement with the rhetoric of the nation, sovereignty, and cultural/racialized supremacy. Furthermore, criti-

cal examination of the different modalities of exceptionalism also uncovers costs these discourses bring to imaginations of solidarity and nonidentarian imaginations of justice. Therefore, I engage with uncomfortable aspects of queer/ disability respectability and acceptance politics that not only exclude (sometimes more violently than other times) each other but also fall back on national(ist) belonging seeped in whiteness and racialized discourses of modernity and civilization.

Closing *Rehabilitative Postsocialism* with a discussion that charts how the logic of exceptionalism feeds into reactionary (indeed, even the progressive-posing politics of sexual exceptionalism bounces back in forms of heightened reactionary traditionalism) politics of nationalism is not coincidental. It is through the current (global) rise of authoritarian and populist politics that Eastern Europe seems to again attract international interest. Eastern Europe is seen as a laboratory of totalitarianism that promises answers, or at least cautionary tales. The experiences with past totalitarianism (which seems to be predominantly ascribed to Eastern Europe) are seen as a potential contribution to the theoretical debates on what drives such authoritarian trends. As Larisa Kurtović and Dace Dzenovska summarize, the concerns of the Western media with “interventions made . . . by or on behalf of (post)socialist subjects . . . reveal that there are at least four dimensions to the new-found public audibility of the (post)socialist subject: (1) knowledge of totalitarianism/authoritarianism; (2) knowledge of fascism/nationalism; (3) knowledge of Russia; and (4) prefiguration of the future of the West” (cited in Atanasoski and McElroy 281). Once again Eastern Europe is caught up in “knotted” or “folded” times representing both the past and the future of Europe. Postsocialism and the historical experience of state socialism and its totalitarianism ambivalently feature as both pathological *and* curative.

On the one hand, the past can be(come) a potential source of (preventive) knowledge and a potential resource for combating the present forms of authoritarian nationalisms and intensifying fascism. On the other hand, Eastern Europe is seen as especially prone to such tendencies and as a laboratory of dangerous illiberalism(s) and nationalism(s). The dangerous fallacy of this ambivalent positioning of Eastern Europe has reinforced, as Alexei Yurchak notes, the notion that democracy and authoritarianism are each other’s opposites, rather than critiqued capitalism (Yurchak, “Trump” 1; cf. also Atanasoski and McElroy).

Yet as this chapter demonstrated at some length (pun intended), it is precisely this emphasis on the rehabilitative ideology that promises to transform the pathological into normative and curative logic that is at fault here. I

opened the book by theorizing the inarticulability of crip epistemologies and political horizons and moved through various locations on which I found intermingling of disability with ethnicity and race, sexuality and gender, and borders and nationality, which indicated the complex im/possibilities of, and acute need for, crip signing that would allow us to reimagine the ways we know, theorize, and imagine disability, and to articulate crip politics.

Indeed, there seems to be a cruel logic to the arch that this book maps. Starting out with the promises of inclusion and embrace in rehabilitative citizenship, *Rehabilitative Postsocialism* registers across various cultural locations how these promises turned cruel; it illustrates how the curative logic propelling the moral economy of postsocialist transformation not only stood in the way of any understandings of disability except the very literal but also inhibited emergences of crip solidarity and a shared horizon of crip politics.

## Coda

### *Viral Postsocialisms*

---

Mirroring the situation of many, the work on the final revisions of *Postsocialist Rehabilitations* has been derailed and significantly delayed by the ongoing pandemic, care work, stress, and exhaustion that Covid-19 multiplied and intensified.<sup>1</sup> John Nguyet Erni and Ted Striphas have fittingly coined a new appellation for the virus and the pandemic: “the multiplier.” They propose to abandon the view of the pandemic as a singular tragic event. Instead, they argue that the pandemic is in fact “a series of crises superimposed with such pressure as to leave one wondering where even to begin” (212). To accentuate “the *multiplicity* of the COVID-19 pandemic” and challenge the impulse to see it as “a public health crisis primarily,” Erni and Striphas push us to acknowledge the ways in which the pandemic is interconnected with myriad differing forms of structural violence that come out in the climate catastrophes, white supremacy, or attacks at the democratic processes by authoritarian regimes across the globe. Erni and Striphas expressly “reject the idea that these events were merely the backdrop against which COVID unfolded” (212). Drawing on the notion of Covid-19, “the multiplier,” I close this book with a discussion of how the pandemic draws out features of rehabilitative citizenship and how its political and affective structures underwrote and determined the outcomes of the Covid-19 crisis in the Czech Republic.

The Covid-19 pandemic, as “the first crisis of truly global nature,” Czech philosopher Pavel Barša notes, finally crashed the optimistic beliefs attached to globalism (Barša and Kabrhelová, n.p.). Instead, it highlighted what Judith Butler terms “global vulnerability” (n.p.). This coda focuses on the ways in which Covid-19 multiplied meanings of (post)socialism and of East/West in the Czech Republic. I do, however, want to ground this discussion in a brief

reflection of how these meanings were intensified on the global scale. “East” and “West” remain flexible, always shifting and relational signifiers; however, the violence of a differential calculus of vulnerability to the virus (SARS-COV-2) attests to how their binary relation and the structural inequalities underwriting the notion of Eastern Europe have been reinforced during the pandemic and mapped onto a differential calculus of the value of human lives—and highlight the importance of thinking postsocialism together with crip analyses and vice versa.

As I have argued in chapter 2, labor is one of the fields where the East/West distinction continues to be reinforced. The capacity or structurally dictated need to become a flexible and mobile laborer comes forth repeatedly as the primary locus of ethnicization and racialization in Europe, but also as the prime embodiment of biosocial vulnerability. This became painfully apparent under the pandemic—not novel but accentuated and multiplied. For instance, the asparagus season in Germany in 2020 coincided with the first lockdowns. As the majority of Germany was directed to shelter in place, the overfilled charter flights from Romania “imported” workers to harvest the “white gold” (Bushman; Stuckbery; “Thousands”). The dependence of European food production on the cheap, that is, highly undervalued, labor of the East European (and southern) workers was revealed fully during the harvest, as most of Western Europe worried who would gather the fruits and vegetables as the fruit-pickers and harvest workers on which the market relies were held back by pandemic restrictions. The pandemic also revealed this dependence in other fields of reproductive labor—most importantly, care and assistance work. The pandemic intensification of the fortressing of Europe and strict(er) reenactment of national frontiers held hostage both the (migrant) workers and the elderly (and) disabled people who relied on their labor for their health and often life.<sup>2</sup>

The reliance on cheap labor affected not only migrant workers but also workers on the national markets where decisions on preventive measures in factories and other production sites within the national borders were made in relation to presumed dis/advantage in the global economy. Many “Eastern European” lives’ value were calculated via their commodifiability as cheap and flexible labor. Mirroring the ethnicization of work/ers from Eastern Europe on the global scale, the pandemic reconfigurations of labor on the national level, too, had a distinct impact on how disability intersected with race, class, social status, gender, and other structural inequalities.<sup>3</sup> In spring 2021, as the influx of hospitalizations with Covid-19 brought the relatively

robust health-care system carried over from state socialism to a point of near collapse, schools and much of public life were either closed down or moved to the online modus, but the government failed to “lock down” big factories, production sites, or even coal mines.<sup>4</sup> Simultaneously, a member of parliament proposed to extend maximum working hours from the current twelve to sixteen hours per day (Rychlíková, “Pracovat”). It was argued ad nauseam that, even under the pandemic, production could not be stopped so that workers would not lose working morale and, as a consequence, learn to live on the state’s handouts. Keeping workers at work, regardless of the risk of infection and of further possible health effects,<sup>5</sup> with the imaginary danger that they could “burden” the social welfare in the future, reflects how work is seen as an antidote to being in debt. In other words, labor capacity defined by the economic inequalities across the postsocialist space functioned as the preexisting condition for Covid-19. There is hardly a more pointed example of the differential vulnerability defined by postsocialist structures than the harvest of luxury foods (asparagus) that put in danger thousands of workers.

Paying attention to such persisting inequalities across Europe that translate into differential regimes of im/mobility, policies of worker protection, and opportunities to shelter in “homes” puts under pressure the pandemic representations of many of Eastern Europe’s countries. The encounter with the new viral agency revealed how persistent the affective, ideological, and economic East/West differentials and histories of “socialism” are, as it construed the East European region as a space of ambivalent exceptionality. For instance, in the early months of the pandemic, puzzled international commentators inquired about the reason for the exceptional achievement of the postsocialist countries in containing the viral spread and often attributed the success of epidemiological measures to the ingrained obedience of the populace to the state and learned docility. A few scholars offered interpretations that were not based in secondhand knowledge of socialism. The anthropologist Susanna Trnka pointed to the legacies of collective and solidaristic health care cultivated under state socialism, which might have played a role in the first collective response to the health crisis in the Czech Republic (“First”). As the pandemic went on, the postsocialist countries turned into an example of bad management of the viral infection and public health. The criticism might have been deserved, but its phrasing in many cases drew on orientlizing figures. Suffice it to note that the Czech Republic was identified as the region where new virus mutations were born (*Mutationsgebiet* in German). Moreover, this exceptional failure of the “East” was not received with the

same puzzlement as the prior success but served to reinforce the “repressive infantilization” discussed earlier in the book and the position of the “West” as “Europe proper.”

Then, on February 24, 2022, Russia attacked Ukraine. And “postsocialism,” “Eastern Europe,” the “Cold War,” Soviet/Russian imperialism, and other markers of (political) history were dramatically resignified to punctuate political conflicts of the moment and underscore the global impact of “postsocialism.”<sup>6</sup> During the pandemic and in the ensuing crises, various meanings of “socialism” (and to a lesser degree “postsocialism”) have been called up as affectively charged “switch points” that have been used to set political horizons. The Russian imperialist aggression against Ukraine also spells out how important it is to put an analytical framework of postsocialism into communication with other frameworks critical of imperial and colonial legacies: one without the others does not suffice to capture the global disruptions caused by postsocialist “transformations.”

#### (Post)pandemic Articulations of Crip Horizons

The pandemic has punctuated many of the processes and conflicts discussed in *Postsocialist Rehabilitations*. The book charts out how a reliance upon ideologies of cure, and the depoliticized, naturalized references to health and healing—individual, collective, national—contrarily coproduce susceptibility to disability, ill-being, ill-health, and (structural) disadvantage. Starting to untangle the postsocialist postpandemic complexity, this coda looks at how the pandemic refracted onto the competing meanings of the *social*,<sup>7</sup> as well as how chronic and well-settled inequalities came forth through new articulations of disability. Tracing the ways in which the pandemic experience magnified the politics of *rehabilitative postsocialism*, this coda accentuates how the novel biosocial threat laid bare forms of institutionalized abandonment that are both acute and chronic. It thus highlights not only the failings of the state governance but also and as importantly the affective and ideological underpinnings of “postsocialist transformation” that formed the political horizon and with it the moral economy written into the functioning of the state.

Since the project was interrupted by the pandemic multiplications, it seems only right to test the book’s theses against the viral challenge. I wish to make sense of how the pandemic rearticulated, renegotiated, and reframed *postsocialist rehabilitation* and the specific assemblages of moral imperatives to overcome and pay off debts accrued by life under socialism, and how the “folded” and “knotted” temporality, where the present is shaped by orientation toward the past and by projective future, shaped the pandemic experi-

ence in the Czech Republic. To do so, I first trace how notions of viral threat interacted with articulations and practices of doing community in relation to immunity and vulnerability. Second, I interrogate how articulations of who should be protected and how, as well as shifts in articulations of vulnerability, came to form a pandemic version of the disabling politics of care. Finally, I return to the concept of affectivity of debt to unpack the moral economy of resistance to the preventive measures.

I read the pandemic for ways in which ill/health and dis/ability were invoked to naturalize social inequalities, one of the features of the postsocialist political horizon. Discussing the pandemic's deadly statistics, most researchers and commentators focus on the failure of the state to act effectively and swiftly. Expanding this critique, I propose here to think about how specific imaginations of immunity, vulnerability, and able-bodiedness, as well as false binaries dividing the acute from the chronic, and the individual/private from the collective/social, contributed to the high death toll of the pandemic in the Czech Republic.

The project of *Postsocialist Rehabilitations* started around a decade ago with thinking about the im/possibility of crip horizons against the postsocialist context and against the specific and protracted experience of postsocialist transformation. The Covid-19 pandemic is hardly an event that inspired and upheld utopian imaginations. Yet it seems important to (lip) read the crip signing in the pandemic dynamics and to trace what allows for the affective bonds of interconnected and shared vulnerability to emerge—as much as what impedes them.

If we summarize the pandemic score, the Czech Republic did not fare well. The initial reaction of the government might have been swift and radical—the lockdown and closure of the national borders were declared in March 2020, but by the fall 2022, more than forty-one thousand people had died due to Covid-19, making it the greatest cause of deaths since World War II—linked to a single pathogen.<sup>8</sup> The arrogant suggestion offered by the Czech prime minister in spring 2020 to the United States and other countries to “follow the Czech route” (“Babiš navrhl,” n.p.) and implement the mask mandate, or his prideful boasts of being “the best in [fighting] Covid” (“Babiš navrhl”)<sup>9</sup> soon had to give way to reluctant acknowledgment that the “best” had become the “worst.” The government was not capable of following its own lessons and provide enough personal protective equipment, guarantee timely testing, or provide economic and social programs that would enable (and motivate) people to follow the pandemic protocols. The failure was so blatant that the Czech Republic was at one point named “the pandemic Pariah” (Sirotnikova et al., n.p.) among European countries. Such moralist

statements might reflect the Orientalist imaginations of the East, yet the pandemic death count records beyond doubt the failure of the Czech state to effectively—and equitably—protect its citizens.

Despite the reluctance of political representation to acknowledge the severity of the pandemic, despite the antimask sentiments and resistance in parts of the public to the government's epidemic measures, there has been also a strong sense of the gravity of the pandemic loss and a shared need to commemorate the deaths. When the civic initiative Million Moments for Democracy (*Milión chvilek pro demokracii*)<sup>10</sup> painted more than twenty-five thousand crosses on the pavement at the Old Town Square in Prague in the night of March 24, 2021, to mark the loss of lives in the first pandemic year, nearly immediately these crosses were appropriated by grieving people who brought flowers, lit candles, and added names and dates of deaths of their beloved. Turning private mourning into a collective political act (Butler), the public called out the state's failure. The personalized crosses turned the abstract numbers recited daily in the news as a part of the pandemic accounting into commemoration of concrete lives and deaths. The crosses temporarily inserted into the central place of national history were a transient record marking both loss and the collective solidarity and shared nature of that loss.

Covid-19, "the multiplier," thus also intensified a sense of collectivity, community, and perhaps even yearning for collectively negotiated vulnerability. Elusive and short-lived as the affects of relatedness were, they did articulate an "imagined immunity" (Wald), that is, a powerful notion of a community enacted through acknowledgment of shared, communal, and interdependent immunity that (at least for the brief time being) framed acts of solidarized collectivity. Gradually, as competing understandings of immunity, dis/ability, and vulnerability took hold— notions of shared nature of vulnerability lost recognition and their affective power. In other words, the pandemic experience offers an insight into how the temporal destabilization of immunity, health, and communicability of the health threat allowed for gesturing toward a horizon that accentuated the interconnectedness of bodies and their larger-than-human environments. It also, however, illustrates what moral economies, affective attachments, and policies make such gesturing fragile.

#### "I Protect You, You Protect Me": Pandemic Ethics of (Shared) Risk

On March 19, 2020, the Czech Republic declared a state of emergency. The subsequent lockdowns and other preventive measures redrafted radically not

only the relationship between the state and “its” citizens, the public, and the private but also the definitions of a “safe” collectivity, social interactions, and the understanding of what risks and gains relationships with, closeness to, and vulnerability vis-à-vis others pose. Resignifications of these concepts are mirrored in the shifting understandings of one’s vulnerability and in understanding how one’s vulnerability relates to collective immunity, health, and abledness. And while the hashtag #togetherwewillmakeit (#společnězvládneme) became the poster slogan of the first pandemic year, conflicts focused around these concepts slowly unfolded.

Indeed, the harsh cognizance of the immediate viral threat seemed first to echo the crip “ethics of touch” as formulated by Janet Price and Margrit Shildrick—and later expanded by Shildrick in the “ethics of risk” (*Embodying*). Both concepts center disability as a condition defining human sociality. Price and Shildrick ground their formulation of crip feminist ethics in acknowledging vulnerability that lies in the porous nature of bodies that cannot be safely separated from one another (nor, as we could develop, from their surroundings and other more-than-human forms of life). Touch, then, is where both the danger and the potential to reimagine irreducible sociality, care, and solidarity lie. Translating this concept into the pandemic context, an essay published in *Boston Review* in June 2020 noted that the politics of masking—perhaps counterintuitively—recognizes the complexity of such touch—“You’re in my lungs, and I’m in yours” (Thompson and O’Connor, n.p.). Despite the later interpretations, masking can be and has been a performative enactment of interconnectedness and intertwining of human bodies rather than their enforced separation.

The Czech pronunciation of this recognition and of the ethics of risky touch was inscribed in the slogan “I protect you, you protect me” that accompanied the first lay campaigns recommending masking.<sup>11</sup> Indeed, practices of solidarity, care for the “other,” and enactments of collective belonging that emerged during the first pandemic months were formulated around protection from the virus and, in particular, around masking. One of the respondents to a questionnaire that a small team I was part of prepared noted, “I believe that [masking] might have some, regardless how small, preventive effect. Because the preventive effect is possible, I do not mind wearing [the mask].”<sup>12</sup>

Sharing the air—and thus also the risk of infection—mobilized powerful acts of solidarity and possibly even a sense of transformative potential that might instigate principles of care not motivated by immediate self-interest or protection of one’s own health. Another respondent to our questions explained: “I don’t think that the mask will protect me. . . . it will protect oth-

ers if I happen to be infected. I also find the symbolic meaning important—by wearing the mask I’m signaling that I care that there is something that we all share. This in itself . . . can move society towards something better.”

Furthermore, the affects of solidarity and interdependence were grounded in unprecedented collective activity and material production of care, access, and assistance.<sup>13</sup> People shared what was rare and extremely valuable in the early moments of the pandemic—resources for protection. A Facebook group called *Czechia Sews Face Masks* was set up on March 15, even before the mask-wearing ordinance was issued, and the group “went viral . . . drawing 24,000 members in two days.” By mid-August 2020, the group had more than fifty thousand members (AFP). It gathered and connected people who were sewing masks pro bono primarily for the first responders, health-care providers, and institutions with no protective equipment. “Masktrees” (*Rouškovník*; Fig. 24) grew overnight in public places; bottles of home-prepared disinfectants adorned fences with notes welcoming strangers to take what they need and leave the rest for others. The improvised personal protective equipment became a private gift of love and care, and public gestures of acknowledgment of mutuality and shared vulnerability.

These spontaneous praxes of collective care and ethnics of touch were in some cases even picked up by institutions of local and municipal government. For instance, the small town in southern Bohemia where the pictured masktree appeared in the main square organized a chain of volunteers to aid the elderly and other people with health risks. One Prague district organized an assembly chain to improvise mask production. People gifted and brought textiles to the collecting site, others prepared the cutouts, those who had the equipment and skills sewed the masks, and still others picked them up the ready masks to distribute to the elderly, people living alone, or whoever asked the municipal authority for a mask (personal interviews with volunteers).

Articulations of the radical politics of interdependence and the ways it was enacted offered a glimpse of crip politics. And even if they failed eventually (and perhaps they were always destined to fail), it is vital to archive them. It is important to witness the desire for the crip utopia that gleams through the cracks of the pandemic healthist and sanist prescriptions, as it is to understand what makes them im/possible and in/articulate. The point I argue here is not to posit that any form of collective solidarity forms a crip horizon or to presume that crip horizons build a stable reference point. The crip horizons that were held open by the women living in Odessa’s AIDS house in the early 1990s (horizons to which I alluded in the introduction) differ from crip horizons held open in Odessa now by Ukrainians (with disabilities) under

the Russian full-scale invasion. They too are different from the *crip horizons* enacted by the national collectivity in the face of the viral agent. All these horizons constitute only a hopeful approximation of an unreachable ideal. The importance of the postsocialist pandemic *crip horizon* lies, I believe, in the ways it summed DIY skills and responded to the experience of privatization and neoliberal restructuring of the public and for a moment stepped out of the bounds of the rationality of debt and morality of transformation. Thus, the pandemic *crip horizon* marks something unpredictable, fleeting yet tangible and material, something that highlighted the underlying fissures in the society and perhaps even promised a radical reorientation, and then was pushed out by the dominant notions of what responsibility, health, risk, and civil sociality are or should be.

Furthermore, there is a political force in the *crip horizon*, even if it is utopian. In the aftermath of the pandemic and in the presence of the war, the Czech government that was elected in 2021 (remember—its election was supposed to finally mark the end of postsocialism) pushed through a series of austerity cuts. In this context, the memory of the solidarity and recognition of interconnected vulnerabilities would provide an important narrative and actionable experience. Indeed, *crip interdependence* seemed—at least momentarily—as imaginable and tangible as the spatial and temporal regimes of compulsory abledness, and the established imaginaries of the social and the political were (momentarily) ruptured by the dangerous viral agent. The pandemic disorientation brought out human vulnerability so fittingly illustrated in the image of shared breath and permeable body membranes. Dense relatedness and interdependence were seen as sources of risk but also used as the means of protection against the very same risks.

The reach for a *crip horizon* did not (and perhaps could not) prevail. The bottom-up masking effort was a powerful performative act of (national) belonging. Yet the enactments of the belonging simultaneously revealed the limits in the “imagined immunity” and its collective referent. It also highlighted the difficulties of acknowledging how health and vulnerability are situated in intersectional “complexities” (McCall). Below I thus trace the thinning out of the complexities and the moments that led to erosion of the *crip horizon*.

### The Disabling Paradoxes of Pandemic Governance

Early in the pandemic, the construction of imagined immunity leaned against the understanding of vulnerability (to the novel virus) as shared and

as a universal condition of human embodiment. There are numerous projects that bring to light the rich archive of experience, expertise, and situated knowledge produced by disabled people and crip communities—often lost from view of the abled society—under the pandemic.<sup>14</sup> Many of the recommended and/or required practices of prevention resonated ambivalently with disabled people and crips. Suddenly, the carefulness, the labor, and the expertise developed for and through navigating the barriers and aggression of dis/ableism, and the strategies of surviving in toxic, contaminated, or otherwise dangerous environments, were called up as an expert knowledge useful to all. As one of my friends noted (personal communication), his former OCD habits of cautious and ritualized handwashing and cleanliness, which he had to unlearn to present as “sane,” were prescribed not only as health-sustaining but as morally binding under the pandemic regime. As he noted, the same practices posited a difficult terrain that could have led back to his neuro-atypicality and eccentricity, which could not be—outside of the acute viral crisis—embraced by the sanist collectivities.

As my colleagues and I argue elsewhere (Stöckelová, Kolářová, and Senft), the collective masking efforts temporarily strengthened and upheld the sense of a nation but simultaneously stretched it toward inclusivity. The media highlighted that ethnic minorities participated in the protection of “the nation,” underlining the affective urgency of all-encompassing “national” belonging. Roma families (even Roma men) and communities were portrayed as sewing masks for hospitals and first-line workers, for seniors and people living in institutions (e.g., Houdek). Czech East Asian communities were represented as organizing deliveries of masks and protective gear through their business channels, and the media also took notice that the Vietnamese shops offered free drinks and snacks to essential workers. Thus, the attempts to create collective immunity simultaneously became a platform for reconstructing national belonging that stretched beyond and across the usual narrow boundaries of whiteness.

However, these performatives of national “togetherness” contrast starkly with the concrete epidemiological measures and their effect/ivenss. Thinking about the paradoxical disabling effects of the pandemic governance, I draw out several dynamics that contributed to the sad statistics. First, I turn to the temporal politics underwriting the pandemic’s accentuating the acute and the urgent. Focusing on some instances that illustrate how the acute needs of the pandemic effectively multiplied the already existing and often “naturalized” forms of neglect, I argue that the Covid-19 measures translated *the acute* into *the chronic* of the preexisting—ableist and racialized—neglect,<sup>15</sup> map-

ping them onto the transgressive ethics of risk attached to collective solidarized embodiment in solitarized risky bodies and bodies at risk.

### The Acute and the Chronic

The collective bonds of an ethics of risk seem to break radically when encountering disabled and racialized bodies. As an echo of the cruel promises of the early 1990s, the acknowledgment of human vulnerability to the viral agents that interrupted fantasies of able-bodiedness revived for disabled people the promise of inclusion in the national body. As lockdowns shrank one's perimeter to the span of one's shelter (provided one had a shelter) and many were forced into new familiarity with the inaccessibility of state and public services, some disabled people expressed hope that this experience would translate into an empathetic knowledge about barriers that they live with daily and that the pandemic experience would be transformed into a solidaristic push for social change (personal communications).<sup>16</sup> This did not happen. And as is clear from the current attempts of the disabled activists with the support of disability NGOs to campaign for an increase in state benefits to cover personal assistance in the extent that would allow disabled people to lead independent lives,<sup>17</sup> contrary to these optimistic expectations, the postpandemic economic crisis is more likely to rigidify the austerity logic that turns to private and familial "solutions" of structural and institutionalized barriers.

Disability, race, class, and poverty have proven to represent structural preexisting conditioning influencing if not outright determining one's susceptibility to the infection and one's chances of recovering. The following short examples should suffice to illustrate how the constructions of shared immunity reinforced—albeit not by intentionally exclusionary designs—the dynamic of chronic abandonment.<sup>18</sup> Sadly, complementing the arguments of chapters 3 and 4, the elderly (and) disabled people in institutionalized care, and Roma people living in the "projects," fell out of the frame of the collective body in need of protecting. Pointedly, the epidemiological oversight did not touch rental housing schemes in the "projects." Even under the pandemic, the providers of housing were made responsible to provide adequate shelter. Thus, the public health measures and recommendations on how to ward off the virus and protect oneself and others (social distancing, handwashing, sheltering at home, etc.) did not make much sense in the "project" housing conditions. Housing in the "socially excluded locations"—often lacking running water and/or regular heating, where many are forced to share one sink, shower, or toilet—cannot be the "home" that shelters. At the same time, "the

projects” were allowed to continue to accumulate capital for their owners, draining the state benefits.

Similarly, the preventive measures articulated for presumably able-bodied, independent, and safely housed individuals could not make sense in the context of (total) institutions. For people living in enforced “social distance” from society, social events, and institutions—for example, people in institutional housing and/or “care,” foreigners and immigrants living in provisional housing, and people incarcerated, to name the most obvious forcibly “distanced” groups—the pandemic measures were hard to distinguish from other gestures of neglect. For many in the Czech Republic, sheltering in a “safe home” remained an inaccessible fantasy.

Analogous to other countries, the institutional housing/care facilities turned into the spaces with highest death rates, evidence of the deadliness of the specific rationality of care that pertains to institutionalized care (see chapter 3). Furthermore, the fact that often (particularly in the first months of the pandemic) good and safe care depended on the personal investment of the carers who decided to quarantine with institutionalized people (e.g., Kinšt) underscores the institutional nature of such chronic abandonment. The clients of residential services “were subject to stricter and longer lockdown measures than the rest of the population” (Synek, Hradcová, and Carboch 563). Furthermore, Michal Synek, Dana Hradcová, and Radek Carboch argue that the regulatory mechanisms that were introduced during the pandemic as a preventive strategy were not new mechanisms but “only an intensification of technologies already in place” (563). Similar multiplication of inaccessibility of assistance and other services affected disabled people living outside of (total) institutions. The social distancing protocol disabled many forms of already precarious informal assistance disabled people otherwise relied on. In short, the undifferentiated and “universalized” approach to health protection and to imagining shared immunity not only worsened barriers, multiplied disability exclusion, and aggravated economic and social effects of disability oppression but also in some cases meant a direct threat to survival of disabled people (including disabled elderly people and disabled people from Roma and other ethnicized groups) as well as to their family members who provided care (Martinek).

A study carried out by the Alliance for Individualized Support (*Aliance pro individualizovanou podporu*) maps the effects of the pandemic and pandemic governance on disabled people and their social circles during the so-called first and second waves of the viral spread (i.e., March to May 2020). It concludes, in alignment with this book’s arguments, that the binary opposi-

tion dividing *acute* from *chronic* health issues is not only misleading but in effect endangers lives. In their closing recommendations the authors argue:

It is necessary to immediately review the procedures to protect health and lives in institutions of health and social care. The obvious and imminent risks (such as Covid-19) cannot be considered the only threats to health and life. [We need to identify] also the risks that might lead to serious health threats, reduce quality of life, or even cause death when undetected. . . . *The new, expanded definition of health and life risks cannot allow a polarized distinction between vital and other needs, as it transpires that [other needs] might be as vital and failure to fulfill them as dangerous for the health and life of the client* [as the failure to ascertain their vital needs]. (AIP, n.p.; emphasis added)<sup>19</sup>

### From Shared Vulnerability to “the Vulnerable”

The binary juxtaposition of two temporal regimes—the acute, which was supposedly articulated to govern the epidemic threat of viral exposure, and the chronic, which both preexisted and outlasted the temporal break of the acute (even if in some cases it was recognized as related to the pandemic, for instance in so-called long Covid)—has been crucial for articulation of another distinction: shared vulnerability of the collective, on the one hand, and the individualized identity of “the vulnerable,” on the other. The emergence of “the vulnerable” as a new category of pandemic accounting and governance thus punctuated the gradual weakening of the sense of shared immunity/vulnerability.

Originally described by international platform of experts, arguably in an appeal for more effective pandemic governance/protection, the concept of specific “vulnerable groups” came to the fore in the autumn of 2020 as the Czech state failed to manage the Covid-19 resurgence. The Czech advocates of releasing strict measures leaned against, for instance, the Great Barrington Declaration (2020), which argued for “targeted” rather than “blanket” procedures that would protect the immunologically fragile yet not curtail the everyday life of those with more robust health and immunity. Explicitly formulated in terms of an individualized and biologized ascription, the concept of “the vulnerable” represents a fraying of “imagined immunity” and collective solidarity in favor of focusing on individual pandemic risks/costs. As Barbara Prainsack notes, if “solidarity is . . . a practice that expresses the willingness to support others with whom we recognize similarity in a relevant respect”

(127, the emergence of “the vulnerable” brought individualized differences to the fore and made them a key figure in the pandemic social imaginary and discussions about effective, socially acceptable, and risk-adequate pandemic governance.

As the state institutions were seen to fail in navigating the pandemic, criticism of the “blanket” nature of the measures grew in intensity, and—more importantly—started to lose social and political intelligibility and legitimacy. Without the articulation of strong and intelligible imaginations of “ethics of risk” that would endorse complex, differential, yet interconnected and not strictly medical/ized notions of vulnerability to the virus and the pandemic’s effects and costs, the preventive measures were seen not only as unnecessarily strict but as inflicting more harm than the virus itself. In desperation over the state’s ineffectiveness and over the fragmentation of the pandemic collectivity, some medical experts called on responsible and solidaristic citizens to impose on themselves a “personal lockdown” (#ZachraňmeČesko). The personal lockdown was meant to counter the arguments in favor of subjecting only “the vulnerable” to what was described ambivalently as “protection” for some and infringement of freedom and normal lives for others.<sup>20</sup>

To underline a point made earlier, the pandemic highlighted and multiplied the ways in which social inequalities produced and intensified by the postsocialist transformation matter in health, dis/ability, and overall well-being. Not only are social inequalities mirrored in chronic health issues that became significant risk factors for Covid infection and impacted individual prognoses, class and forms of labor, ethnicity, and intensity of social exclusion conditioned acute viral risks through people’s ability to perform the recommended preventive measures and protect themselves. One’s susceptibility to the virus was, hence, neither solely medical nor biological. Undoubtedly, it was socially construed and conditioned by postsocialist politics and governance. However, the complexities of individual and collective vulnerabilities have been obscured by the insistent medicalization of health and individualization of immunity. The visions of the collective in #togetherwewillmakeit were marred both by its original universality, which could not make space for individual differences in ability and vulnerability, and by the gradual shift in defining the collective, away from the shared and interconnected to a sum of individualized and separated immunities.

This dynamic is apparent from the changes in how governmental communication addressed collective and individual responsibility during the first pandemic year. The original motto, “I protect you, you protect me” (*Já chráním tebe, ty chráníš mě*), was reworded as “I protect myself, I protect you” (*Chráním*

*sebe, chráním tebe*).<sup>21</sup> Subtle, yet a crucial shift to a different modality of collectivity. The strong tie between immunity and responsibility is not questioned, but the “care for you” becomes more like “not burdening you,” “not relying on you,” because “I am taking care of myself, and I expect you to do the same.” The emphasis on “protecting myself” primarily signifies not confronting others with one’s vulnerability. Both immunity and responsibility remain a strong collective dimension. However, one’s part in fulfilling this assignment of immunological/biological citizenship changes and shifts its focus from interdependence and connection to others onto one’s responsibility for oneself and one’s dependents. The motto “I protect myself, [therefore] I protect you” is thus an articulation of rehabilitative citizenship as it was unpacked in the postsocialist Czech Republic.

The birth of the category of “the vulnerable” became morally intelligible against this background. While statements such as “You are in my lungs, I am in yours” and “I protect you, you protect me” gesture toward a radical politics of interdependence and to notions of shared vulnerability/immunity, “the vulnerable” is an expression of a distancing mechanism. Instead of acknowledgment of vulnerability as a condition of human sociality, the birth of “the vulnerable” reifies vulnerability as a particular (and not particularly valued) identity. The category of the vulnerable desocializes the pandemic’s risks and costs. Instead of understanding vulnerability as socially situated condition, “the vulnerable” becomes a remedicalized, stable determinant of infection risk that can be projected from the physical characteristics of the individual. In short, as I illuminate in the following section, “the vulnerable” reaffirms the violence of the lesser value attributed to certain human lives in the ableist regime.

### Immunological Triangulations and Pandemic Accounting

I now come to think through how the figure of “the vulnerable” enabled articulations of a new concept of pandemic ethic founded in and legitimized through the logic of un/just redistribution of viral risks and pandemic costs. Below, I unpack how the figure of “the vulnerable” enacts not only gestures of affective distancing but also a specific form of pandemic accounting against the postsocialist moral landscape; a further sense in which Covid-19 and the ways it was made sense of, enacted, and governed becomes a multiplier of the ideological underpinnings of “postsocialist rehabilitation.” Specifically, I trace how the eventual failure in the collective imaginations of shared vulnerability/immunity draws out the persistence of ideological structures of reha-

bilitative citizenship. It is instructive to trace how the competing concepts of immunity (natural vs. artificially boosted/acquired; “the vulnerable groups” versus “groups resilient to the viral threat”) map onto discussions about social justice, redistribution, and debt. I focus on how the gradual shift in emphases from solidarity and the interconnected nature of collective health to a more individualized, medicalized understanding of health/immunity/resilience links to affectivity of debt and postsocialist shame, and how notions of immunity serve as models for political concepts of citizenship and relationship between the state and its citizens. The critiques of pandemic governance used narratives of post-1989 transformation and the Covid-19 as a marker of the crisis of the historical phase. The pandemic was called “the worst phase of development since 1989” (Zwyrtek Hamplová cit in ), “the [new] onset of totalitarianism” (Zahradníková Majerová), even “the brink of a *fatal* social change” (Zdravé fórum). The traffic in affectively charged terms of moral kitsch such as “freedom” and “totalitarianism” (see chapter 1) once again raised the threat of state overreach. Supposedly, under the pretense of health protection, the pandemic measures allowed the state to usurp civic freedoms while “the communist totalitarianism was simply replaced by the Covid totalitarianism” (cited in “Na Staroměstském náměstí”).<sup>22</sup>

The visuals of the Healthy Forum (Zdravé fórum),<sup>23</sup> one of the vocal platforms that critiqued the state’s efforts to limit the viral spread through masking and inoculation, explicitly evoke the visuals of the Civic Forum (Občanské fórum), a nonpartisan political platform leading the 1989 protests and the post-1989 political negotiations. As I have noted elsewhere, the face mask, once proudly praised and promoted internationally as the manifestation of an enlightened reaction to the pandemic, transformed quickly into a symbol of uncritical submission, obedience, and compliance with the state (Stöckelová, Kolářová, and Senft), an ideological “muzzle,” or even a “declaration of loyalty to the [Communist] Party and [socialist] government” (Pečinka, n.p.). Warnings of the return of socialism functioned in various global locations to underscore the threat of the state and the need to fight for freedom in the face of the pandemic. The metanarrative of socialist totalitarianism helped to reframe the pandemic experience, from an issue of biosocial threat to a political one, and from biosocial vulnerability to political vulnerability.

For instance, a millionaire, mathematician, self-appointed political reformer, liberal, and candidate in the 2023 presidential bid voiced his sharp criticism of epidemic measures by launching a video clip comparing the pandemic society to an Orwellian dystopia smitten by docility, a society “where singing was prohibited” (“Bojovník 21”).<sup>24</sup> In the clip, an authoritative voice-

over emanating from a gigantic screen, commands the assembly of citizens in a clear parodic echo of the state socialist lexicon:

For you own good, . . . we order you in the name of the people's will not to sing, not to play. The children must not laugh. We give you precise orders and demand that you follow them. We punish strictly any transgressions. You need to report anyone who does not follow these rules. It is in the name of the well-being of all of us, for our own good, for safety and your security. (“Bojovník 21”)

The assembly crowd is released from its ideologic stupor and totalitarian governance when a hero clad in the national colors parachutes from a helicopter and destroys the screen that dictated the lives of the people.

There are many things that do not make sense in this allegory—most obviously the crowd of people held in one place as a criticism of measures that dictated social distancing and isolation. Furthermore, the video itself was not a creation *ex nihilo* but a rip-off of the 1984 Apple commercial for the Macintosh personal computer, adding another level of paradox: an ad for an individualized product of technology is turned into an allegory for a collectivized society controlled by the state.

Interestingly, embodying the collapse of democracy due to the Covid-19 pandemic as a failure in the process of postsocialist development, the respiratory coronavirus morphed into a different kind of pathogen. This translation in the pathology and immunity metaphors involved a shift in the type of a threat, requiring different approach. The viral agent transmittable through human contact, sociality, and connections is replaced by metaphors of malignancy, a threat that comes from within and that is buried inside the collective body. The words of Petr Pithart, cited in this book's introduction, come to mind again. In March 1990, Pithart compared state socialism to a health risk that is not visible but is “a ticking bomb” that can reawaken any time. Responses to Covid-19 that narrated the pandemic as the reawakening of totalitarian tendencies and, even more important, people's readiness to docilely obey the state's dictate, express the same imaginary of a “bomb ticking” inside the collective bodymind. Making sense of the contact-borne virus through imaginations of a malignancy, burrowed in the postsocialist society, that needs to be kept in check by a healthy and balanced social metabolism carries over into shifts in other discursive frames used in the pandemic. Importantly, this shift is mirrored in the notions of individual and collective immunity and vulnerability.

This coda traces how the pandemic translates *the political* into *the biological*—or how political conflicts map onto conflicts over biologies—and then the biological back into the political. It follows how the concept of “the vulnerable” is handcuffed to its conceptual twin—“natural immunity”—mostly associated with the supposedly untainted biology of children. Such a juxtaposition is crucial for the accounting of viral risks and pandemic costs associated with “the vulnerable.” However, this binary duo is, as I argue here, complicated by other elements that make the dynamic of the pandemic moral more flexible and ideologically useful. I propose the choreography of an immunological triangulation, borrowing here from Claire Jean Kim and specifically from Anca Parvulescu, who set Kim’s concept of racial triangulation in the European postsocialist and postcolonial contexts, to complicate the simple immunological binary and show how it is dependent upon its “thirds.” Undoubtedly, there are multiple “third” elements that keep the binary politically flexible and ideologically useful. In the Czech context, and for my discussion of pandemic costs and rehabilitative ideology, the concept of “Covid children,” that is, children whose immunity was compromised either through unnecessary immunization—an unnatural, “engineered” version of immunity—or other preventive but in fact hurtful measures, functions as the powerful “third” in the triad. The triangulation consisting of “the vulnerable,” “children with naturally robust immunity,” and—the third element—“Covid children” fostered not only the ableist regimes of limited state protection against the virus but also larger claims about social in/equity and in/justice.

First, then, the binary of “natural immunity” and “the vulnerable” played a crucial role not only in the debate over pandemic measures (and thus expressed the pandemic version of structural ableism) but also in the larger political arguments about social equity and justice. The notion of natural immunity is based in the belief that one is (or should be) endowed with an inherent capacity to withstand contact with the virus unless one’s health has been already compromised, in which case one belongs in the minority group of the vulnerable. Furthermore, the viral exchange supposedly trains and boosts one’s defenses and accumulates immunity capital. Hence, the notion of a natural(ized) immunity was used in the critiques of pandemic measures as overblown and an expression of the state’s totalitarian tendencies. As absurd as they were, the images of electronic chips and other technologies lodged inside people’s brains under the pretext of virus tracing or immunization reflected the ideological construction of the binary of the “natural” and its opposite, “unnatural/engineered” immunity. The former is seen as organic, the

latter technologically manipulated and thus both ideologically and biologically compromised and unreliable. As I argue below, the distinction between “the organic” and “the engineered immunity/biology/society” created links between the pandemic and past socialist “regimes,” on the one hand, and between natural immunity and a free society, on the other.

For instance, the Healthy Forum invokes the discourse of natural immunity and argues on its website that “we are all responsible solely for ourselves, for our own and our children’s health. Whoever wants to protect oneself from whatever, should be able to, but should not force others to do so too.” Consequently, shifting responsabilization away from the collective toward the individualized and privatized family unit, the Forum serves as an example of the voices that insisted the state guarantee the protection of those—and only those—who were “immunologically fragile.” Framing its concerns through the idea of parental responsibilities, the Forum posits itself as the warden of the future generations and thus highlights the temporal politics carried by the notion of natural immunity. This is based in the contrast between *the future*, represented by naturally healthy and Covid-immune children, and *the past* and *stunted development*, represented by the vulnerable, that is, the old, disabled, and crip. In a twist on “infantile citizenship,” where, as Berlant argued famously, the public sphere needs to be surveilled for potential dangers to children and even fetuses (Berlant, *The Queen*), here the protection of the child amounts to letting them be exposed to “natural” dangers (the virus) to boost their natural immunological response and immunological future (cf. also “Otevřený dopis”). By contrast, (state-imposed) overprotection can pervert the future. And this is where the figure of the “third” and immunological triangulation come into play, through “Covid children” who embody the perverted, stunted future of generations who “will be obese, sick, will not internalize good life habits and can drastically burden the Czech health-care system” (Alföldi n.p.).

The Healthy Forum exemplifies this version of parental activism (Hasmanová Marhánková) and its reliance on the figure of “Covid children” to articulate the danger of the overreaching state. Covid children—as a specific articulation of disability—were pictured as the casualty of the protective measures. This pandemic immunological triangulation allowed for a competing moral economy of immunity that stood in contrast to versions of imagined immunity that focused on the shared aspect of immunity.

It is the imagined transformation of immunologically robust children who are turned into Covid children by the state that communicates the strong moral message. Covid children are predicted to be stunted in their overall

development, with compromised health and capabilities; they are destined to obesity, depression, and susceptibility to diseases and disabilities. Likewise, they will become socially inept and inadaptably, and—thanks to their learned dependency—turn into subjects dependent on the state’s welfare.

In a nutshell, protection of “the vulnerable” was arguably applied to the society as a whole in a misguided and fearful attempt at overprotection and thus caused harm and (future) disablement. “The vulnerable,” as the third vertex of the triangle, is the switch point between “the naturally immune and future-enabling child” and “the Covid children” and a disabled future. The Healthy Forum effort “to fight for the healthy future for our children” means letting children encounter the virus and exemplifies how themes that framed the moral narratives of postsocialist rehabilitation were replicated in the pandemic. In contrast to the earlier articulations that positioned vulnerability/immunity as both biological and social, here in the figure of “the naturally immune child” they become rebiologized and depoliticized. Furthermore, “the naturally immune child” is posited as the embodiment of the organic state of society. Protecting the child from state-imposed overprotection translates into the ways in which the natural state of the society needs to be guarded against “irrational” human design. It is helpful to remember Weiner’s overview of the binary logic contrasting state socialism with capitalist democracy discussed in the book’s introduction: the rejection of human design as morally flawed and as a signifier of state socialism mirrors the belief that the “natural state” attributed to capitalism is morally preferable. Similarly, emphasis on individualized responsibility and on rejection of the state’s epidemiological protection of all is an extrapolation from the immoralities of the past regime. A belief in the value of an unmediated and free negotiation with the virus by those who are fit enough maps onto belief in the moral superiority of the free market. The state’s overprotection introduces destructive effects, as did a planned economy. As the Healthy Forum puts it, the preventive measures “led in the long term to blanket devastation of the economic, cultural, educational, social and paradoxically even health values.” (Zdravé fórum n.p.) In other words, the notion of natural immunity echoes the organizing logic of the ideology of the free market and belief in its natural and society-building function.

There is another reason why the parallel between thinking the pandemic and thinking the society is illuminating, especially in the context of the postsocialist Czech Republic. The notion of natural immunity that supported the argument for “targeted” rather than “blanket” protection is linked to

a particular version of moral economy. In their defense of the freedom to be exposed to the virus, the critics of the epidemiological measures argued that the blanket preventive measures enacted harm—economic, social, and health-related harm. Importantly, these forms of harm befell those who would have not been threatened by the virus itself. The blanket measures, it was argued, protected some (“the vulnerable”) at the expense of others (“the naturally immune”). In this way the epidemiological restrictions redistributed the health, economic, and other costs of the pandemic. It follows that the epidemiological protection enacted an unfair redistribution of biosocial vulnerability. Vulnerability to the virus was supposedly favored over others’ viral resilience, and their vulnerability to the externalities of the pandemic protections was disregarded. An address to the parliament in November 2020 criticized plans to make Covid-19 vaccination mandatory. It opined that “vaccination . . . redistribute[s] the suffering of those who would fall ill if they were not vaccinated onto those who [will] suffer vaccination’s side effects” (Cihlářová, n.p.). The argument about an unjustifiable redistribution of health damage (“Otevřený dopis”) reinforces the notion that susceptibility to infection and the likelihood of more severe effects are caused by a person’s individual organic risks—age, preexisting conditions, “comorbidities”—bad lifestyle choices, and “civilization diseases” such as obesity. The able-bodied and fit, who presumably have taken care of their health and have lived a responsible and healthy life, pay an unfair price for others’ vulnerability. As the Forum pointedly summarized: “It is not possible to protect a small percentage of the population in such a way that destroys the lives of all others.”

### Pandemic Debts and Immunity Credits

The pandemic produced various new forms of “accounting” (Joseph): the endless and day-by-day statistics of how many were infected, how many were hospitalized, how many died, how many were tested, infected, vaccinated. Moreover, forms of credit or debt newly articulated through pandemic accounting reflect the moral economy of postsocialist rehabilitation. For instance, the ratio of the people presumed susceptible to the virus (“the vulnerable”) to the population was considered to be the “bad credit” of collective immunity. Simultaneously, people were encouraged to get an overview of their individual immunity status, measured through accumulated antibodies, that is, active immunological credit. And in the fall of 2022, when the Covid-19 pandemic was combined with flu and other respiratory viruses, medical

authorities talked about “immunity debt” (*imunitní dluh*), that is, the lessened capacity to withstand the usual attack of respiratory viruses due to the lack of natural immunity boosts in past years.

Such modes of accounting for good health credit or conversely for the “burden” on the collective health costs are not entirely new. Rather, they highlight how the specific affective attachment that underscored the post-socialist transformation (earlier I named it “affectivity of debt”) lingers on. As discussed in the book’s introduction, the postrevolution period called on the “nation” and on every citizen to settle the collective’s and one’s own debts for “living above the country’s means” during the previous regime. Similar imperatives echoed throughout the pandemic—in the ways notions of credit and debt framed the accounting for individual and collective immunity vis-à-vis the virus, but also in discussion of the economic and social measures.

Even the moral imperative that shaped the transition and that is pressed into the collective memory of the 1990s—“to tighten one’s belt”—made its comeback. Only this time it came without promises of a better future. Instead the motto came with fears of a “national debt.” The urge to “personal austerity”—echoing the interpellations of “personal lockdowns” during the previous fall—was again paired with cautions against principles of viral/economic/social redistribution. The “viral” pandemic argumentation highlighted how much the principle of redistribution—viral as well as economic—continues to be seen as the Klausian “chimera” (see introduction): socially dangerous, unnatural, and deeply unjust because supposedly creates debts and relations of indebtedness.

Once again, the individual, personal, “voluntary” limitations were posited as a part of a national effort where a structural and systemic approach seems unattainable. The appeals to individual households to save energy in the wake of the Russia’s aggression against Ukraine were perhaps the most ridiculous form of the morality of personal austerity. The appeals were framed by the rhetoric of a heroic nation standing up to Putin. Building on anti-Soviet sentiment and enacting a symbolic payoff for the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia, the Czech nation was now offered an opportunity to fight back. One of the government parties came out with a campaign that turns austerity principles into a national fight: “Put an extra jumper on to fight Putin” (*Svetrem proti Putinovi*).<sup>25</sup>

The ethical reasoning that underwrote contrasting articulations of biosocial vulnerabilities that I traced in the previous section reveals the affective force and moral hold that “debt” has over postsocialist Czech society and over the moral legitimacy of redistributive justice. And the pandemic and

its aftermaths, as I argue, reaffirmed this moral interpellation. The holding power of the “affectivity of debt” was highlighted by recent studies that reveal that as many as 75 percent of people with legitimate claims to welfare support do not act on these claims, avoiding the moral condemnation attached to “dependency” on benefits. The stigma is so powerful that the current conservative government maneuvers between announcing stricter austerity measures, surveilling those who claim social benefits, and calling on citizens not to be ashamed and to ask for help amid the economic, energy, and health crises. Revealing the Janus face of neoliberal ideology, the prime minister (representing the party founded by Klaus) proclaimed in spring 2022:

[To ask for benefits] is not a disgrace, not a failure. We are facing an extreme situation. There is a war across our borders, prices are reaching immense heights, and you are entitled to help from the state. . . . Do not be afraid to ask for welfare benefits. It will help, and it is a right thing to do. (“Nestydte se”)

The government also launched a website to provide an overview of state supports. It repeatedly claims: “*You are not on your own*. In these difficult times, we offer a helping hand. Look up what benefits you are entitled to and apply for them” (emphasis added).<sup>26</sup> To align the rhetoric of the moral acceptability of state support with the rhetoric of merit that supports austerity politics, the minister of social affairs coined new phrases, such as “solidarity of the responsible,” that reflect shifts in the imagination of social bonds. “Solidarity of the responsible” references the opposite of the redistribution principle, by implying that solidarity equals not asking for support and relying on one’s own means; it means not asking for what one can resolve by one’s own responsible decisions and lifestyle.

The notion of “solidarity of the responsible” complements the discourse of state debt and the decision of the state to emphasize austerity rather than redistributive taxation (or any other means to redistribute wealth). The state’s indebtedness is again translated into cuts and heightened consumer taxation rather than taxes on corporations, banks, or other entities that profited from the economic, war-related, and energy crises. Thus, while multiple economic studies indicate that the Czech Republic has seen an immense growth of wealth and inequality of income and wealth, the burden of unprecedented inflation, which at one point reached over 15 percent, and increasing poverty is carried by those already in danger of falling into poverty.

Given how tightly the moral economy of postsocialist citizenship links to

the debt-credit logic, the early epidemic solidarity is an important deviation. The early pandemic enactments of community and communal resistance to the virus that practiced a politics of shared vulnerability and acts of mutuality—in both their fragility and radical possibility—stand against competing discourses of a community drawing its force from political kitsch, a romanticization of community in the postsocialist context structurally linked to affectivity of debt.

The cuts to welfare following the global economic crises in the first decades of the twenty-first century were accompanied by the affectivity of debt and by the romanticizing narratives of community bonds. The austerity arguments were backed by the kitschy antipolitics expressed in the simple morality dictating that debts be repaid, in kind, if necessary. This transformed a structural political debate into a debate over community bonds and the exchange of capacities. Thus, the minister of labor and social affairs noted, “I take it as absolutely normal that [the recipient of benefits] will at least partially repay their fellow citizens’ solidarity by some meaningful labor” (cited in Kolářová, “(Ne)přizpůsobení” 50). “Community service,” forms of labor such as sweeping the streets, was introduced as a form of paying one’s debt. A prominent politician defended community service as a morally wholesome way to pay off the symbolic debt of social benefits. He argued, “This is not the first time that in connection to community service people have acted as if sweeping the streets was shameful work, as if there are better and worse types of labor. . . . Neither when young nor when old would I be ashamed to sweep the pavement on behalf of my neighbors, who work to support my social benefits” (cited in Kolářová, “(Ne)přizpůsobení” 53).

These examples show how the understanding of social welfare as a solidaristic system of redistribution that is supposed to alleviate structural inequalities wanes to make space for competing notions of what constitutes the moral basis of the state/collective support to those in need. As illustrated above, the crisis introduced a vision of a system of neighborly exchange of favors and gifts—or credits and debts: “You pay my benefits, and I repay you by my labor.” In other words, the welfare system whose moral legitimacy was linked to redistribution and acknowledgment of structural conflicts and inequalities becomes reframed as a system whose moral legitimacy is drawn from anachronistic images of a community tightly knit through a gift/debt economy. Hence benefits cannot be accepted without a repayment that equals the negative credit on the balance sheet. Not only does the affectivity of debt expressed here reframe solidaristic social benefits as individual bonds, it also reframes the “debts of society to those who are disadvantaged”

as the disadvantaged individuals' "debt to society" for the exceptional support they have received in hard times. Simultaneously, the revision of moral economy is underscored by the binary logic of social engineering versus. organic developments—logic similar to that we have observed guide the rationalizing of collective immunity/vulnerability.

As the political horizon of the pandemic got stuck on the threat of past (state) socialism, the possibility of (re)thinking and articulating a nuanced relationship between social justice, health, vulnerability, immunity, and crip-ness was closed off. With the political horizon overdetermined by the never-ending challenge of overcoming the socialist past and forever transitioning into democracy, freedom, and a law-abiding society, the vision of the social is compressed into the individual body and its natural capacity to fight the virus. It is as if experience with the pandemic offered a more defined picture of how rehabilitative citizenship disables/precludes recognition of crip solidarity and differential vulnerability to structural as well as biosocial changes of the worlds that we inhabit and that shift under our beds, feet, sticks, walkers, and wheels.



# Notes

## Introduction

1. Cited in Remešová. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are by the author.

2. Victoria Ann Lewis summarizes in *Keywords for Disability Studies* that the appellation “crip” started to circulate as “an informal, affectionately ironic, and provocative identification” and an alternative to terms old-fashioned and newer (e.g., “handicapable” or “physically challenged”) that were rejected by many disabled people as condescending, patronizing, and “politically misleading” (Lewis 141). In this sense, “crip” designates “in-group status,” or in words of one of the foundational voices of disability history, Paul Longmore, “disability cool” (cited in Lewis 141). Similarly, the German disability movement worked the term *Krüppel* and utilized its connections to eugenic policies and the T4-program to politicize disability stigma and abjection and to push for disability rights. The term *Krüppel* entered the Czech vernacular as *kripl*. Despite being used individually in ironic gestures of self-affirmation, it has not been reclaimed by the larger collectives of Czech disability activism (multiple personal communications).

3. <http://www.madprideprague.cz>; last visited September 12, 2024.

4. The Velvet Revolution was the nickname given to the political turn that ended the regime of state socialism in Czechoslovakia. The name celebrates the peaceful nature of the regime change and handover of power.

5. The chant was part of a video produced by a civic initiative calling itself “Decommunization.” There is an online shop with paraphernalia to accompany the campaign.

6. This note cannot do justice to the rich and broad canon of feminist writing on state socialism and postsocialism. Next to works that I discuss and reference throughout the book, I would like to point out further works that have been influential in shaping this book’s understanding of feminist tradition and canon: Antić; Cavanagh; Cerwonka; Graff; Hašková, Křížková and Linková; Heitlinger; Kiczková; Marling and Koobak; Oates-Indruchová; Forrester, Zaborowska, and Gapova; Suchland; Smausová; and many others.

7. Eyal's analysis provides an implicit reference to disability discourses as he points out that the collective ritual sacrifices also included purges in the labor force as "about 10 percent of the labor force took early retirement, usually in the form of 'disability' pension" (55). Such cleansing also had a "symbolic 'disabling' message: 'these people, who spent most of their working lives under communism, are no longer fit to work, they cannot be trusted to work, hence to participate in society'" (56). Eyal's reading of the economic policies, reforms, and the accompanying rhetoric as "ascetic techniques" addressed to "the task of purification" (55) from the taint of the previous morally corrupting regime is valuable as it reveals a key moment of formation of the disability- and race-specific discourses of work, human worth, and dignity that imprint the discourse of "maladjustment" or "inadaptability" (*nepřizpůsobivost*) of the Roma communities. I discuss these issues in more details in chapters 2, 4, and 5.

8. The commentary of the artist, <http://www.danielabarackova.cz/cz/projekty/to-poznas-az-budes-starsi/>, last visited September 15, 2024.

9. For history of the Union, see Šinkovec.

10. However, this "assumed prior, assumed normal" is embedded in paradox and ambivalence. Gesturing toward the future, the proclamations invoke the past through language and its legacy of socialist rhetoric. References to humanism (and specifically "socialist humanism") were a key element of socialist discourse and a key term used in defining the supposedly more morally evolved approach of the socialist states to people with disabilities (Kolářová and Winkler).

11. <https://dikyzemuzem.cz/>; last visited September 15, 2023.

12. Similar sentiments of obligation and debt marked early feminist positions. For instance, Jiřina Vrábková in the above-mentioned *Ana's Land* emphasizes in her take on "women's priorities and visions" that "we [Eastern European women] must *first* learn democracy and *thereafter* try to do *something for women*" (75; emphasis added).

13. For a more detailed discussion of the political uses of debt as a moral imperative see, e.g., Pedersen; Stenning et al.; Slačálek, "Léčba."

14. Beyond that, references to Chile and its history had paradoxical resonances for postsocialist politics in the Czech Republic. Some of the former dissidents and prime figures on the post-1989 political landscape expressed admiration for Pinochet's fight against communism. Václav Benda is recorded as saying that Pinochet had, "perhaps, his cruel traits . . . nevertheless they were answers to the extremely undemocratic and extremely cruel advance at the root of international communism" ("Human Rights," n.p.). His son, presently an influential politician, has said that Pinochet was "undoubtedly a courageous man who in the conditions of South America stood up to communism" ("Human Rights," n.p.). Pinochet visited the Czech Republic in 1994, negotiating with firms selling arms (Rupprecht).

15. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines "chimera" as "(2) a fire-breathing female monster with a lion's head, a goat's body, and a serpent's tail . . . ; (3) an organism containing a mixture of genetically different tissues, formed by processes

such as fusion of early embryos, grafting, or mutation . . . ; (4) a DNA molecule with sequences derived from two or more different organisms, formed by laboratory manipulation; (5) (chimaera) a cartilaginous marine fish with a long tail, an erect spine before the first dorsal fin, and typically a forward projection from the snout.”

16. As far-fetched and impossible as this comparison seems, it is still persistent and explains the strong anticommunist morality that continues to hold affective power over parts of Czech society and strongly influences the formation of the political horizon.

17. See *Poverty Watch Report* for the Czech Republic, 2021: <https://www.charita.cz/res/archive/027/003452.pdf?seek=1634287641>. For a discussion of how poverty intensified following the pandemic, see a study carried out by a team of the Sociological Institute of the Academy of Sciences: <https://www.soc.cas.cz/aktualita/jak-muze-pandemie-koronaviru-ovlivnit-chudobu-v-cesku-simulace-dopadu-na-miru-prijmove>

18. The debt-to-income ratio is not recorded in the European statistics. The Czech Republic is thus regularly listed among the European countries with the lowest percentage of people living in (or in danger of) poverty.

19. See *Chudé Česko*, <https://zpravy.aktualne.cz/ekonomika/chude-cesko-21/r~91669aec713111eb9cafac1f6b220ee8/> (last accessed September 17, 2024). The statistical office of the European Union, Eurostat, records social exclusion and material deprivation. According to Eurostat, about 13 percent of the Czech population in 2017 and 2016 was living below the poverty line. Eurostat, however, does not consider foreclosures and debt collections. This skews the records of the Czech Republic.

20. Press release, Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, December 13, 2010. <https://www.mpsv.cz/documents/20142/809894/13122010.pdf/631f6404-e438-e417-7be5-9af30d461e6e>

21. The cuts in welfare led to the largest protests of people with disabilities during the spring of 2011. For footage of the biggest assembly, on March 22, see YouTube archive: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=28VMP3hD26w>; <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eoKMYdOvPak&feature=relmfu>; <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ze-Ebqlmnuw&feature=relmfu>; <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zOOn4eIZ9nA&feature=relmfu> (last accessed July 29, 2023).

22. Many feminist queer crip theorists point out that queer theory often metaphorizes failure (as well as disability) without acknowledging its embodied and enminded realities. See Samuels, “Crippling Anti-futurity”; Johnson, “Bad Romance”; Kafer; Schalk; and many others.

23. As conflicted as it is (and in particular in relation to disabled people, racialized communities, and queer people), the history of socialist Czechoslovakia offers reasons for crip memory to loop back. Elsewhere, Martina Winkler and I have argued that we need a “corrective to the widely held beliefs that disabled people were simply (made) invisible [by the socialist states] and that the state merely tried

to get rid of them” (8). On the contrary, we proposed that in Eastern European socialist states, “dis/ability . . . co-articulated visions of socialism as well as its frustrations” (8). Understood as flexible and socially adaptable, disability was wrapped in the socialist version of compulsory optimism that believed that human beings are produced by their environment and can therefore develop with it. Hence disabled people were often used as poster subjects to showcase the opportunities socialist societies offered. Simultaneously, the existence of disabled people themselves frustrated the same belief in human adaptability and improvability and “stood as a challenge to visions of progress and socialist utopia” (10). Looping between postsocialism and state socialism could therefore challenge the structural ableism (intersecting with structural racism) integral to both regimes. The vacuous promises of postsocialist optimism would be confronted with legacies of state socialism that allowed disabled and Roma people to articulate their right “to be helped” (Galmarini-Kabala), invoking not only individual rights but also the socialist state’s commitment to social justice and support. Looking backward would, however, lead to hard questions of how to relate to the belief underwriting the socialist utopia that disability, as well as ethnic self-identifications and cultures, will cease to exist when societies finally reach the level of communism. This too, belongs to the complicated legacy of the socialist past, and this part of the legacy oftentimes continues to shape postsocialist rehabilitative and curative rationalities.

## Chapter 1

1. See, e.g., Barša, Hesová, and Slačálek; Krastev and Holmes.
2. “Open society” and “civil society” represent two distinct normative visions of participatory liberal democracy; they differ in theoretical articulations, as well as in political lineages. However, for the purposes of this chapter, I follow the ways in which both concepts were collapsed into each other in both lay and political imaginations of the participatory democracy in postsocialism. For further discussion in the context of Czech sociology, see, for instance, Marada, “Civil Society” and “Občanská”; Šrubař “Neo-liberalism”; Rakušanová; Mansfeldová a Rakušanová-Guasti; Suda and Musil.
3. This founding myth of postsocialism lives on and serves the current cultural wars. “Havlites” (along with such terms as “Prague café society”) has become an equivalent to the notion of “snowflakes” as used in the United States and elsewhere in the West. Václav Klaus has joined (or more precisely is one of the spokespersons for) those who position themselves as the defenders of the “true freedom” against what they perceive as slow yet persistently destructive force of “false” liberalism.
4. It is a paradox that the concepts of civil society and deliberations of how to build such a society that have been developed in the second half of the 20th century in Eastern Europe and that have become influential globally have been largely put aside after the 1989. For discussion of the notions of civil society developed in Eastern Europe see David Ost.

5. The keyword *open society* was published separately and two years ahead of the whole dictionary (“společnost”). This illustrates the topicality of the debates and the ideological and affective force of the concept over collective imaginations of the postsocialist society.

6. <https://magnesia-litera.cz/kniha/opustena-spolecnost/>

7. <https://magnesia-litera.cz/kniha/opustena-spolecnost/>

8. Since 1989, Roma activists have been at the forefront of a campaign to close the farm and create a respectable memorial. Only in 2017 did the government decide to finance this move. In 2022, the pig farm was finally demolished. The public debates and the fact that it took nearly thirty years to remove the farm from the place where hundreds of Roma and Sinti citizens died is indicative of the restricted respect, value, and recognition granted to Roma citizens; it is also indicative of the limits of collective belonging and the whiteness of the imagined “national body” in the post-1989 Czech/oslovakia. For more information on the Roma and Sinti holocaust, see Nečas, *Andr’oda*, and *The Holocaust*; and the collection of memories and oral histories of the surviving Roma (Hübschmannová). For more information on Lety, and the other Roma concentration camp at Hodonín u Kunštátu, visit <https://www.holocaust.cz/en/history/concentration-camps-and-ghettos/the-gypsy-camp-at-lety/>; <https://www.holocaust.cz/en/history/concentration-camps-and-ghettos/the-gypsy-camp-at-hodonin-u-kunstatu/>

9. Ralf Dahrendorf’s discussions and interpretations of Karl Popper’s concept of “open society” (as well as his deep personal engagement with the region) carried a significant influence in post-1989 Poland, Czechoslovakia, and other postsocialist countries. During the workshop “The End of Communism, What Next?” held in 1990, Dahrendorf noted, “Democracy became suddenly a concept of hope, after being in the last decisive ten, fifteen years regarded with doubts and with criticism in the Western world” (32).

10. The HIV and AIDS care has been—differently from most of Europe—organized and concentrated in specialized centers, till recently called AIDS centers. The rationality of such organization is guided by the logic of expert focus and specialized care (as well as by the original intent to quarantine the infectious disease). However, it has been criticized for outing its patients and for relative inaccessibility (the facilities are only in regional centers).

11. Perestroika (Russian: “restructuring”) was a program instituted by the Mikhail Gorbachev in the USSR in the mid-1980. For a more detailed discussion of its significance for state socialism in Eastern Europe see, e.g., Yurchak, *Everything Was Forever*, for the Czechoslovakian variant, see Pullmann’s *Konec Experimentu*.

12. In *the Shadows of AIDS*, it is worth noting, remains a first and the last attempt at a broader understanding of HIV/AIDS within its social context and in relation to global politics, and thus stands out in the Czech/oslovakian context. It stands out even more against the present context and its reattachment to sexual dif-

ference and the notion of a “promiscuous, hard-core” group in the gay community that “will not change its irresponsible behavior” (personal interview with a medical specialist working with HIV-positive patients, August 2017).

13. When I first started to teach classes centered around cultural and biomedical politics of HIV/AIDS in 2005, the statistics on HIV seropositivity (then relatively infrequent in the Czech Republic) were offered to me whenever I was concerned with the lack of investment from the state (and the public). As one of my friends put it, “It is only some one thousand people affected in the whole country, so why should we all be concerned?” (personal communication, 2007). Similarly, my academic friends and colleagues were surprised that I would teach a class based on such a *particular* topic. But as I highlight in several chapters of this book, AIDS and HIV have played a central role in discourses of postsocialism and in negotiating of the postsocialist consensus.

14. *Mladý svět* was originally the state-supported journal for “socialist youth.” Yet it was also one of the few media to cover HIV and AIDS consistently and in a complex way throughout the 1980s. Importantly, it also offered a platform for critical reflection on the stigmatization of and discrimination against people living with HIV in the socialist state. For more, see my study “Homosexuální,” which discusses both the trial with the HIV-positive man and the ways the trial served as a platform for the criticism of the state politics of HIV.

15. Note that even though the man “confesses” to both gay identity and “homosexual orientation,” it is only HIV positivity that gets incorporated into the rehabilitative citizenship. Only his seropositive status is considered, as an aspect of the “identity in crisis,” to have a relation (and relevance) to the collective body of the nation. This also explains why the early emancipatory discourses of the gay community were built around HIV/AIDS and the need to prevent the spread of the virus (cf. Seidl).

16. Elaine Weiner’s analysis of women’s perceptions and experiences of the transition in *Market Dreams* similarly highlights the affective force of the desire to “break with the past” and the notion of individual responsibility for changing one’s behavior to fit the needs of the new times. Wiener juxtaposes the narratives of women managers and women factory workers, noting that the managers identify as “winners” and attribute their successes principally to “knowing how to take advantage of their abilities,” i.e., “adopting a market-mandated set of behaviors—self-reliance, personal responsibility, and independence” (20). The workers, even as they are “acutely aware of their marginalization,” do not express “disenchantment with the free market” (21). Rather, they interpret their unfavorable life situations as resulting from their own “bad behaviors” and from their being “damaged” by life under socialism (21).

17. Eunjung Kim in her *Curative Violence* offers an analysis of this common disability trope, which invests love and heterosexual coupling, specifically, with curative powers.

18. Some of the quotations from the Pragulic website reference an older version of the company website that has been since then updated.

19. The website of the Czech branch of Amnesty International no longer has live links to “Living Library.”

## Chapter 2

1. Eastern Europe remains a location of various forms of tourism linked to sexuality and excess. The countries of Eastern Europe are repeatedly listed as having the highest concentration of porn stars per capita, with the Czech Republic in one of the leading positions. Beyond the explicit search for sex work and monetized sexual exchange, Eastern Europe is a popular destination for the performances of heterosexual excess at “stag” and to a lesser extent “hen” parties.

2. As early as the 1990s, feminist authors pointed out the orientaling perception of Eastern European bodies as sexually (permanently) available, flexible, and always encouraging a sexual interaction. In an essay titled “Women’s Priorities and Visions” in *Ana’s Land*, Jiřina Vrábková calls sex work “forced prostitution.” She links it to tourism, or across-the-border exchange, as one of the key barriers to women’s emancipation in the region. She quotes a foreign customer to underscore her argument: “Czechoslovakian girls are pretty, snugly, educated, cultured, and, at the same time, cheap” (74). Yet, revealing her own orientaling perspective, Vrábková is concerned with the plummeting numbers of sex workers for two main reasons—it supposedly turns Eastern Europe into an “undeveloped” region and heightens threat of AIDS epidemic, again a marker of the “Third World” (74–75).

This chapter is not primarily concerned with sex work per se. For a more detailed discussion of the issue in the context of the Czech Republic, see, e.g., Havelková and Bellak-Hančilová’s collection of essays. There is a large archive of work discussing sex work in the broader context of (postsocialist) Eastern Europe, and its transnational dimension. Parvulescu, *Traffic*; Suchland, *Economies*; Davydova; and Kligman and Limoncelli offer dense and insightful critique.

Images of sexually available women and men from Central and Eastern Europe have overmultiplied in the popular culture. That notions of sexual proclivity of Eastern Europeans are part of preconceptions about cultural difference of Eastern Europe can be documented by queries posted on Quora asking, “Why are Eastern European countries good in sex,” “What is the sex culture of Eastern Europe?” or “Why is Eastern Europe so sexually loose?”

3. For discussion of the racialized nature of the image of *un petit slavs* see, e.g., Melegh. Race, racialization, and racism in relation to Eastern Europe reemerged with new urgency in relation to Russia’s war against Ukraine. See, for instance, Petersen; Tikhomirova; Resnick, Rucker-Chang, and Ohueri; and Christian.

4. “Go West” was originally performed by Village People, though the cover by PSB became emblematic for the fantasies of newly unified world after the “fall” of the socialist states.

5. *To go west* also means to die, and to “be lost or destroyed; to disappear, vanish; to end in failure, come to grief” (*Oxford English Dictionary*). This is, however, not where the queer pun–play ends. The Pet Shop Boys performed this song at the

AIDS Charity event in 1992 (and failed to remember the lyrics): <https://web.archive.org/web/20120827184236/http://www.petshopboys.net/html/interviews/very012.shtml>

6. There are many aspects of the films that are ethically dubious. The films have outed the young men as “prostitutes” and thus violated their consent, given under the condition that the films will only be shown abroad and will not enter the Czech public space. Contrary to this promise, *Body without Soul* has been aired on national television, with consequences for the young men and their loved ones and families. Furthermore, the director’s gaze in many ways duplicates the objectification and fetishization it critiques.

7. I discuss these attacks in more detail in chapter 4.

8. *Not Angels but Angels*. Interestingly, *Body without Soul* follows an identical pattern in its introduction of its protagonists.

9. Marx argues that “production does not simply produce man as a *commodity* . . . ; it produces him in keeping with this role as a *mentally* and physically *dehumanized* being—immorality, deformity, and dulling of the workers and the capitalists—Its product is the *self-conscious* and *self-acting* commodity . . . the human commodity” (cited in Ferguson, *Aberrations* 7; emphasis added by Ferguson).

10. I return to this topic in the coda in the context of the Covid-19 pandemic that once again revealed how crucial the cheap labor sourced from Eastern Europe and the global South is for the Western economy.

11. It is essential to note that the knowledge transfers were happening already prior to 1989; contrary to common belief, expert knowledges and expert discourses were circulating across the “Iron Curtain.”

12. However, to offer a short example to substantiate my claims that very specific understandings of disability were translated and introduced in these organized and institutionalized “knowledge imports.” The archive of one of the nongovernmental organizations working with people with intellectual disabilities contained materials from the course the founders of the organization took in the early 1990s. It featured a special “module” discussing “transition,” i.e., efforts to bring people with intellectual disability from institutional to community living; other materials put emphasis on work and employment of people with intellectual disabilities. It also included a handout that included the following: “Definitions of normalization: Nirje, Bengt, 1969: ‘making available to the mentally retarded [*sic*] patterns and conditions of everyday life which are as close as possible to the norms and patterns of the mainstream of society.” It also included several quotations from Wolf Wolfensberger: “Wolfensberger, Wolf (1972): ‘utilization of means which are as culturally normative as possible in order to establish and/or maintain personal behaviours and characteristics which are as culturally normative as possible’”; and “Wolfensberger, Wolf (1983): ‘the most explicit and highest goal of normalization must be the creation, support, and defence of *valued social roles* for people who are at risk of social devaluation.’” I am quoting these notes at some length here not only to illustrate the provenience, time period, and character of the introduced disability knowledge but also to point out the weird echo between the concept of transition

related to people with intellectual disabilities, on the one hand, and understandings of the process of transition of postsocialist society, on the other.

13. Similar transnational knowledge transfers were not exceptional. For instance, see Sarah Phillips’s discussion of their role in establishing disability organizations in Ukraine.

14. For a more nuanced discussion of the violence against Roma people in the context of the postsocialist Czech Republic, see chapter 4.

15. See also discussion in chapters 1 and 4.

16. Admittedly, they would also transgress the disability knowledges married to visions of socialist collective utopia and the socialist versions of respectable politics.

### Chapter 3

1. I work here with the term *mental retardation* as a historical concept that reflects a specific cultural and political interpretation of intellectual otherness, a categorization of intellectual ability and of people based on their perceived intellectual capacity. While other definitions have established themselves over the past several decades across disability studies and activism, Czech expert discourse still adheres to the term “mental retardation” (see, e.g., Švarcová-Slabinová). I am focused here on the economic rationale and affective politics of the term (cf. Trent; Noll and Trent).

2. One of the first post-1989 references to the tragic event is included in Josef Klíma’s *Brutality* (*Brutalita*).

3. The terms used to describe the specific type of bed that uses net barriers or metal bars are themselves contested. Medical experts describe them as *protective* or *therapeutic* beds, while medical advocates, disability activists, and their allies insist on calling all restrictive beds “cage beds,” arguing that the individual is in every case similarly restrained (cf. MDAC, “Cage Beds: Inhuman” and *Cage Beds and Coercion*). The first wave of debates on the usage of “cage beds” in institutional care occurred in 2004, followed by further rounds of discussions in 2006 and 2008 (see Štrunc; Kocman, “Mezi” and “Klecová”). The use of the restrictive beds in social institutions was banned in 2004 (and 2007 respectively). The beds remained in use in psychiatric care and institutions for the elderly until 2022. Many institutions stopped using these beds prior to the legal change. On the issue see also Vann and Šiška; Mladenov and Petri; MDAC, “Cage Beds: Inhuman” and *Cage Beds and Coercion*; and various reports from the Czech Office of the Ombudsperson.

4. J. K. Rowling was one of the most vocal international critics of cage beds. Her criticism allegedly pushed the state institutions to reconsider their use. Rowling wrote a letter to President Václav Klaus pointing out the violence of such caging. Klaus was offended by foreign intervention and responded in a letter from July 28, 2004: “Thank you for your letter of June 14, 2004, in which, on the basis of one accidental, non-serious article in the British press, you objected to the use of so called net and cage beds for mentally handicapped children in the Czech Republic, and asked for a ban on their use. The problem you touched upon is, of course,

important and is an object of permanent, earnest, and expert review in our country, as well as elsewhere in the world. . . . The issue of using particular restrictive means . . . has its moral and ethical aspect, but the arguments of medical experts are equally important. It is impossible to simply shift the argument to the issue of abiding or abusing human rights. . . . *Neither the Czech expert public, nor myself, can accept your radical and extremely simplified opinion caused by an emotive, and very tendentious article.* The Czech Republic is a standard democratic country and our health care is comparable with the health service of other advanced countries. I must refute the idea that the use of the aforementioned beds is abusive, or worse, that mentally handicapped children are tyrannised in our country. . . . Nevertheless, the minister of health of the Czech Republic decided to ban the usage of the beds that you criticized” (emphasis added). The letter in full is available from <https://www.klaus.cz/clanky/2367>

5. Eva Kotátková’s *Interviews with the Monster* was an art installation in 2021 at Prague’s Meetfactory. The installation re- and deconstructs societal encounters with otherness to explore what they reveal about social prejudices and the mechanisms of exclusion. Specifically, *Interviews* returns to recent cases in which plans to build supported community housing for people with disabilities was stopped by local communities and municipalities. Kotátková uses publicly available sources, in addition to her own archive of interviews and testimonies, to allow various parties to speak, including witnesses and those who have been harmed, to create a sort of a heterogeneous archive of these encounters. The quotation comes from this improvised archive. *Interviews* diverts from the derogatory connotation of “monstrosity” attached to otherness and disability and instead associates it with the societal rejection of the other. See the gallery’s press release at <http://www.meetfactory.cz/cs/press/press-releases/pr-gallery-eva-kotatkova-interviews-with-the-monst> for more information.

6. The Czech Republic (Czechoslovakia) had been preparing National Disability Plans since the 1990s. The most recent ones have mentioned deinstitutionalization and securing a network of community-based services as one of the priority areas. The National Strategy for Development of Social Services 2016–2025 also focuses on transition from the institutional care model to community-based support. Yet, as many have pointed out, the funding mechanisms incentivize residential care rather than independent living.

7. See the European Union’s Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) on the progress of the deinstitutionalization efforts across the EU countries; I have researched its Czech section. <https://fra.europa.eu/en/project/2014/right-independent-living-persons-disabilities>

8. As the deputy of the ombudsperson, Anna Šabatová authored the Office of the Public Defender of Rights’ report. She later became the ombudsperson.

9. For a more detailed discussion of deinstitutionalization and of pervasive institutional culture even in smaller and community-based housing situations, see Carboch. For a recent overview of the in/accessibility of community-based services

in the Czech Republic, see the report *To Live as Others Do (Žít jako ostatní)* put together by JDI: Jednota pro deinstitucionalizaci (GO: Union for Deinstitutionalization). An English summary of the risks to the deinstitutionalization process is here: [http://jdicz.eu/wp-content/uploads/JDI\\_SituaceRizikaDI\\_EN.pdf](http://jdicz.eu/wp-content/uploads/JDI_SituaceRizikaDI_EN.pdf) (last accessed October 27, 2023). Synek and Hradcová provide a beautifully dense and haunting ethnography of life of people with intellectual disabilities in institutions in the Czech Republic.

10. [http://www.meetfactory.cz/cs/program/detail/eva-kotatkova-rozhovory-s-monstrem?fbclid=IwAR11vHzv6LEmzaPDreqt2Bobguhl8ewmbtIY1-\\_zilPgE-UMVxPRO4mWms](http://www.meetfactory.cz/cs/program/detail/eva-kotatkova-rozhovory-s-monstrem?fbclid=IwAR11vHzv6LEmzaPDreqt2Bobguhl8ewmbtIY1-_zilPgE-UMVxPRO4mWms)

11. The director of the hospital, Ivan David, did not acknowledge the existence of any problems.

12. The principle of *lege artis* considers whether the treatment was reflective of “the current level of available medical knowledge” as defined by § 11, Act No. 20/1966 Coll. on Public Health Care. The qualification of *lege artis* is intended to limit the legal liability of individual doctors and facilities for mistakes caused by the conditions created by the state and the health care system as such (cf. Císařová and Sovová).

13. The report notes expressly: “In order for the treatment of an involuntarily hospitalized patient to be provided in conformity with the legislation in effect, not only must medical staff adhere to *lege artis* in the course of providing it (article 4 of the Convention on Human Rights and Biomedicine) . . . , *but also free and informed consent to the treatment must be obtained in advance*” (Šabatová; emphasis added). In this case, informed consent was requested in the hospital’s admission form. However, such “consent” is “blanket and [is not] specific enough to satisfy the conditions of validity . . . of legal acts as stipulated in the Convention on Human Rights and Biomedicine (Act No. 96/2001 Coll.) and the Civil Code (Act No. 40/1964 Coll.)” (Šabatová).

14. This comprehensive study of premature deaths among people with intellectual disabilities in the National Health Service compared all deaths of people classed in the category of intellectual disability between 2011 and 2013 (and contrasted the findings with deaths among 1.7 million people without disabilities in England and Wales).

15. When compared with people without intellectual disabilities, contributory factors to premature deaths in people with intellectual disabilities include *problems in advanced care planning, adherence to the Mental Capacity Act, living in inappropriate accommodation, adjustment of care as needs changed, and carers not feeling listened to* (Heslop et al. 893).

16. I do not to use the term “quality of life” in this discussion. The notion of “quality of life” is definitionally dependent upon normative judgment that posits racialized and gendered understandings of disability as the opposite of the quality and value/worth of lives (such as “living a quality life” or a “life worth living”). I discuss this supposed contrast below in a greater detail. For discussion of how concepts of quality and value of life are used in the discourses of global health care

and development and how they reinforce the imperial rationality see, e.g., Erevelles; Gorman; Grech and Soldatic; Kolářová, “Grandpa”; Titchkosky and Aubrecht.

17. One illustrative claim comes from an article discussing the use of “restraining measures” in Czech psychiatry (“Obecná praxe”): “Psychiatrists and health personnel in psychiatry in some cases cannot cope . . . without [restraining devices]. It is thus possible to say that restraining devices have an *indispensable and necessary place* in psychiatry” (Kališová et al., 303; emphasis added). Since then, an immense push to reform psychiatric care in the Czech Republic has been exerted by many actors, self-advocates being a leading voice among them. However, the use of restrictive measures is still an issue of division in the expert community and in the institutional setting (the use of restrictive beds was finally stopped in 2020). The newest materials discussing their use, with recommendations, are here: <https://www.reformapsychiatrie.cz/clanek/doporuceny-postup-pouzivani-omezovacich-prostredku>

18. In 2013, in a report on visits to psychiatric institutions for children, the ombudsperson’s office commented: “In one psychiatric hospital [the former ombudsperson] had to recommend and repeatedly request that internal rules be drawn up on the use of physical restraints.” In a footnote, the report summed up the legal perspective as follows: “[Internal rules] are not required by law; the procedural measures . . . only recommend [them]” (Motejl, “Zpráva ze systematických” 34 n. 49; cf. also Motejl, “Zpráva z návštěvy zařízení” and “Umístování.”)

19. The use of physical restraints and cage beds is explicitly structured by gender and disability, categories that by definition are an expression of a value hierarchy. The MDAC 2014 report *Cage Beds and Coercion in Czech Psychiatric Institutions*, for example, states that in the children’s psychiatric hospital in the south Bohemian town of Opařany, there was only one cage bed left, and its rare use was dictated by disability: the bed was used only for children with intellectual disabilities, as the staff believed that a cage bed would be “dangerous for children without intellectual disabilities because they would move in it” (32). Other psychiatric facilities used “restrictive/protective beds” for older patients wearing diapers who—the staff argued—do not therefore need to be able to move around in order, for instance, to go to the toilet (34). Elsewhere, staff used the beds only (or primarily) for women because it was felt that they were “unsuitable” for men, who might easily damage the caging net (31). Another member of the staff at the same psychiatric facility told the MDAC team that restrictive/protective beds were mainly used for “delirious grannies” (31). The director of this institution confirmed this and declared that the beds were used for women with “nocturnal delirium” (31). He also said that the beds “are great for geriatric patients and the mentally retarded [*sic*]: isolation or straps are much worse” (31).

20. Eliška Bártová and Lukáš Hradílek’s newspaper article “Psychiatric Wards Are Still Locking People Up in Cages” (“Ústavy stále zavírají lidi do klecí”) describes the story of Libuše Nováková, “who has been living locked in a cage [a restrictive bed] *for at least nine years*” (emphasis added) while in institutional care.

21. The notion of *humanization* that transpires here ties the debates around restrictive/protective beds with the process of deinstitutionalization and the trans-

formation of institutional care provided to disabled people. *The Plan of Support for the Transformation of Residential Social Services into Different Types of Social Services Provided in the User's Natural Community and Supporting the Social Integration of Users into Society* (*Koncepce podpory transformace pobytových sociálních služeb v jiné typy sociálních služeb, poskytovaných v přirozené komunitě uživatele a podporující sociální začlenění uživatele do společnosti*), which the Czech government adopted as its official document for the deinstitutionalization process in 2007, claimed *humanization* (*humanizace*) of the current institutions as one of its main principles.

22. Petr Trešňák's article won the European Press Prize; see <http://www.respekt.cz/autori/petr-tresnak>

23. The humanity of “feral children” was questioned on the grounds of how they were raised and their association with nonhuman animals (e.g., a wolfpack). In the case of Ivan Kaliáš, this link to animality is written onto the fact that his mother was supposedly intellectually disabled.

24. For discussion of the historical legacies of colonial imaginations in the Czechoslovakian (and Eastern European) context and in relation to disability see Filip Herza's recent work; for more general discussion of colonialism in Central European context see Born and Lemmen; Storchová, “Presenting the Other” and “Visualizing Near East.”

25. “Isola Bella” is still on the offer from the Zuber factory (Rixheim, France), among other multiple designs that portray idyllic natural scenes and depict fantasies of conquest of the exotic territories. The Zuber factory has been printing luxury scenic wallpapers since the early nineteenth century. The Isola Bella motif is available in several variations.

26. I want to thank Michaela Šilpochová and Jaroslav Anděl for introducing me to work of Danica Dakić while working on the *Disabled by Normality* exhibition at Prague's DOX Centre for Contemporary Art in 2013; <https://www.dox.cz/en/whats-on/disabled-by-normality>

27. The article was republished by the Inter Press Service News Agency: <https://www.ipsnews.net/1996/04/bosnia-hercegovina-mental-patients-watch-the-madness-outside/>

28. The narratives about the Pazarić institution reveal another layer of co-constitutive relation between race (or more precisely racialized notions of ethnicity) and disability. Danica Dakić works with the Isola Bella motif wallpaper to unpack racialized fantasies of precivilization purity to highlight how they are echoed in discourses of “mental retardation.” The US and West media coverage of the Pazarić institution (and of Dakić's *Isola Bella*), however, uses disability to ethnicize/racialize Eastern Europe (and the Balkans) as chaotic and bellicose and to downplay the ways in which the war in the former Yugoslavia exposed Western imperialism.

## Chapter 4

1. The European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) has, based on its regular surveys and “robust statistical data since 2008” gathered across EU, stated that “Roma are among the people who are most vulnerable to human rights

violations in the European Union (EU). . . . The results of FRA's surveys in 2008, 2011, 2016 and 2019 show that the EU's and Member States' efforts result in limited and uneven progress. . . . the persisting impact of antigypsyism [. . . hinders] their fundamental rights regarding employment, education, healthcare and housing" (<https://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2022/roma-survey-findings>). In 2014, the European Roma and Travellers Forum filed a complaint against the Czech Republic for violation of the European Social Charter, 1961, specifically, articles 11 and 16, which secure the right of the family to social, legal, and economic protection, to housing and health care rights of Roma people. The Forum all claimed inadequate treatment or misdiagnosis of the mental health of Romani children. The lack of proper sanitation and waste disposal has aggravated the exposure to infectious diseases like hepatitis and bacillary dysentery and other health risks. The Czech Republic rejected all allegations. However, the Committee called up the 2015 report from the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance and General Comment 7 of UN CESCR and declared that the Czech Republic had violated the Preamble and Article 16 on the grounds of insufficient access to housing, poor housing conditions, and territorial segregation and forced evictions. It also noted increasing discrimination in the housing market that intensifies the vulnerable position of Roma people and worsens their living conditions. The committee furthermore found disparity in access to health care facilities and disproportionate health risks between the Roma and non-Roma Czech populations. For more see "European Roma and Travellers Forum (ERTF) v. the Czech Republic; Complaint No. 104/2014" at [https://www.coe.int/en/web/european-social-charter/processed-complaints/-/asset\\_publisher/5GEFkJmH2bYG/content/no-104-2014-european-roma-and-travellers-forum-ertf-v-czech-republic](https://www.coe.int/en/web/european-social-charter/processed-complaints/-/asset_publisher/5GEFkJmH2bYG/content/no-104-2014-european-roma-and-travellers-forum-ertf-v-czech-republic)

2. The Czech word *ubytovna* (*ubytovny* in plural) refers to a short-term accommodation. However, over the last decade *ubytovna* has taken on a specific meaning that corresponds to the term *housing project* commonly used in the United States to describe government-subsidized housing for low-income families and individuals. As is the case with *ubytovny*, housing projects also reproduce structures of racial segregation and social marginalization. In the Czech context, *ubytovna* first emerged as a material effect of racialized segregation and the notion of inherent "inadaptability" of the Roma, and simultaneously of the effort to protect white families. On a different level, choosing to translate *ubytovna* as "housing project," I want to emphasize the businesslike nature and private profit-orientation of these arrangements of public housing. *Ubytovny* are privatized versions of provisional tenements that, however, turned into (semi)permanent due to the lack of social housing and inaccessibility of other forms of cheaper and more sustainable housing, private or public. Moreover, using the term "projects" reflects the logic of racial capitalism: these forms of provisional housing were deliberately turned into projects in enterprise based in draining capital from the state social welfare. Thus, it also pushes the notions of "abusers" of the welfare system.

3. According to the 2021 FRA survey, more than half of Roma households (52 percent) experience housing deprivation across all EU countries covered. This

is somewhat less than in 2016 (61 percent), but still approximately three times as many as among the general population across the EU (17 percent) (*Roma in 10 European Countries*). The same review also found that 55 percent of Czech Roma have experienced discrimination in housing access over the last five years; in the survey from 2016 it was 65 percent; see also Tomičič.

4. The reconstructions of the “traditional” gender order was of key importance to visions of curing society of the legacy of state socialism, and of what was considered to be a forced pseudo-emancipation of women. The high (nearly universal) gainful employment of women outside of the household achieved under state socialism was reinterpreted as a sign of the attempt to socially engineer society against its natural order. “The family has played a central role in the Czech postsocialist transition and process of restructuring,” Jacqui True notes. “Indeed, the Czech constitution and all Czech political parties, with the exception of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, have hailed the family as the fundamental unit of the new market economy” (True 55). Yet, as Hana Havelková clarifies in her discussion of the nature of gender order in the state socialist and postsocialist societies and their (dis)continuities, “The resurgence of family values expresses a kind of resignation rather than any direct connection between the paternalistic political system and the seemingly traditional meaning of the family” (“Patriarchy” 90). Barbara Havelková’s *Gender Equality in Law: Uncovering the Legacies of Czech State Socialism* provides a long-durée view of the development of family policies, and a founded discussion of the ways in which family (and its gendered, heteronormative) models served both regimes. To follow dis/continuities between the regimes in the field of gender relations, see also Havelková and Oates-Indruchová. For further discussions of family politics see Čermáková et al.; Maříková. See also Kateřina Nedbálková’s (*Matky*) and Věra Sokolová’s (“Otec”) groundbreaking works on queer families and gay and lesbian parenting.

5. Statements referring to the “lower level of development, or even outright backwardness of the Gypsies” (Kára 371) and their “social retardation” (Kára 373) were juxtaposed with statements that linked this supposed backwardness to the stigma attached to Gypsy identity by “previous social formations” (Kára 369; cf. also Sus; Dědič) and claimed that the “citizens of Gypsy origin . . . have the same talents and capacities as everybody else” (Kára 375). However, the ambition to assimilate the Roma population was an expression of colonial logic that presumed both backwardness and the need to negate the alterity. For a detailed discussion of the policies of the socialist state toward Roma people see, for instance, Schmidt; Sokolová, *Cultural Politics*; Spurný, *Nejsou* and *Making*.

6. See, for instance, the European Roma Rights Centre’s *Life Sentence* (2011). These reports made clear that the poverty and racialized marginalization of Roma people were conflated with the assumption of their innate inability to engage in “responsible reproductive behaviour” and provide good parental care for children. Roma families are constantly exposed to the disciplining gaze of the state apparatus that ties provision of social welfare to fulfilling parental responsibilities. And vice versa, welfare recipients are customarily subjected to surveillance in relation

to parental duties. As I have argued in more detail elsewhere, the Roma family is construed as a unit of social control and simultaneously as a vector of racialization of the public debates on social justice and social welfare (“(Ne)přizpůsobení”).

7. The dominant discourses also seem to downplay the role of health and the importance of health prevention among the Roma population. The booklet prepared as a part of the state initiative to support (preventive) health care in socially excluded localities, *Podpora zdraví ve vyloučených lokalitách*, indicates that the health in the Roma population is significantly worse than that of the white majority (see below for more discussion of health disparities between the Roma and non-Roma people across the EU).

During my research on HIV and AIDS, one prominent epidemiologist responded to my question about the state of the HIV infection in the Roma communities by suggesting that HIV is of no concern to Roma people in the Czech Republic “because they have other problems and other issues to worry about” (interview May 31, 2016). His response underscores, on the one hand, the fact that HIV infection might not be an acute problem now; on the other hand and more important, it also indicates a lack of preventive measures directed at HIV in the Roma community. Paradoxically, this lack of prevention is caused by the discourse of social exclusion that redirects attention from issues of health, and from sexual health that is seen as superficial. And of course, on yet another level, the response is bitterly true and honest. As this chapter also argues, the life for many Roma people under the postsocialist regime means “slow death” (Berlant), and concerns with everyday survival might take precedence over other worries.

8. Cf. Spurný, *Nejsou*; Sokolová, *Cultural Politics*; Donert; Nečas, *Romové*.

9. On many occasions, Roma people hurt or killed through acts of racialized violence were—in line with the concept of “status crime”—blamed for bringing the attack on themselves. It would be a misguided fantasy to believe that we can record all forms of race-motivated violence and aggression. It is, however, important to recall the names of at least some of the Roma people murdered during the 1990s: Otto Absolon (†July 21, 2001), Emil Bendík (†February 23, 1991), Tibor Berki (†May 13, 1995), Helena Bihářiová (†February 15, 1998), Erika Gáborová (†September 20, 1997), Milan Lacko (†May 17, 1998).

10. To add flesh to the concept of “status crime” as applied to the Roma community in the Czech Republic, we can turn to the separation of the Czechoslovak federation. It was an occasion for systematic and state-supported discrimination against the Roma people, who, in order to be awarded citizenship in the newly formed Czech Republic, had to prove that they had not come into conflict with law in the last five years (Act No. 40/1993 Coll. “O nabývání a pozbývání státního občanství ČR”).

11. The term “inadaptable citizens” (*nepřizpůsobiví občané*) is commonly used and is ironically attached to the word “citizen,” underscoring the intensity with which Roma people supposedly break the normative definition of citizenship.

12. “Kuncovka” was then run/owned by Robert Hrdina, “a white-collar fraudster,” who was on parole from prison and owed over 27 million crowns of compensation to the state (close to \$1.5 million; Tomičič).

13. Kuncovka made the international news and drew attention to the economic (and ideological) profitability of the housing projects. An article published on the website Political Critique identifies the “giant cockroach” as the symbol of the housing crisis (Network 4 Debate project).

14. Furthermore, the protests at Kuncovka were recognized as a part of longer tradition of Roma protests and revolts against racial oppression. In spring 2017, activists commemorating the Roma uprising in the Terezín concentration camp during the World War II drew connection between, on one hand, the Roma and Sinti holocaust and the oppression of the Roma people under National Socialism and, on the other hand, the current forms of racial oppression. They reflected on state-sponsored abandonment and racial violence: “We want the Day of the Roma Uprising be celebrated as the living reminder and memory of a struggle against oppression that can take on different forms. To face the oppression and exploitation requires bravery regardless of the specific context” (“Připomínka,” n.p.).

15. For instance, the city of Brno started the Rapid Re-housing project inspired by the “housing first” philosophy and between the fall of 2016 and summer 2017 housed fifty families previously staying in provisional housing projects. The rehousing project proved immensely efficient, with a 96 percent success rate over a year. Of the fifty rehoused families, forty-eight were able to keep the new housing. The program also received international and national recognition. It was awarded the SozialMarie Prize in 2018 for the best project in solving the housing crisis in EU between 2010 and 2017. For more information see the website of the project, <https://hf.socialnibydeni.org/housing-first-for-families-in-brno>

16. In 2015—in the absence and instead of a systemic solution to the housing and poverty crisis—the government reduced state provisions and welfare benefits for housing in a proclaimed attempt to regulate the “business of poverty.” In 2017, continuing the faulty logic that reducing state-issued benefits would make the original sweet deal of public housing less profitable for the owners of the projects and would thus solve the problem of emerging ghetto-like, segregated social spaces, the benefit payments were further curbed, surveilled, and limited. And indeed, by mid-2018, many *ubytovny*, or project-like public housing units, were closed down, with the obvious and inevitable outcome: people were evicted and left homeless.

17. The text of the bill and a stenograph of the debates of the bill, “Sněmovní tisk 783/5,” is available on the website of the Czech Parliament: <http://www.psp.cz/sqw/text/tiskt.sqw?o=7&ct=783&ct1=5>. The was enacted in 2017 as Act No. 98/2017 Coll. (Zákon č. 98/2017 Sb.).

18. As the connection to the place and thus legitimate claim to the benefit is recognized in cases when “(a) the person is performing a gainful employment in the municipality . . . (b) is registered with the unemployment agency and looking for gainful employment . . . , (c) lives in the municipality with their family, (d) has dependent children in the municipality who fulfil their compulsory school attendance or are training for future employment, (e) the person stays in the municipality for health reasons, or (f) other important reasons not listed above . . . that bound the person to the municipality” (“Sněmovní,” § 33c, 1).

19. The 2021 FRA report notes disparities in life expectancy: “On average,

Roma women live 11 years less than women in the general population, and Roma men live 9.1 years less than men in the general population. The largest differences are found in Croatia for women (15.7 years) and in Czechia for men (13.4 years)” (*Roma in 10 European Countries*, 47). This also means highest gender difference in life expectancy among Roma men and Roma women in the Czech Republic. Further, the 2021 FRA report notes that the share of Roma experiencing discrimination when accessing health services increased between 2016 and 2021, both on average and in most of the countries surveyed. This might be partly due to the pandemic (for the racialized effect of the pandemic on Roma, see my discussion in the coda). At the end of the “Decade of Roma Inclusion” (2005–2015), the Open Society Fund published the report *Left Out: Roma and Access to Health Care in Eastern and South Eastern Europe*. It lists “Barriers to Equal Access to Health Care” (pervasive poverty, geographic isolation, direct discrimination by health care providers, and direct and indirect discrimination by government policies, as well as lack of Roma health data). It also noted that the scant data on Roma health focus mostly on reproductive health issues and on infectious diseases. The report also calls out several effects of the inequalities: “Life expectancy for Roma populations in Eastern Europe is about 10 years less than the overall population. . . . Infant mortality rates are twice as high among the Roma than the non-Roma in the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Hungary. . . . Studies show higher rates of type two diabetes, coronary artery disease, and obesity in Roma adults, and vitamin deficiencies, malnutrition, anemia, dystrophy, and rickets among children. . . . It is widely agreed that TB, HIV/AIDS, and viral hepatitis disproportionately affect minority populations in Eastern and Central Europe” (Open Society Fund 1; see also Ádány; Koupilová et al.; Boika et al.).

20. For a helpful discussion of the ways in which Roma populations and communities have been racialized in the process of construing “new Europe,” see, e.g., Vincze.

## Chapter 5

1. The discussed segment “Migrants and Refugees” appeared in Season 2, 2015, episode 28.

2. Since then, Nujeen Mustafa has become internationally recognized for her activism on behalf of refugees (with disabilities). She is the recipient of the 2019 Alison Des Forges Award (“Syrian”).

3. <http://www.visegradgroup.eu>

4. Disability, capacity, and debility are important analytical tools to research global displacement, forced migration, and processes of granting refugee/asylum status. A growing body of work pushes for discussion of the global circuits of disabilities and global economies of debility/capacity in relation to already disabled people or people becoming disabled in the process of migration and seeking refuge from wars, ecological catastrophes, or other forms of forceful displacement. Structures of the global economy and transnational capitalism fuel migrations and create

the need to “move” as a strategy of survival. Forced displacement is concomitant to the historical and present violence of unequal development, ecological crises, climate change, and the uneven exploitation of life capacities brought about by savage/disaster capitalism and by preserved neo-postcolonial structures of exploitation. Furthermore, scholars call for an engagement with paradoxical situations, when it is a medical concern that motivates asylum-seeking (Fassin, “Another”), or when—as Mansha Mirza shows—disabled people in refugee camps are seen as the most vulnerable and, at the same time, are expected to become entrepreneurial and organize strategies of survival and care (“Disability”; “Refugee”). As I have argued elsewhere, we also need to talk about so-called austerity or medical refugees whose precarity is at least partially compensated for by the shield of white and global North supremacy, and who thus never figure in the discourses of “flood,” “wave,” or “invasion” (“Grandpa”).

5. The annual report is no longer available online, nor in the archive of Prague Pride.

6. The press release is no longer available online, nor in the archive of Prague Pride.

7. The first documented Pride marches happened during “Rainbow Festival” in Karlovy Vary (1998–2001). Then Pride was held in Brno (2008, 2010) and in Tábor (2009) (Sloboda, Walek, and Schlesinger). Now, Pride events are popping up in regional centers such as Ostrava, Olomouc, and elsewhere. For more on events and festivals preceding (Prague) Pride, see Pitoňák, “A Decade.” Prague Pride brought a different organizing strategy that puts an emphasis on a weeklong “festival” of cultural events (Walek in Sloboda, Walek, and Schlesinger; also personal communication with Prague Pride team members). Recently, an Alt-Pride collective has started to organize alternative, expressly political events. Most notably in 2018, Alt-Pride called out Prague Pride for accepting support from Exxon Mobil.

8. The article titled “Homosexuals Are Deviants” (“Homosexuálové jsou devianti”), which also quoted Boris Štátný, was published in the online version of the daily *Lidové noviny*, *lidovky.cz*, and is no longer available: [https://www.lidovky.cz/domov/homosexualove-jsou-devianti-mini-hajek.A110804\\_172028\\_in\\_domov\\_kim](https://www.lidovky.cz/domov/homosexualove-jsou-devianti-mini-hajek.A110804_172028_in_domov_kim). On the controversy see also [https://praha.idnes.cz/clanek.aspx?c=A110804\\_154301\\_praha-zpravy\\_ab](https://praha.idnes.cz/clanek.aspx?c=A110804_154301_praha-zpravy_ab)

9. [www.czechgayguide.org](http://www.czechgayguide.org) and [www.prague.gayguide.net](http://www.prague.gayguide.net)

10. “Gay Prague,” [inyourpocket.com](http://inyourpocket.com); text written with the support of Prague Pride.

11. In 2014, 73 percent of population recognized the right to civic partnership of same-sex couples, and 45 percent would support the right to marriage. These numbers were recorded by the public opinion research in June 2014 (“Postoje” CVVM); in spring 2023, 83 percent of population recognized the right to civic partnership, and 58 percent would support the right to marriage; the right to adopt a child of the partner now is now supported by 77 percent and the right to adopt a child from an institution by 63 percent of the population, in stark contrast to the political representation (“Postoje,” CVVM 2023).

12. LGBT Pride parades and marches have been banned, for instance in Moscow, Belgrade, Vilnius, Riga, Budapest, Warsaw, Krakow, Zagreb, and Split.

13. Konstantinos Eleftheriadis uses this term to reference queer festivals organized around predominantly Western Europe and festivals that “prioritize the idea of breaking the gender and sexual binaries upon which societies have been built: man/woman, gay/straight, cis/trans” (146).

14. The original website of the project [www.lgbtavatars.eu](http://www.lgbtavatars.eu) is no longer active. Ogilvy Czech, the developer of the promotional campaign, might have gained more direct profit from the campaign than Prague Pride and the festival itself. While Ogilvy has entered the campaign in multiple competitions and has won several awards for socially engaged campaigns, the effectiveness and usability of the app was evaluated by Pride participants in ambivalent terms (private conversations).

15. The 2009 blockbuster *Avatar* highlights the connections between technological utopias and pop-cultural significations of disabled embodiments and racialized images of “elsewhere” heterotopias (Obourn).

16. I refrain from including the images here in order not to reproduce the blatant sexism and Islamophobia. The images represent the purported dangers of Islamization through drawing a causal link between the frequency of consuming kebab and the speed of women’s di-emancipation, while the retraction of women’s emancipation is visualized through veiling. Not eating kebab means emancipation means nudity (women not consuming “Islamist” kebabs are pictured naked). Frequency of consuming kebab thus translates into layers of veiling, with burkas symbolizing the endpoint of women’s subjection, and general subjection to Islam.

17. The platform “We do not want Islam in the Czech Republic” was founded in 2009, and in the times of its peak (2015–16) rose to some 150,000 followers on social media. It amassed significant influence over the public and political landscapes—either through multiple demonstrations or happenings. Its influence was confirmed when the president of the Czech Republic joined its representatives on a stage to sing the national hymn during the 1989 revolution anniversary. Though inactive now, the platform and other Islamophobic entities managed to establish Islamophobia as a consensus of political debates, or as one commentator noted, “The anti-Islam joker beats them all” (cited in Ostránský, n.p.).

18. For more detail on the program see the official website of the Ministry of the Interior, <http://www.mvcr.cz/docDetail.aspx?docid=36628&docType=ART&chnum=4>; see also the Facebook page of the program: <https://www.facebook.com/medevac.czech/>

19. The short-term stays of the Czech medical teams focus on surgeries (e.g., heart surgeries, hip replacement, sight impairment surgeries, or in the context of the war against Ukraine, treating burns). The claim that Medevac offers specialized health care and the best Czech practitioners in the field, clearly a source of national pride, is emphasized both by the promotional materials and by the media. For the precise numbers of on-site operations and cases of medical evacuation, see the annual reports and the Medevac official website.

20. For more on the exhibition see <http://letajicilekari.cz/eng/>; or the Ministry

of the Interior's mention of the exhibition <http://www.mvcr.cz/clanek/letajici-lekari-vystava-fotografii-predstavi-programy-zahranicni-pomoci-ceske-republiky.aspx>

21. Discourses and representations of sexualized violence have occupied a central point in the debates about the danger of Islam. As in relation to what I term transformational pessimism (chapter 2), in this context, too, sexuality (along with cultural/religious difference) refracts complex discourses of race and racial difference. As seen in other contexts, proponents of conservatism and “natural gender order” pose as defenders of women's rights, emancipation, and safety.

22. Katharina Wiedlack describes a similar paradox in ascription of non-Russian identity in the battle over homosexuality in Russia: “Russia . . . and ‘the East’ . . . become signified as a dangerously homophobic space, whereas the subjects that are threatened by homophobic acts become understood as not-of-Russian values or non-Russian. Ironically, this logic is exactly the logic the Russian media and national state discourses proliferate, yet towards the contrary end, which is to legitimize Russian nationalism as only way to preserve civilization” (“Quantum Leap” 2).

23. The literal translation of the title is the National Council of People with Health Impairments.

24. One prominent figure of the dissident scene argues in his blog: “In the context of discussion about the need to reduce state spending, a chaste silence prevails about a problem that will overwhelm us in the future. . . . Every year the statistics on premature babies offer horrifying figures, and our doctors boast that they are the best in the world at saving premature babies. At the same time, they claim that the hospitals don't have enough money. . . . In fact, incubators are also filled with babies who can barely fit in the palm of your hand, not only because we have ever better technical conveniences, but also because more and more women are getting pregnant through artificial insemination” (Tomský).

25. The antigovernment protests were coordinated and driven by a civic initiative, ProAlt, founded after the 2010 election and focused on social and racial justice issues. The 2010–2013 government was led by Civic Democrats, with Petr Nečas as a prime minister. Jaromír Drábek (TOP 09) served as the minister of labor and social affairs. The contested austerity measures were dubbed “Drábek reforms.” For more detailed discussion of the proposed changes in the social welfare see my text “(Ne)Přízřusobeni krizi.”

26. For a more detailed discussion of the protests see my text “Affective Politics.”

27. For discussions of the neoliberal policies in other Central and Eastern European countries and their impact on people with disabilities, see, for instance, Gould and Harris; Mladenov. In his discussion of the impact of neoliberal policies on disability politics, and based on his discussion of the neoliberalism in Bulgaria, Mladenov argues that the disabled people's movement is confronted “with two difficult tasks: to defend self-determination while criticising market-based individualism, and to defend the welfare state while criticising expert-based paternalism” (“Neoliberalism” 445; cf. also his *Disability and Postsocialism*). Mladenov also quotes Morris, the influential feminist disability scholar based in England, who, reflecting

on the neoliberalism's challenges to disability politics, insisted on the need to “move out of the disability policy agenda and engage with broader political and economic debates and developments” (cited in “Neoliberalism” 446).

28. Compare with Pamuła's discussion of the limits in the discourse of protests of parents of children with disabilities in Poland and their reliance upon testimonies (“Kalekie”).

#### Coda

1. Parts of this text draw on collaboration with Tereza Stöckelová and Lukáš Senft in a project focused on microbial citizenship (see Stöckelová, Kolářová, and Senft).

2. There is a rich archive of feminist work discussing transnational networks of care and labor migration. With respect to the pandemic, see, for instance, the special issue of *Routed: Migration and (Im)mobility Magazine* (2020, issue 10). Looking specifically at the West/East labor dynamics during the pandemic, see, e.g., Safuta and Noack; Uhde and Ezzedine; also Katona, and Zacharenko. Saša Uhlová, the Czech investigative journalist, explores cheap labor on the East/West divide (Uhlová, *Hrdinové*, and *Hrdinové 2*). Recently, a film documentary based on Saša Uhlová's reports was released under a telling title, *The Borders of Europe (Hranice Evropy*, dir. Apolena Rychlíková, 2024).

3. The *Czech Sociological Review* dedicated its two 2022 volumes (nos. 4, 5) to covering effects of Covid-19 in Czech society.

4. During the summer and fall of 2021 Tereza Stöckelová, Lukáš Senft, and I conducted interviews with miners and the miners' labor union representatives. The miners commented that the preventive measures were nearly impossible to observe in mines where miners need to work in extreme conditions and in extreme closeness. However, the outbreaks of the virus were presented as a result of the miners' after-work socializing and pub-going. The miners also commented on the debilitating nature of the work in mines and the ineffective health measures beyond the pandemic.

5. The comparative studies carried out in the Czech Republic suggest that place of work played an important role in encountering the virus (Tuček, “COVID-19”; Tuček and Vaněček).

6. In the meantime, important research has emerged that offers in-depth feminist interrogation of the Russian full-scale invasion at Ukraine in relation to legacies of Russian colonial violence. As the criticism lays out, the Western perspective on Russia's war attack against Ukraine continues to be Russia-focused and thus paradoxically prolongs Russia's imperialism. For work decolonizing epistemic and political frameworks that foregrounds knowledge, experiences and struggles of Ukrainians and other nations, communities and groups subjected by imperial Russian politics and expansions, see for instance: Dudko; Dutkiewicz and Smoleński; Hendl; Hendl, Burluk, O'Sullivan and Arystanbek; Kassymbekova; Kozicharow; Morozov; Phillips and Martsenyuk.

7. Here I am loosely inspired by the concept of “competing responsibilities” offered by Trnka and Trundle.

8. For critical discussions of the state governance of the pandemic, see, e.g., Rogowska.

9. The prime minister, Babiš, originally used the phrase in August 2020 during the Bled strategic forum. A few weeks later, another spike in infection ripped through the Czech Republic, killing thousands, and the country became one of the worst affected (the ratio of infections to population) globally. However, Babiš repeated the claim on Twitter in 2021, qualifying it through reference to V<sub>4</sub> countries. As the media critically noted, the fact that the infection numbers in fall 2021 were lower was paid for by the huge life and economic costs and infection rates in the previous “waves” (cited in “Zase”).

10. *Milión chvilek pro demokracii* is a civic political initiative that grew out of a campaign launched on February 25, 2018. The initiative assembled around critiques of Babiš’s government and claims to fight for democracy (<https://milionchvilek.cz/>).

11. One of the first campaigns was launched by an influencer Petr Ludwig as early as March 14, 2020. The YouTube videos are also available in English: “How to Significantly Slow Coronavirus? #Masks4All,” “Masks and Critical Thinking—Why Homemade Masks Really Work against Coronavirus #Masks4All.” Importantly, the initiative to mask, as well as the mottoes, were created and adopted “bottom-up,” first originating across civic initiatives and only later adopted by the official governmental campaigns.

12. This and the following quotations are taken from thematically focused semistructured questionnaires with open-ended questions. The questionnaires were filled in by our respondents in a written form and sent to us by email or were completed during a phone interview. They included six sections with three to six questions in each: imaginations of the virus; sources of information; attitudes toward the official epidemiological measures; viral agency and one’s embodiment; patterns of sociality; epidemic temporality; the impact of the pandemic on one’s livelihood (Stöckelová, Kolářová, and Senft).

13. There was an avalanche of socially relevant research and cross-sectoral collaboration that public policies had been striving to induce for many years prior to the pandemic with only partial success. In this sense, the scientific community also felt affectively attached to performances of responsabilized citizenship embodied in the facemask. See also [Damerousky.cz](https://damerousky.cz/), a platform that used an interactive map to connect people who needed masks with people who were offering them: <https://damerousky.cz/> (last accessed September 15, 2024).

14. See, for instance, the special issue “Crip Pandemic Life: A Tapestry,” edited by Alyson Patsavas and Dora Danylevich; and the extensive *Disability Covid Chronicles*, a project of the NYU Center for Disability Studies run by Faye Gingsburg, Mara Mills, Rayna Rapp, and Harris Kornstein. *Disability Covid Chronicles* includes a list of further and international resources to this network of crip pandemic knowledge. <https://disabilitycovidchronicles.nyu.edu/resources/>

15. Amid this there were few notable exceptions. For instance, the city of Prague has also organized support and accommodation to people without homes. Apart from securing provisional tent housing, it struck an agreement with hotels and accommodation services that took in homeless people to salvage part of their lost profits from tourism.

16. Christopher Smit and Jill Vyn present a similar rejection of the normal, noting, “What if returning to normal life represents a sort of backsliding destined to keep you trapped in a social position you’ve never flourished in?” and express hope that “the new normal” will be informed by the lessons learned in the pandemic regimes of general inaccessibility: “The new normal will allow disabled people to contribute to the professional and personal cultures we create. The new normal won’t always ask what can be done for disabled people, but instead what disabled people can do for the greater good” (n.p.).

17. Currently, even the highest amount of social benefits does not cover more than about four hours of personal assistance a day. Asistence, an NGO providing personal assistance, has for several years now been leading a campaign for change that would introduce a new level into the system and a higher level of support for personal assistance (<https://patystupen.cz/>). On November 29, 2022, Asistence organized a public debate with representatives of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs and the government commissioner for human rights pushing for systemic change that would allow disabled people who need extensive personal assistance to be able to live freely and independently. The answers offered by the attending state representatives did not promise any improvement before 2025. Even this date was very “optimistic.” The recording of the debate is available here: <https://patystupen.cz/zaznam-debaty-o-patem-stupni> (last accessed September 7, 2024).

18. The pandemic amplified the symbolic violence of the ideological constructions of the inadaptable noncitizens as the racialized chronic neglect and structural violence translated into deep-seated and experience-based distrust of the state authorities. For instance, (Roma) social workers working with Roma people living in the “areas with a higher rate of occurrence of socially undesirable phenomena” (see chapter 4) noted that this history contributed to the distrust of the information distributed by state public health institutions about Covid-19 and protective measures. “You believe in the virus?” people in the “projects” asked the journalist in spring 2020 (Dvořáková, n.p.). The Roma local politician explained the apparent indifference of the people living in the “projects,” noting that “they are facing other [more immediate] problems [and therefore] are not seeing the pandemic as a threat” (Karyka cited in Dvořáková, n.p.). The abandonment is replicated also in the research on the pandemic and in the public health discourse. As of spring 2023, I was not been able to find any research article discussing the specific ways in which the pandemic hit Roma people and communities in the Czech Republic. As studies from other Eastern European countries indicate, anti-Roma racism intensified during the pandemic (see, e.g., Cârstocea, “Going Viral”; Matache and Bhabha). In the Czech context, racism took the form of utter disregard; additionally, racism highlighted the persisting structures of coloniality in the reports of the

Covid infections spiking in the Roma villages in Eastern Slovakia. For the effects of the pandemic on the Roma people in Eastern Europe see, e.g., Cârstocea, “Going Viral”; Velicu, Barbovschi, and Rotaru.

19. Similarly, Synek, Hradcová, and Carboch argued that “with the aim of mitigating risk, they delegitimize the needs of clients, render relations dependent on obedience, and pass moralized judgements on behaviour. Such ‘pedagogical arrangements’ cause emotional suffering and do not leave much space for freedom” (“Všechno stejný”).

20. That it is impossible to effectively implement “targeted” protection to only those who are recognized as “vulnerable groups” was repeatedly pointed out at the time of such proposals. For instance Berec and his team argue that such an approach is “deeply flawed.” The authors point out that the European population in the “vulnerable” age group is more than 20 percent of the whole, and much of the “elderly” population does not live secluded from “able-bodied” society. “Leaving the rest of the population behaviorally unrestrained would soon result in a high virus prevalence [and] the virus would then sooner or later percolate into the elderly group.” The simulation that the authors ran indicated that even a 40 percent reduction in social contacts among the “able-bodied” population “would not help in preventing the infection of the elderly [. . . which] exhibits a continuing exponential growth” (Berec et al., n.p.).

21. The motto “I protect you, you protect me” appeared early in the pandemic, and it is now impossible to trace it back to its origin. It was presented on public and regional media and in various public campaigns (e.g., Vařečka). In March 2020, a campaign featuring well-known personalities ran with the simple slogan “I protect you” to raise awareness about the importance of masking (“Do kampaně”); for the reformulation of the motto, see the government’s information on eMask, the e-tracking system: <https://www.vlada.cz/cz/epidemie-koronaviru/aktuality/erous-ka-chranim-sebe--chranim-tebe!-183666/>

22. The danger of the state totalitarianism was taken up by commentators ranging from liberal to conservative to nationalist and anti-establishment positions. See, for instance, ; KOD; Pečinka; Šafir; Tabery “Zpráva”; Tabery and Kabrhelová).

23. <https://www.zdraveforum.cz/>

24. See the clip “Fighter no. 21” (“Bojovník 21”) here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IbzdSeRfEGs> (last accessed September 15, 2023).

25. <https://www.svetremprotiputinovi.cz> (last accessed September 17, 2023).

26. <https://www.destnikprotidrahote.cz/>



## Works Cited

- Adams, Dean, and Erevelles, Nirmala. "Unexpected Spaces of Confinement: Aversive Technologies, Intellectual Disability, and 'Bare Life'." *Punishment & Society* 19, no. 3 (2017): 348–65.
- Ádány, Róza. "Roma Health Is Global Ill Health." *European Journal of Public Health* 24, no. 5 (2014): 702–3.
- AFP. "Stitch in Time: Czechs Sew to Combat Virus Mask Shortage." *France 24*, March 17, 2020. <https://www.france24.com/en/20200317-stitch-in-time-czechs-sew-to-combat-virus-mask-shortage>. Accessed May 20, 2020.
- Ahmed, Sara. *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2004.
- Ahmed, Sara. *The Promise of Happiness*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010.
- Ahmed, Sara. *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006.
- Alföldi, Tibor. "Pozor na 'covidové děti', varuje profesor Kolář. Vraťte jim pohyb, vyzývá." *Český Olympijský výbor*. November 27, 2020. <https://www.olympijskytyym.cz/article/pozor-na-covidove-deti-varuje-profesor-kolar-vratte-jim-pohyb-vyzyva>, Accessed October 14, 2024.
- Aliance pro individualizovanou podporu (AIP). "Dopady pandemie covid-19 na osoby se zdravotním postižením nebo chronickým onemocněním a jejich pečující v ČR. Závěrečná zpráva z 1. a 2. vlny šetření 2020." [https://aipp.cz/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/AIP\\_Dopady\\_situace\\_Covid-19\\_na\\_zdravotne\\_postrizene\\_zaverecna\\_zprava.pdf](https://aipp.cz/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/AIP_Dopady_situace_Covid-19_na_zdravotne_postrizene_zaverecna_zprava.pdf). Accessed March 14, 2023.
- Amnesty International. "Živé knihovny." <https://www.amnesty.cz/zive-knihovny>. Accessed June 8, 2019.
- Anthová, Pavla. "Škrtám tohle mateřství." *Literární noviny* 19, no. 35 (2008): 10.
- Antić, Milica G. "Democracy between Tyranny and Liberty: Women in Post-'socialist' Slovenia." *Feminist Review* 39 (1991): 149–54.
- Appeltová, Michaela. "'Tlusté' tělo v normalizačním Československu: Povinná zdatnost a gender v kampani proti obezitě." *Gender & Výzkum* 17, no. 1 (2016): 15–28.
- Atanasoski, Neda. *Humanitarian Violence: The U.S. Deployment of Diversity*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013.

- Atanasoski, Neda, and Vora Kalindi. "Postsocialist Politics and the Ends of Revolution." *Social Identities* 24, no. 2 (2018): 139–54.
- Atanasoski, Neda, and Erin McElroy. "Postsocialism and the Afterlives of Revolution: Impossible Spaces of Dissent." In *Reframing Critical, Literary, and Cultural Theories: Thought on the Edge*, edited by Erin McElroy and Nicoletta Pireddu, 273–97. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.
- "Babiš: Můj výrok 'best in covid' byl vytržen z kontextu, návrat ze škol a dovolených jsme ale loni nezvládli." *Irozhlas*, September 1, 2021. [https://www.irozhlas.cz/zpravavy-domov/andrej-babis-cesko-koronavirus-COVID-19-bled-best-covid\\_2109011135\\_pj](https://www.irozhlas.cz/zpravavy-domov/andrej-babis-cesko-koronavirus-COVID-19-bled-best-covid_2109011135_pj). Accessed March 30, 2023.
- "Babiš navrhl Trumpovi aby se vydal českou cestou: Američané by měli zavést povinné nošení roušek." *lidovky.cz*, March 29, 2020. [https://www.lidovky.cz/domov/babis-vyzval-trumpa-aby-v-usa-po-vzoru-cr-zavedl-noseni-rousek.A200329\\_161707\\_in\\_domov\\_ele](https://www.lidovky.cz/domov/babis-vyzval-trumpa-aby-v-usa-po-vzoru-cr-zavedl-noseni-rousek.A200329_161707_in_domov_ele)
- Baer, Brian J. "Russian Gays / Western Gaze: Mapping (Homo)sexual Desire in Post-Soviet Russia." *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 8, no. 4 (2002): 499–521.
- Bakalář, Petr. *Psychologie Romů*. Prague: Votobia, 2004.
- Bakalář, Petr. *Tabu v sociálních vědách*. Prague: Votobia, 2003.
- Bakošová, Barbora. "Chceme bydlet: V Brně se lidé bouří proti vykořisťování nájemníků." *denikreferendum.cz*, March 31, 2017. <http://denikreferendum.cz/clanek/24966-chceme-bydlet-v-brne-se-lide-bouri-proti-vykoristovani-najemniku>
- Bakošová, Barbora. "Vzpouza žen z Kunčovic: Chceme důstojné bydlení pro nás a vlastně pro všechny." *denikreferendum.cz*, April 13, 2017. <http://denikreferendum.cz/clanek/25053-vzpouza-zen-z-kuncovky-chceme-dustojne-bydleni-pro-nas-a-vlastne-pro-vsechny>
- Baladrán, Zbyněk, and Vít Havránek, eds. *Atlas transformace*. Prague: Tranzit, 2009.
- Balibar, Étienne. *We, the People of Europe? Reflections on Transnational Citizenship*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004.
- Bareš, Stanislav. "Requiem s vykiřčínkem." *Květy* 2, no. 9 (1992): 38.
- Baril, Alexandre. "'Doctor, Am I an Anglophone Trapped in a Francophone Body?': An Intersectional Analysis of 'Trans-Crip-t Time' in Ableist, Cisnormative, Anglonormative Societies." *Journal of Literary & Cultural Disability Studies* 10, no. 2 (2016): 155–72.
- Barker, Melanie. "Prague Pride Puts You in the Picture." *Curvemag.com*, August 14, 2014. <http://www.curvemag.com/News/Prague-Pride-Puts-You-in-the-Picture/>
- Barša, Pavel. *Levice by se měla přiblížit k ideálu rovné důstojnosti*. Prague: CESTA—Centrum pro sociálně-tržní ekonomiku a otevřenou demokracii, 2012.
- Barša, Pavel. *Západ a islamismus: Střet civilizací, nebo dialog kultur?* Brno: Centrum pro studium demokracie a kultury, 2001.
- Barša, Pavel, Zora Hesová, and Ondřej Slačálek, eds. *Central European Culture Wars: Beyond Post-communism and Populism*. Prague: Faculty of Arts, Charles University, 2021.

- Barša, Pavel, and Lenka Kabrhelová. "Pandemie covidu je první skutečně globální krizí, globálnější než obě světové války." *Vinohradská 12, Český rozhlas*, January 4, 2021. [https://www.irozhlas.cz/zivotni-styl/spolecnost/podcast-vinohradska-12-koronavirus-spolecnost-globalizace-krize-pavel-barsa\\_2101040600\\_miz](https://www.irozhlas.cz/zivotni-styl/spolecnost/podcast-vinohradska-12-koronavirus-spolecnost-globalizace-krize-pavel-barsa_2101040600_miz)
- Barša, Pavel, et al. *Kritika depolitizovaného rozumu: Úvahy (nejen) o nové normalizaci*. Všeň: Grimmus, 2010.
- Baršová, Andrea, et al. *Romové ve městě*. Prague: Socioklub, 2002.
- Bártová, Eliška. "Škromach: Klece jsou, uznávám." *Aktuálně.cz*, April 11, 2006. <http://zpravy.aktualne.cz/domaci/skromach-klece-jsouuznavam/r~i:article:125470/>
- Bártová, Eliška. "Zemřela v klecovém lůžku, ústav říká ne omluvě za smrt." *Aktuálně.cz*, March 31, 2010.
- Bártová, Eliška, and Ludvík Hradílek. "Ústavy stále zavírají lidi do klecí." *Aktuálně.cz*, April 7, 2006. <http://zpravy.aktualne.cz/domaci/ustavy-stale-zaviraji-lidi-do-kleci/r~i:article:116581/>
- Bártová Hradílková, Eliška. "Tady nemají kam utéct, jsme na konci světa': O městě, kde se i starcům říká děti a kde každý desátý žije v ústavu." *Deník N*, January 24, 2020. <https://denikn.cz/276399/tady-nemaji-kam-utect-jsme-na-konci-sve-ta-o-meste-kde-se-i-starcum-rika-deti-a-kde-kazdy-desaty-zije-v-ustavu/>
- Bartůšek, Michal. "Requiem pro panenku." *Kino* 47, no. 3 (1992): 6–7.
- Battalova, Alfiya. "Ambivalent Subjectivities: Experiences of Mothers with Disabilities in Russia." *Disability & Society* 34, no. 6 (2019): 904–25.
- Baudyšová, Jana. "Města kritizují zrušení lavičkové vyhlášky: Poradce ministryně Marksové mluví o 'nepřízpusobivých cikánech.'" *Romea.cz*, July 28, 2017. <http://www.romea.cz/cz/zpravodajstvi/domaci/mesta-kritizuji-zruseni-lavickkove-vyh-lasky-nepripusobivi-terorizuji-sve-sousedy-rika-zastupitel-litvinova>
- Becirevic, Majda, and Monica, Dowling. "The Complex Role of Non-governmental Organisations in the Advancing the Inclusion of Children with Disabilities in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Bulgaria." In *Disability in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union: History, Policy and Everyday Life*, edited by Michael Rasell and Elena Iarskaia-Smirnova, 226–44. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2014.
- Bělohradský, Václav. "Antipolitika v Čechách (Příspěvek ke gramatice kýče)." In *Česká konzervativní a liberální politika: Sborník k desátému výročí založení revue Proglas*, edited by František Mikš and Petr Fiala, 33–59. Brno: Centrum pro studium demokracie a kultury, 2000.
- Beníšková, Alena. "Nemocní uprchlíci čekají na péči roky, říká český lékař z mise v Jordánsku." *Idnes.cz*, December 20, 2017. [https://www.idnes.cz/zpravy/domaci/medevac-mise-jordansko-ustredni-vojenska-nemocnice-lekari-pomoc-uprchlici.A171129\\_162035\\_domaci\\_ale](https://www.idnes.cz/zpravy/domaci/medevac-mise-jordansko-ustredni-vojenska-nemocnice-lekari-pomoc-uprchlici.A171129_162035_domaci_ale)
- Ben-Moshe, Liat. *Decarcerating Disability: Deinstitutionalization and Prison Abolition*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2020.
- Ben-Moshe, Liat, Chris Chapman, and Allison C. Carey, eds. *Disability Incarcerated: Imprisonment and Disability in the United States and Canada*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

- Berec, Luděk, Jan Smyčka, René Levínský, et al. "Delays, Masks, the Elderly, and Schools: First Covid-19 Wave in the Czech Republic." *Bulletin of Mathematical Biology* 84 (2022). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11538-022-01031-5>
- Berend, Iván T. *Central and Eastern Europe, 1944–1993: Detour from the Periphery to the Periphery*. Vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Berlant, Lauren G. *Cruel Optimism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011.
- Berlant, Lauren G. *The Queen of America Goes to Washington City: Essays on Sex and Citizenship*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997.
- Berlant, Lauren G. "Slow Death (Sovereignty, Obesity, Lateral Agency)." *Critical Inquiry* 33, no. 4 (2007): 754–80.
- Bican, Jaroslav. "Lidé s postižením se nechali využít Okamurovou SPD, říká aktivista. Rozhovor s Karlem Chloubou." July 31, 2018. <https://zpravy.tiscali.cz/lide-s-postizenim-se-nechali-vyuzit-okamurovou-spd-rika-aktivista-316233>
- Blagojević, Jelisaveta and Jovana Timotijević. "Failing the Metronome: Queen Readings of the Postsocialist Transition," in *The Future of (Post)Socialism: Eastern European Perspectives*, edited by John Frederick Bailyn, Dijana Jelača, and Danijela Lugiarić, 71–86. New York: SUNY Press, 2018.
- Bockman, Johanna. *Markets in the Name of Socialism: The Left-Wing Origins of Neoliberalism*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011.
- Boika, Rechel, Clare M. Blackburn, Nick J. Spencer, and Rachel Bernd. "Access to Health Care for Roma Children in Central and Eastern Europe: Findings from a Qualitative Study in Bulgaria." *International Journal for Equity in Health* 8, no. 24 (2009): 1–10.
- Born, Robert, and Sarah Lemmen, eds. *Orientalismen in Ostmitteleuropa: Diskurse, Akteure und Disziplinen vom 19. Jahrhundert bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg*. Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2014.
- Boučková, Tereza. *Rok kobouta*. Prague: Odeon, 2008.
- Boyer, Dominic, and Alexei Yurchak. "Postsocialist Studies, Cultures of Parody and American *Stiob*." *Anthropology News* 49, no. 8 (2008): 9–10. <https://doi.org/10.1111/an.2008.49.8.9>
- Browning, Tod, dir. *Freaks*. 1932.
- Bruce, La Marr Jurelle. *How to go mad without losing your mind: madness and Black radical creativity*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2021.
- Buchtík, Martin, et al. *Jedna společnost → různé světy: Poznatky kvalitativní studie o fragmentarizaci české společnosti*. Prague: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung e.V., 2021.
- Buden, Boris. *Konec postkomunismu: Od společnosti bez naděje k naději bez společnosti*. Prague: Rybka, 2013.
- Bunzl, Matti. "The Prague Experience: Gay Male Sex Tourism and the Neocolonial Invention of an Embodied Border." In *Altering States: Ethnographies of Transition in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union*, edited by Matti Bunzl, 70–96. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000.
- Burch, Susan. *Committed: Remembering Native Kinship in and beyond institutions*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2021.
- Burda, Jan. "Katarze je vzácná a čekat, že komunisty zakážeme a oni půjdou domů,

- je naivní, říká Petr Pithart." *Interview Plus*. *Český rozhlas*, August 13, 2020. <https://plus.rozhlas.cz/katarze-je-vzacna-a-cekat-ze-komunisty-zakazeme-a-oni-pujdou-domu-je-naivni-rika-8272431>
- Bushman, Holly. "Spargelfest and Migrant Labor." *Places Journal*, August 2020. <https://placesjournal.org/workshop-article/asparagus-and-an-air-bridge-foreign-labor-in-a-global-health-crisis/?cn-reloaded=1>
- Butler, Judith. "Mourning Is a Political Act amid the Pandemic and Its Disparities." *Truthout*, April 30, 2020. <https://truthout.org/articles/judith-butler-mourning-is-apolitical-act-amid-the-pandemic-and-its-disparities/>. Reprinted in *Journal of Bioethical Inquiry* 17 (2020). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11673-020-10043-6>
- Cacho, Lisa M. *Social Death: Racialized Rightlessness and the Criminalization of the Unprotected*. New York: New York University Press, 2012.
- Caixeta, Luzenir. "Minoritized Women Effect a Transformation in Feminism," in *Utopia of Alliances, Conditions of Impossibilities and the Vocabulary of Decoloniality*, edited by the Editorial Group for Writing Insurgent Genealogies, 145–48. Vienna: Löcker, 2013.
- Carboch, Radek. "They Said We Were Going Out, into a Normal Life': Daily Care in the Process of Deinstitutionalization." Doctoral dissertation, Masaryk University, Brno, 2022. <https://is.muni.cz/th/bav8h/>
- Carlson, Licia. *The Faces of Intellectual Disability: Philosophical Reflections*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009.
- Cârstocea, Andreea. "Going Viral: The Moral Panic Constructing the Roma as a Threat to Public Health during the First Wave of the Covid-19 Pandemic." *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe* 21, no. 2 (2022): 57–80. <https://doi.org/10.53779/NIQA9963>
- Cârstocea, Raul. "War against the Poor: Social Violence against Roma in Eastern Europe during COVID-19 at the Intersection of Class and Race." *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe* 21, no. 2 (2022): 81–109. <https://doi.org/10.53779/QPLK4474>
- Cavanagh, Clare. "Postcolonial Poland." *Common Knowledge* 10, no. 1 (2004): 82–92.
- Čermáková, Marie, Hana Hašková, Alena Křížková, Marcela Linková, Hana Maříková, and Martina Musilová, eds. *Relations and Changes of Gender Differences in the Czech Society in the 90's*. Prague: Sociologický ústav, 2000.
- Cerwonka, Allaine. "Gender Studies in 'New' Europe: Reflections on What Lies Beyond." *Bulletin Texte* nos. 34–35 (2009): 85–91. <https://www.gender.hu-berlin.de/de/publikationen/gender-bulletin-broschueren/bulletin-texte/texte-34/bulletin-texte-34>
- Cerwonka, Allaine. "Traveling Feminist Thought: Difference and Transculturation in Central and Eastern European Feminism." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 33, no. 4 (2008): 809–32.
- "Česko nosí roušky." *Respekt*, March 26, 2020. <https://www.respekt.cz/galerie/cesko-nosi-rousky>. Accessed August 23, 2020.
- Chari, Sharad, and Katherine Verdery. "Thinking between the Posts: Postcolonial-

- ism, Postsocialism, and Ethnography after the Cold War.” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51, no. 1 (2009): 6–34.
- Chelcea, Liviu, and Oana Druță. “Zombie Socialism and the Rise of Neoliberalism in Post-socialist Central and Eastern Europe.” *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 57, nos. 4–5 (2016): 521–44.
- Chen, Mel, Y. *Intoxicated: Race, Disability, and Chemical Intimacy Across Empire*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2023.
- Chen, Mel, Y. *Animacies: Biopolitics, Racial Mattering, and Queer Affect*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012.
- Chen, Mel, Y. “Keep Your Eyes on the Clock.” Keynote address at the conference “De-colonising Disability Theory: Crippling Development,” conference, Prague, September 19–21, 2013. Organized by Gender Studies, Charles University, Prague and Gender Research Office, University Vienna. <https://crippingdevelopment2013.univie.ac.at/home/>
- Chen, Mel, Y. “‘The Stuff of Slow Constitution’: Reading Down Syndrome for Race, Disability, and the Timing That Makes Them So.” *Somatechnics* 6, no. 2 (2016): 235–48.
- Chen, Mel, Y., Alison Kafer, Eunjung Kim, and Julie Avril Minich, eds. *Crip Genealogies*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2023.
- Chernetsky, Vitaly, Nancy Condee, Ram Harsha, and Gayatri Spivak. “Conference Debates: Are We Postcolonial? Post-Soviet Space.” *PMLA Forum* 121 (2006): 828–36.
- Christian, Michelle. “A Global Critical Race and Racism Framework: Racial Entanglements and Deep and Malleable Whiteness.” *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 5, no. 2 (2019): 169–85. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2332649218783220>
- Chuchma, Josef. “Chůze minovým polem.” *Mladá fronta Dnes—Praha Scéna* 19, no. 21 (2008): D/9.
- Chudé Česko. *Aktuálně.cz*; 2018; <https://zpravy.aktualne.cz/domaci/chude-cesko/r~e8ce002ca06411e890620cc47ab5f122/>.
- Chudé Česko 21. *Aktuálně.cz*; 2021. <https://zpravy.aktualne.cz/ekonomika/chude-cesko-21/r~91669aec713111eb9caf1f6b220ee8/>
- Cihlářová, Petra, et al. “Věc: Návrh zákona o očkování proti Covid-19.” November 30, 2020. <https://blog.aktualne.cz/blogy/jan-hnizdil.php?itemid=38323>. <https://zpravy.kurzy.cz/568624-navrh-zakona-o-ockovani-proti-covid-19/>
- Činátlová, Blanka. “Arkádie v retrokulisách: Jak zkritit ‘zlatá’ a ‘divoká’ devadesátá.” *A2* 13, no. 2 (2017): 7.
- Čisářová, Dagmar, and Olga Sovová. *Trestní právo a zdravotnictví*. Prague: Orac, 2004.
- Clare, Eli. *Brilliant Imperfection: Grappling with Cure*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017.
- Colpani, Gianmaria, and José Adriano Habed. “In Europe It’s Different’: Homonationalism and Peripheral Desires for Europe.” In *LGBT Activism and the Making of Europe: A Rainbow Europe?*, edited by Phillip Ayoub and David Paternotte, 73–96. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Čulík, Jan. *Jací jsme: Česká společnost v hraném filmu devadesátých a nultých let*. Brno: Host, 2007.

- CVVM. "Postoje veřejnosti k právům homosexuálů—červen 2014." Naděžda Čadová. July 11, 2014. <https://cvvm.soc.cas.cz/cz/tiskove-zpravy/ostatni/vztahy-a-zivotni-postoje/1774-postoje-verejnosti-k-pravum-homosexuálu-cerven-2014>
- CVVM. "Postoje veřejnosti k právům homosexuálů—duben/květen 2023." Naděžda Čadová and Monika Kyselá. May 2023. <https://cvvm.soc.cas.cz/cz/tiskove-zpravy/ostatni/vztahy-a-zivotni-postoje/5685-postoje-verejnosti-k-pravum-homosexuálu-duben-kveten-2023>
- Dahrendorf, Ralf. *Úvahy o revoluci v Evropě v dopise, který měl být zaslán jistému pánovi ve Varšavě*. Prague: Evropský kulturní klub, 1991.
- Dakić, Danica, Ulrike Groos, Tihomir Milovac, Städtische Kunsthalle Düsseldorf, and Generali Foundation. *Danica Dakić*. Cologne: W. König, 2009.
- Das, Veena. *Affliction: Health, Disease, Poverty*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2015.
- David, Ivan. "Zástupkyně Veřejného ochránce práv jednala v rozporu se zákonem." *Britské listy*, October 9, 2006. <http://blisty.cz/art/30640.html#sthash.oVqVHRka.dpuf>
- Davydova, Darja. "Criminal Networks, Unfortunate Circumstances, or Migratory Projects? Researching Sex Trafficking from Eastern Europe." *Cultural Dynamics* 25, no. 2 (2013): 229–43.
- Dawson, Michael C. "The Hollow Shell: Loïc Wacquant's Vision of State, Race and Economics." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 37, no. 10 (2014): 1767–75.
- Dědič, Miroslav. *Výchova a vzdělávání cikánských dětí a mládeže*. Prague: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1982.
- Deyl, Vojtěch. "Jakou sociální politiku?" *Lidové noviny* 30, no. 4 (1991): 13.
- Dimitrova, Ina. "Desiring Economization: Disability Identities in Bulgaria and the Work Utopia." Paper presented at the conference "Criptic Identities: Historicizing the Identity Formation of Persons with Disabilities across the Globe," Leiden University, March 21–22, 2019.
- Disability Covid Chronicles: Documenting the Experiences of Disabled and Chronically Ill People during the COVID-19 Pandemic*. New York University Center for Disability Studies. <https://disabilitycovidchronicles.nyu.edu/>
- Donert, Celia. "The Struggle for the Soul of the Gypsy: Marginality and Mass Mobilization in Stalinist Czechoslovakia." *Social History* 33, no. 2 (2008): 123–44.
- Dosoudil, Pavel, and Jakub Pokorný. "V dětském ústavu zavírají děti do klecí." *MF Dnes*, June 15, 2004. [http://zpravy.idnes.cz/v-detskem-ustavu-zaviraji-deti-do-kleci-d97-/domaci.aspx?c=A040614\\_205820\\_domaci\\_fri](http://zpravy.idnes.cz/v-detskem-ustavu-zaviraji-deti-do-kleci-d97-/domaci.aspx?c=A040614_205820_domaci_fri)
- Dudko, Oksana. "Gate-crashing 'European' and 'Slavic' area studies: can Ukrainian studies transform the fields?" *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 65, vol. 2 (2023): 174–89.
- Duggan, Lisa. *The Twilight of Equality? Neoliberalism, Cultural Politics, and the Attack on Democracy*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2003.
- Duhaček, Daša. "Eastern Europe." In *A Companion to Feminist Philosophy*, edited by Alison M. Jaggar and Iris M. Young, 128–36. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2000.
- Duka, Dominik. "Svatováclavské kázání." September 28, 2017. <http://www.dominikduka.cz/kazaniK/svatovaclavske-kazani-2017/>

- Dunn, Elizabeth Cullen. Privatizing Poland. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2019.
- Dutkiewicz, Piotr. "Missing in Translation: Re-conceptualizing Russia's Developmental State." In *Russia: Challenges of Transformation*, edited by Piotr Dutkiewicz and Dmitri Trenin, 9–41. New York: New York University Press, 2011.
- Dutkiewicz, Jan, and Jan, Smoleński. "Epistemic Superimposition: The War in Ukraine and the Poverty of Expertise in International Relations Theory," *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 26, vol.4 (2023): 619–31.
- Dvořák, Jiří. *Ve stínu AIDS*. Prague: Academia, 1992.
- Dvořáková, Petra. "A vy na virus věříte? Sociálně vyloučené lokality v době pandemie." *Deník Referendum*, May 7, 2020. <https://denikreferendum.cz/clanek/31166-a-vy-na-virus-verite-socialne-vyloucene-lokality-v-dobe-pandemie>
- Dzenovska, Dace. "Coherent Selves, Viable States: Eastern Europe and the 'Migration/Refugee Crisis'." *Slavic Review* 76, no. 2 (2017): 297–306.
- Dzenovska, Dace. "Eastern Europe, the Moral Subject of the Migration/Refugee Crisis, and Political Futures." *Near Futures Online*. 2016. <http://nearfuturesonline.org/eastern-europe-the-moral-subject-of-the-migrationrefugee-crisis-and-political-futures>.
- Dzenovska, Dace. *School of Europeanness: Tolerance and Other Lessons in Political Liberalism in Latvia*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2018.
- Dzenovska, Dace, and Larisa Kurtović. "Introduction: Lessons for Liberalism from the 'Illiberal East.'" In "Lessons for Liberalism from the 'Illiberal East.'" Hot Spots series, edited by Dace Dzenovska and Larisa Kurtović. *Fieldsights*, April 25, 2018. <https://culanth.org/fieldsights/series/lessons-for-liberalism-from-the-illiberal-east>
- Einhorn, Barbara, and Charlotte Sever. "Gender and Civil Society in Central and Eastern Europe." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 5, no. 2 (2003): 163–90.
- "El Rozhovor s prezidentem československého červeného kříže, MUDr. RNDr., PhMr. Václavem Burianem, CSc., s první viceprezidentkou ČSČK MUDr. Olgou Královou, s ředitelkou Českého výboru červeného kříže pověřenou řízením úřadu FV ČSČK PhDr. Václavou Marešovou." *Elán: Časopis svazu invalidů* 41, nos. 7–8 (1990): 1–2.
- Eleftheriadis, Konstantinos. "Queer Activism and the Idea of 'Practicing Europe.'" In *LGBT Activism and the Making of Europe: A Rainbow Europe?*, edited by Phillip Ayoub and David Paternotte, 145–70. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Elman, Julie P. *Chronic Youth: Disability, Sexuality, and U.S. Media Cultures of Rehabilitation*. New York: New York University Press, 2014.
- Elman, Julie P., and Robert McRuer. "The Gifts of Mobility: Disability, Queerness and the Cultural Politics of Rehabilitation." *Feminist Formations* 32, no. 2 (2020): 52–78.
- Eng, David L. *The Feeling of Kinship: Queer Liberalism and the Racialization of Intimacy*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010.
- Engel, Antke. *Bilder von Sexualität and Ökonomie: Queere kulturelle Politiken im Neoliberalismus..* Transcript, 2009.

- Engel, Antke. "The Surplus of Paradoxes: Queer/ing Images of Sexuality and Economy." In *Social Inequalities & the Politics of Representation: A Global Landscape*, edited by Celine-Marie Pascale, 176–88. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2013.
- Erevelles, Nirmala. *Disability and Difference in Global Contexts: Enabling a Transformative Body Politic*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Erevelles, Nirmala. *Disability and difference in global contexts: Enabling a transformative body politic*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Erni, John Nguyet and Striphas, Ted. "Introduction: COVID-19, the multiplier." *Cultural Studies*, 35, Nos 2-3 (2021): 211–237.
- "EU: Zed' musí vláda z Maticní odstranit." *Hospodářské noviny*, October 15, 1999. <https://archiv.ihned.cz/c1-817294-eu-zed-musi-vlada-z-maticni-odstranit>
- European Human Rights Report 2020: Poverty and Social Exclusion*. January 15, 2021. <https://www.edf-feph.org/publications/european-human-rights-report/>
- European Roma Rights Centre. *Life Sentence: ERRC Research Finds Romani Children Overrepresented in State Care*. June 30, 2011. <http://www.errc.org/reports-and-submissions/life-sentence-errc-research-finds-romani-children-overrepresented-in-state-care>
- Eyal, Gil. "Anti-politics and the Spirit of Capitalism: Dissidents, Monetarists, and the Czech Transition to Capitalism." *Theory and Society* 29, no. 1 (2000): 49–92.
- Fabian, Johannes. *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1983.
- Farris, Sara R. *In the Name of Women's Rights: The Rise of Femonationalism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017.
- Fassin, Didier. "Another Politics of Life Is Possible." *Theory, Culture & Society* 26, no. 5 (2009): 44–60.
- Fassin, Didier. "Compassion and Repression: The Moral Economy of Immigration Policies in France." *Cultural Anthropology* 20, no. 3 (2005): 362–87.
- Fassin, Didier. *Humanitarian Reason: A Moral History of The Present*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011.
- Fassin, Éric. "National Identities and Transnational Intimacies: Sexual Democracy and the Politics of Immigration in Europe." *Public Culture* 22, no. 3 (2010): 507–29.
- Fejes, Náracsiz, and Andrea P. Balogh. *Queer Visibility in Post-socialist Cultures*. Bristol: Intellect, 2013.
- Felt, Lindsey D. "Cyberpunk's Other Hackers: The Girls Who Were Plugged In." *Catalyst: Feminism, Theory, Technoscience* 5, no. 1 (2019): 1–38.
- Ferenčuhová, Slavomíra. "Centrá a predmestia: Hranice solidarity v miestskom prostore." In *Etnická rôznosť a občianska jednota*, edited by Radim Marada, 193–220. Brno: Centrum pro studium demokracie a kultury, 2006.
- Ferguson, Philip M. *Left to Their Fate: Social Policy and Practice towards Severely Retarded People in America, 1820–1920*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994.
- Ferguson, Roderick A. *Aberrations in Black: Toward a Queer of Color Critique*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004.

- Fiol-Matta, Licia. *A Queer Mother for the Nation: The State and Gabriela Mistral*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002.
- Fisher, Mark. *Capitalist Realism: Is There No Alternative?* Washington, DC: Zero Books, 2009.
- Forrester, Sibelan, Magdalena J. Zaborowska, and Elena Gapova. *Over the Wall / After the Fall: Post-communist Cultures through an East-West Gaze*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004.
- Foucault, Michel. *Abnormal: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1974–1975*. Edited by Valerio Marchetti and Antonella Salomoni. Translated by Graham Burchell. New York: Picador, 2003.
- FRA (European Agency for Fundamental Rights). Roma in 10 European Countries. <https://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2022/roma-survey-findings>
- Fraser, Nancy. *Justus Interruptus: Critical Reflections on the “Postsocialist” Condition*. New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Fritsch, Kelly. “Gradations of Debility and Capacity: Biocapitalism and the Neoliberalization of Disability Relations.” *Canadian Journal of Disability Studies* 4, no. 2 (2015): 12–48.
- Gal, Fedor. “Desetiletka v Letech u Písku—pravolevý oportunismus v praxi.” <https://www.fedorgal.cz/g-plus-g/romsky-holocaust/analyza-let.pdf>
- Gal, Susan, and Gail Kligman. *The Politics of Gender after Socialism: A Comparative-Historical Essay*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Galmarini-Kabala, Maria Cristina. *The Right to Be Helped: Deviance, Entitlement, and the Soviet Moral Order*. Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2016.
- Garde, Jonah I. *Crippling Development? Ambivalenzen “Inklusiver Entwicklung” aus crip-theoretischer Perspektive*. New York: Peter Lang, 2015.
- Garde, Jonah I. “Inclusive Development as Crip(dys)topic Promise: Querying Development, Dis/ability and Human Rights.” *Somatechnics* 6, no. 2 (2016): 159–78.
- Gessen, Masha. “My Life as an Out Gay Person in Russia.” *The Guardian*, November 15, 2013. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/nov/15/life-as-out-gay-russia>
- Gessen, Masha, and Joseph Huff-Hannon, eds. *Gay Propaganda: Russian Love Stories*. OR Books: Alternative Publishing.
- Ghodsee, Kristen. *Second World, Second Sex: Socialist Women’s Activism and Global Solidarity during the Cold War*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2019.
- Gonzalez, Emily. “Essay on Hammer Projects: Danica Dakić.” <https://hammer.ucila.edu/exhibitions/2011/hammer-projects-danica-dakic/>
- Goodley, Dan, Rebecca Lawthom, and Katherine Runswick-Cole. “Dis/ability and Austerity: Beyond Work and Slow Death.” *Disability & Society* 29, no. 6 (2014): 980–84.
- Gorman, Rachel. “Disablement in and for Itself: Toward a ‘Global’ Idea of Disability.” *Somatechnics* 6, no. 2 (2016): 249–61.
- Gould, Deborah B. *Moving Politics: Emotion and ACT UP’s Fight against AIDS*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009.

- Gould, Robert, and Sarah P. Harris. "Welfare Reform and Disability in Slovakia: Exploring Neoliberalism, Social Justice and Employment Policy." *Disability Studies Quarterly* 32, no. 2 (2012): n.p.
- Graeber, David. *Debt: The First 5,000 Years*. Brooklyn, NY: Melville House, 2011.
- Graff, Agnieszka. "Lost between the Waves? The Paradoxes of Feminist Chronology and Activism in Contemporary Poland." *Journal of International Women's Studies* 4, no. 2 (2003): 100–116.
- Grech, Shaun, and Karen Soldatic. *Disability in the Global South: The Critical Handbook*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 2016.
- Grodecki, Wiktor. "Chtěl jsem ukázat duši člověka." *Reflex* 7, no. 46 (1996): 44–46.
- Grodecki, Wiktor. "Kdo prošel peklem." *Týden* 44, no. 4 (1997): 120–21.
- Grodecki, Wiktor, dir. *Mandragora*, 1997.
- Gržinić, Marina. "Europe's Colonialism, Decoloniality, and Racism." In *Postcoloniality—Decoloniality—Black Critique: Joints and Fissures*, edited by Sabine Broeck and Carsten Junker, 129–44. Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2014.
- Gržinić, Marina, Tjaša Kancler & Piro Rexhepi. "Decolonial Encounters and the Geopolitics of Racial Capitalism." *Feminist Critique: East European Journal of Feminist and Queer Studies* 3 (2020): 13–38
- "Homo(sexual) sapiens." *Mladá fronta* 44, no. 208 (1988). příloha *Vikend* 35, no. 2.
- "Homosexuálové jsou devianti, míní Hájek." *lidovky.cz*, August 4, 2011.
- "Human Rights Activist Praises Pinochet." UPI. <https://www.upi.com/Archives/1994/06/06/Human-rights-activist-praises-Pinochet/7718770875200/>
- Huttenbach, Henry R. "The Origins of Russian Imperialism," in *Russian Imperialism from Ivan the Great to the Revolution*. Edited by Taras Hunczak, 18–44. Ithaca, NY: Rutgers University Press, 1974.
- Habermas, Jürgen. *Die nachholende Revolution*. Vol. 7 of *Kleine Politische Schriften*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1990.
- Habermas, Jürgen. "What Does Socialism Mean Today? The Rectifying Revolution and the Need for New Thinking on the Left." *New Left Review* 1, no. 183 (1990): 3–22.
- Halberstam, Judith. *The Queer Art of Failure*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011.
- Hall, Stuart. "Reinvention of Ideology." In *Literary Theory: An Anthology*, edited by Julie Rivkin and Michael Ryan, 1050–64. Oxford: Blackwell, 1998.
- Hall, Timothy M. "Rent-Boys, Barflies, and Kept Men: Men Involved in Sex with Men for Compensation in Prague." *Sexualities* 10, no. 4 (2007): 457–72.
- Hammond, Andrew. "The Danger Zone of Europe: Balkanism between the Cold War and 9/11." *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 8, no. 2 (2005): 135–54.
- Hamraie, Aimi. "Crippling Feminist Technoscience." *Hypatia* 30, no. 1 (2015): 307–13.
- Hamraie, Aimi, and Kelly Fritsch. "Crip Technoscience Manifesto." *Catalyst: Feminism, Theory, Technoscience* 5, no. 1 (2019): 1–34.
- Han, Clara. *Life in Debt: Times of Care and Violence in Neoliberal Chile*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.

- Hann, Chris, ed. *Postsocialism: Ideals, Ideologies and Practices in Euroasia*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2002.
- Hanuš, Jan. "Matiční už není, co bývala." *Ústecký deník* 10, no. 49 (2002): 8.
- Haraway, Donna. *When Species Meet*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2008.
- Hašková, Hana, Alena Křížková, and Marcela Linková, eds. *Mnoliblasem: Vydávání ženských prostorů po roce 1989*. Prague: Sociologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, 2006.
- Havel, Václav. "Address to Both Chambers of the Parliament." December 9, 1997. [https://web.archive.org/web/20171213055020/http://www.vaclavhavel.cz/showtrans.php?cat=projevy&val=144\\_projevy.html&typ=HTML](https://web.archive.org/web/20171213055020/http://www.vaclavhavel.cz/showtrans.php?cat=projevy&val=144_projevy.html&typ=HTML)
- Havel, Václav. "Novoroční projev prezidenta ČSSR Václava Havla." January 1, 1990. [https://cs.wikisource.org/wiki/Novoro%C4%8Dn%C3%AD\\_projev\\_prezidenta\\_%C4%8CSSR\\_V%C3%A1clava\\_Havla](https://cs.wikisource.org/wiki/Novoro%C4%8Dn%C3%AD_projev_prezidenta_%C4%8CSSR_V%C3%A1clava_Havla)
- Havel, Václav, and a Keane, John. *The Power of the Powerless*. United Kingdom: Taylor & Francis Group, 1985.
- Havelka, Miloš. "The Czech Transformation: The Universal and the Particular." *Czech Sociological Review* 5, no. 1 (1997): 73–78.
- Havelka, Miloš, and Karel Müller. "Procesy transformace a teorie modernizace." *Czech Sociological Review* 4, no. 2 (1996): 143–57.
- Havelková, Barbara. *Gender Equality in Law: Uncovering the Legacies of Czech State Socialism*. Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2017.
- Havelková, Barbara, and Blanka Bellak-Hančilová, eds. *Co s prostitutí? Veřejné politiky a práva osob v prostituci*. Prague: Sociologické nakladatelství, 2014.
- Havelková, Hana. "Abstract Citizenship? Women and Power in the Czech Republic." *Gender, State & Society* 2, no. 3 (1996): 243–60.
- Havelková, Hana. "'Patriarchy' in Czech Society." *Hypatia* 8, no. 4 (1993): 89–96.
- Havelková, Hana, and Libora Oates-Indruchová, eds. *The Politics of Gender Culture under State Socialism: An Expropriated Voice*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2014.
- Heitlinger, Alena. *Women and State Socialism: Sex Inequality in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979.
- Heldenburg, Michal. "Věc: Vyjádření ve věci podnětu paní Anny Šabatové a pana Petra Uhla. Sp. zn./ Ident.: 0840(2011), čj.: BUR/3293/2011." November 7, 2011. [http://www.romea.cz/dokumenty/dopis\\_CT.pdf](http://www.romea.cz/dokumenty/dopis_CT.pdf)
- Hendl, Tereza. "Towards accounting for Russian imperialism and building meaningful transnational feminist solidarity with Ukraine," *Gender Studies* 26 (2022): 62–93.
- Hendl, Tereza, Burlyuk, Olga, O'Sullivan, Míla, and Arystanbek, Aizada. "(En) Countering epistemic imperialism: A critique of 'Westsplaining' and coloniality in dominant debates on Russia's invasion of Ukraine," *Contemporary Security Policy* 45 no. 2(2023): 171–209.
- Herza, Filip. *Imaginace jinakosti a přehledky lidských "kuriozit" v Praze v 19. a 20. století*. Prague: Scriptorium, 2020.
- Herza, Filip, and Kateřina Kolářová. "Socialist Humanism between a Promise of Social Improvement and Commitment to Normative Social Order: Integra-

- tion of Roma and People with Disabilities in 1970s–1980s Czechoslovakia.” In *Re/imaginings of Disability in State Socialism: Visions, Promises, Frustrations*, edited by Kateřina Kolářová and Martina Winkler, 167–214. Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2021.
- Heslop, Pauline, et al. “The Confidential Inquiry into Premature Deaths of People with Intellectual Disabilities in the UK: A Population-Based Study.” *Lancet* 383, no. 9920 (2014): 889–95.
- Hilton, Leon J. “Avonté’s Law: Autism, Wandering, and the Racial Surveillance of Neurological Difference.” *African American Review* 50, no. 2 (2017): 221–235.
- Hoffman, Ivan. “Smrt v kleci.” *rozhlas.cz*, April 26, 2006. <https://temata.rozhlas.cz/smrt-v-kleci-7820991>
- Holert, Tom. “The Politics of the Figure.” *Portraits d’intérieures*. Monaco: Nouveau Musée National de Monaco, 2014.
- Holinková, Petra. “Vracíme jim důstojnost’: Lékaři z MEDEVAC pomáhají lidem zapomenutým válkou a inspirují svět.” *irozhlas.cz*, March 18, 2017. [https://www.irohlas.cz/zpravy-domov/-vracime-jim-dustojnost-lekari-z-medevac-pomahaji-lidem-zapomenutym-valkou-a-inspiruji-svet\\_201703181930\\_pholinkova](https://www.irohlas.cz/zpravy-domov/-vracime-jim-dustojnost-lekari-z-medevac-pomahaji-lidem-zapomenutym-valkou-a-inspiruji-svet_201703181930_pholinkova)
- Holub, Jiří. *AIDS a my aneb Co je třeba vědět o AIDS*. Prague: Grada, 1993.
- Holý, Ladislav. *Malý český člověk a skvělý český národ: Národní identita a postkomunistická transformace společnosti*. Prague: Sociologické nakladatelství, 2010.
- Hošek, Jiří. “Čeští očiari odoperují 200 uprchlíků za týden: Jak naši lékaři zlepšují reputaci země.” *Seznam zprávy.cz*, May 29, 2018. <https://www.seznamzpravy.cz/clanek/cesti-ocari-odoperuji-200-uprchliku-za-tyden-jak-nasi-lekari-zlepsuji-reputaci-zeme-48027>
- Houdek, Lukáš. “Žižkovské Romky našly roušky do nemocnic i pro seniory: A zdaleka nekončí.” *Hatefree*, April 1, 2020. <https://www.hatefree.cz/clanky/vera-pavlina-rousky>
- Hrbek, Jaroslav, and Karel Klein. “Bez soudu do šatlavy?” *Hospodářské noviny* 36, no. 231 (1992): 16.
- Huber, Marty. *Queering Gay Pride: Zwischen Assimilation und Widerstand*. Vienna: Zaglossus, 2013.
- Hübschmannová, Milena, ed. *Po Židoch Cigáni: Svědectví Romů ze Slovenska 1939–1945*. Prague: Triáda, 2005.
- Hudec, Miroslav. “Kauza Matiční ulice a hrátky s Evropskou unií.” *Slovo* 91, no. 246 (1999): 7.
- Huffer, Lynne. *Mad for Foucault: Rethinking the Foundations of Queer Theory*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2010.
- Humphrey, Caroline. “Does the Category of Postsocialism Still Make Sense?” In *Postsocialism: Ideals, Ideologies and Practices in Euroasia*, edited by Chris Hann, 12–14. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2002.
- Hutař, Jan. “Rok boje proti chudobě po česku.” *Národní rada osob se zdravotním postižením*, November 2, 2011. <https://nrzp.cz/2010/11/02/rok-boje-proti-chudobe-po-cesku/#>
- Imre, Anikó. “Whiteness in Post-socialist Eastern Europe: The Time of the Gyp-

- sies, the End of Race." In *Postcolonial Whiteness: A Critical Reader on Race and Empire*, edited by Alfred J. Lopez, 79–102. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005.
- Janata, Hana. *Podpora zdraví ve vyloučených lokalitách—snižování zdravotních nerovností*. Státní zdravotní ústav. Jiprint Jihlava, 2015.
- Jandáková, Lenka. "V Bílině začala platit vyhláška o zákazu sezení ve veřejném prostoru." *Romea.cz*, July 27, 2015. <http://www.romea.cz/cz/zpravodajstvi/doma-ci/v-biline-zacala-platit-vyhlaska-o-zakazu-sezeni-ve-verejnem-prostoru>
- Janoušek, Pavel. "Rok kohouta." *Tvar* 19, no. 10 (2008): 3.
- Jarošová, R. "Requiem pro panenku." *Scéna* 17, no. 3 (1992): 5.
- Jedlička, Jaroslav, et al. *Pozitivní život, neboli, Jak žít s virem a vírou*. Prague: Státní zdravotní ústav ve spolupráci s Českou společností AIDS pomoc a firmou GlaxoSmithKline, 2002.
- Jelača, Dijana and Danijela Lugiarić. "The 'Radiant Future' of Spatial and Temporal Dis/Orientations" in *The future of (post)socialism: Eastern European perspectives*, edited by John Frederick Bailyn, Dijana Jelača, and Danijela Lugiarić, 1–18. New York: SUNY Press, 2018.
- Jeníková, Eva. "Šokující dokument Tělo bez duše odhaluje podsvětí dětské pornografie." *Svobodné slovo* 88, no. 16 (1996): 5.
- Johnson, Dana N. "We Are Waiting for You: The Discursive (De)construction of Belgrade Pride 2009." *Sextures* 2, no. 2 (2012): 6–31.
- Johnson, Merri L. "Bad Romance: A Crip Feminist Critique of Queer Failure." *Hypatia* 30, no. 1 (2015): 251–67. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24542070>
- Joseph, Miranda. *Debt to Society: Accounting for Life under Capitalism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014.
- Jović, Dejan. "Problems of Early Post-communist Transition Theory: From Transition from to Transition To." *Politička Misao* 5 (2010): 44–68.
- Juřenová, Ivanka. "Problémy mají i jinde." *Vozíkář* 4, no. 2 (1991): 82.
- Kabele, Jiří. *Z kapitalismu do socialismu a zpět: Teoretické vyšetřování přerodů Československa a České republiky*. Prague: Karolinum, 2005.
- Kafer, Alison. *Feminist, Queer, Crip*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013.
- Kališová, L., J. Raboch, E. Kitzlerová, and I. Novotná. "Obecná praxe užívání omezovacích opatření monitorování situace v České republice." *Česká a slovenská psychiatrie* 101, no. 6 (2005): 303–7.
- Kalmar, Ivan. *White but Not Quite: Central Europe's Illiberal Revolt*. Bristol: Bristol University Press, 2022.
- Kára, Karel. "Cikáni v ČSSR a jejich společenská integrace." *Sociologický časopis* 17, no. 4 (1981): 366–79.
- Kašić, Biljana. "Transition as an Affair or an Affair with Transition. Postcolonial(ist) Lenses on Europe and 'Transition'," *Prospettive degli Studi culturali*, 215–29. Bologna: Il Libri di Emil, 2009.
- Kassymbekova, Botakoz. "How Western scholars overlooked Russian imperialism." *Al Jazeera*. 2023a, January 23. <https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2023/1/24/howwestern-scholars-overlooked-russian-imperialism>.

- Katona, Noémi, and Elena Zacharenko. *The Dependency on East-to-West Care Labour Migration in the EU: Addressing Inequalities and Exploitation*. Discussion Paper. Friedrich Ebert Foundation. 2021. <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/budapest/18038.pdf>
- Kayiatos, Anastasia. "Shock and Alla: Capitalist Cures for Socialist Perversities at the End of the Twentieth Century." *Lambda Nordica* 4 (2012): 33–64.
- Kiczková, Zuzana. *Pamät žien: O skúsenosti sebauvárania v biografických rozhovoroach*. Bratislava: Iris, 2006.
- Kilgore, James. "Repackaging Mass Incarceration." *Counterpunch*, June 6, 2014.
- Kim, Claire, Jean. "The Racial Triangulation of Asian Americans." *Politics & Society* 27, no. 1 (1999): 105–38.
- Kim, Eunjung. *Curative Violence: Rehabilitating Disability, Gender, and Sexuality in Modern Korea*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017.
- Kim, Jina B. "Toward a Crip-of-Color Critique: Thinking with Minich's Enabling Whom?" *Lateral: Journal of the Cultural Studies Association* 6, no. 1 (2017).
- Kimmel, Michal S. "Sexual Balkanization: Gender and Sexuality as the New Ethnicities." *Social Research* 60, no. 3 (1993): 571–87.
- Kinšt, Petr. "Personál bydlí s klienty: Některé domovy seniorů zvolily dobrovolnou karanténu." *Žatecký a Lounský deník.cz*, April 7, 2020. [https://zatecky.denik.cz/zpravy\\_region/personal-bydli-s-klienty-nektere-domovy-senioru-zvolily-dobrovolnou-karantenu-20200407.html](https://zatecky.denik.cz/zpravy_region/personal-bydli-s-klienty-nektere-domovy-senioru-zvolily-dobrovolnou-karantenu-20200407.html)
- Klaus, Václav. "Chiméra Rovnosti." *Literární noviny*, August 2, 1990, 1.
- Klaus, Václav. "Síla Idejí." *Literární noviny*, April 25, 1991, 1.
- Klaus, Václav. "Společnost jen pro silné?" *Lidové noviny*, July 22, 1995, 5.
- Klein, Naomi. *No Is Not enough: Resisting Trump's Shock Politics and Winning the World We Need*. Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2017.
- Klein, Naomi. *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*. New York: Picador, 2008.
- Klevisová, Naďa. "Ti z Panské a ti z Důlců." *Hospodářské noviny* 37, no. 42 (1993): 16.
- Kligman, Gail, and Stephanie Limoncelli. "Trafficking Women after Socialism: To, through, and from Eastern Europe." *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society* 12, no. 1 (2005): 118–40.
- Klíma, Josef. *Brutalita*. Prague: Mladá fronta, 1990.
- Knadler, Stephen. *Vitality Politics: Health, Debility, and the Limits of Black Emancipation*. University of Michigan Press, 2019.
- Kocman, David. "Klecová lůžka jako diagnóza české sociální péče." *Literární Noviny* 19, no. 13 (2008): 3.
- Kocman, David. "Mezi péčí a zneužíváním." *Literární noviny* 17, no. 40 (2006): 7.
- Kóczé, Angéla, and Márton Rövid. "Roma and the Politics of Double Discourse in Contemporary Europe." *Identities* 24, no. 6 (2017): 684–700.
- KOD. "Boj s pandemií nesmí být záminkou pro likvidaci demokracie," *Forum24.cz* <https://www.forum24.cz/boj-s-pandemi-nesmi-byt-zaminkou-pro-likvidaci-demokracie>, Accessed October 15, 2024.
- Kolář, Pavel, and Michal Pullmann. *Co byla normalizace? Studie o pozdním social-*

- ismu. Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2016. Kolářová, Kateřina. "Affective Politics of Disability Shame in the Times of Neoliberal Exceptionalism." In *Export-Import-Transport: Queer Theory, Queer Critique and Activism in Motion*, edited by Mesquita Sushila, Maria Katharina Wiedlack, and Katrin Lasthofer, 263–80. Vienna: Zaglossus, 2012.
- Kolářová, Kateřina. "The AIDS-ed Perestroika: Discourses of Gender in Negotiations of Ideological Consensus in Late-Socialist Czechoslovakia." In *The Politics of Gender Culture under State Socialism: An Expropriated Voice*, edited by Hana Havelková and Libora Oates-Indruchová, 234–56. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2015.
- Kolářová, Kateřina. "Death by Choice, Life by Privilege: Biopolitical Circuits of Vitality and Debility in the Times of Empire." In *Foucault and Government of Disability*, edited by Tremain Shelley, 396–424. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2015.
- Kolářová, Kateřina. "'Grandpa Lives in Paradise Now': Biological Precarity and the Global Economy of Debility." *Feminist Review* 111, no. 1 (2015): 75–87.
- Kolářová, Kateřina. "Homosexuální 'asociál' a jeho zavírované tělo: Víř HIV a nemoc AIDS v socialistickém diskurzu (Česko slovensko 1983–89)." In *Miluji tvory svého pohlaví: Homosexualita v dějinách a společnosti českých zemí*, edited by Pavel Himl, Jan Seidl, and Franz Schindler, 411–52. Prague: Argo, 2013.
- Kolářová, Kateřina. "The Inarticulate Post-socialist Crip: On the Cruel Optimism of Neoliberal Transformations in the Czech Republic." *Journal of Literary & Cultural Disability Studies* 8, no. 3 (2014): 257–80.
- Kolářová, Kateřina. "(Ne)přizpůsobení krizi, nezpůsobilí občanství? 'Postižení' a 'rasa' v diskurzích krize." *Gender & výzkum* 15, no. 2 (2014): 48–60.
- Kolářová, Kateřina. "'What Kind of Development Are We Talking About?': A Virtual Roundtable with Tsitsi Chataika, Nilika Mehrotra, Karen Soldatic, and Kateřina Kolářová." *Somatechnics* 6, no. 2 (2016): 142–58.
- Kolářová, Kateřina, and Katharina M. Wiedlack. "Crip Notes on the Idea of Development." *Somatechnics* 6, no. 2 (2016): 125–41.
- Kolářová, Kateřina, and Martina Winkler, eds. *Re/imaginings of Disability in State Socialism: Visions, Promises, Frustrations*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2021.
- Kołodziejczyk, Dorota, and Sandru Cristina. "Introduction: On Colonialism, Communism and East-Central Europe—Some Reflections." *Journal of Postcolonial Writing* 48, no. 2 (2012): 113–16.
- Komárek, Martin. "Co si vzít z boje o zed." *Mladá fronta Dnes* 10, no. 274 (1999): 14.
- Komárek, Martin. "Matiční ulice: Hádky křičená přes smutnou zed." *Mladá fronta Dnes* 10, no. 127 (1999): 15.
- Koncepce podpory transformace pobytových sociálních služeb v jiné typy sociálních služeb, poskytovaných v přirozené komunitě uživatele a podporující sociální začlenění uživatele do společnosti*, Ministerstvo práce a sociálních věcí, <https://www.mp sv.cz/koncepce-podpory-transformace-pobytovych-socialnich-sluzeb>, accessed October 15, 2024.

- Kondakov, Alexander. "Crip Kinship: A Political Strategy of People Who Were Deemed Contagious by the Shirtless Putin." *Feminist Formations* 30, no. 1 (2018): 71–90.
- Kondakov, Alexander. "The Queer Epistemologies: Challenges to the Modes of Knowing about Sexuality in Russia." In *The Sage Handbook of Global Sexualities*, edited by Z. Davy, A. C. Santos, C. Bertone, R. Thoreson, and S. E. Wieringa, 1:82–98. London: Sage, 2020.
- Kondakov, Alexander. "Resisting the Silence: The Use of Tolerance and Equality Arguments by Gay and Lesbian Activist Groups in Russia." *Canadian Journal of Law and Society / Revue canadienne droit et société* 28, no. 3 (2013): 403–24.
- Koobak, Redi, Madina Tlostanova, and Suruchi Thapar-Björkert, eds. *Postcolonial and Postsocialist Dialogues: Intersections, Opacities, Challenges in Feminist Theorizing and Practice*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2021.
- Kopáč, Radim. "Deník jako román touhy." *Divadelní noviny* 17, no. 12 (2008): 15.
- Kopeček, Michal, and Piotr Wciślik, eds. *Thinking through Transition: Liberal Democracy, Authoritarian Pasts, and Intellectual History in East Central Europe after 1989*. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2015.
- Kornai, Janos. "Hardening the budget constraint: The experience of the post-socialist countries," *European Economic Review* 45, no. 9 (2001): 1573–1599; <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0014292101001003>
- Kostlán, František. "Uhl a Šabatová kritizují výraz nepřizpůsobiví: Právník České televize oponuje: V ČT pracují cikáni." *Deník Referendum*, December 4, 2011. <http://denikreferendum.cz/clanek/12034-uhl-a-sabatova-kritizuji-vyraz-nepri-zpusobivi-pravnik-ceske-televize-oponuje-v-ct-pracuji-cikani>
- Koupilová, Ilona, Helen Epstein, Jan Holčík, et al. "Health Needs of the Roma Population in the Czech and Slovak Republics." *Social Science & Medicine* 53, no. 9 (2001): 1191–204.
- Kovačević, Nataša. *Narrating Post/communism: Colonial Discourse and Europe's Borderline Civilization*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2008.
- Kozicharow, Nicola. "Russian Colonial Sickness and Decolonial Recovery: Revelations of Autotheoretical Practice," *The February Journal* 3 (2024): 71–87.
- Krása, Václav. "Asi už ztrácíme základní instinkty." *Aktuálně.cz*, August 6, 2017. <http://blog.aktualne.cz/blogy/vaclav-krasa.php?itemid=29705>
- Krása, Václav. "Co to vlastně jsou ty „Evropské hodnoty?"" *Aktuálně.cz*, October 11, 2015. <http://blog.aktualne.cz/blogy/vaclav-krasa.php?itemid=26069>
- Krastev, Ivan, and Stephen, Holmes. "How liberalism became 'the god that failed' in eastern Europe," *The Guardian*, October 24, 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/oct/24/western-liberalism-failed-post-communist-eastern-europe>.
- Krása, Václav. "Integrace muslimů není možná." *Vaclavkrasa.cz*, January 29, 2016. <http://www.vaclavkrasa.cz/integrace-muslimu-neni-mozna-328.html>
- Krása, Václav. "O pomoc se žádá, ale nelze jí vynucovat." *Aktuálně.cz*, September 6, 2015. <http://blog.aktualne.cz/blogy/vaclav-krasa.php?itemid=25880>
- Krov, Gustav. "Uhl nás dostal do pasti." *Ústecký deník* 7, no. 172 (1999): 8.

- Kudrnová, A. "Všechno je (trochu) jinak." *Respekt* 3, no. 9 (1992): 14.
- Kulpa, Robert. "Nations and Sexualities—'West' and 'East.'" In *De-centring Western Sexualities: Central and Eastern European Perspectives*, edited by Robert Kulpa and Joanna Mizielińska. 42–63. Farnham: Ashgate, 2011.
- Kulpa, Robert. "Western 'Leveraged Pedagogy' of Central and Eastern Europe: Discourses of Homophobia, Tolerance, and Nationhood." *Gender, Place & Culture* 21, no. 4 (2014): 431–48.
- Kulpa, Robert, and Joanna Mizielińska, eds. *De-centring Western Sexualities: Central and Eastern European perspectives*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2011.
- "Kuncovka? Ne, švábka!" *azlarm.cz*, May 27, 2017. <https://a2larm.cz/2017/05/kuncovka-ne-svabka/>
- Kuus, Merje. "Europe's Eastern Expansion and the Reinscription of Otherness in East-Central Europe." *Progress in Human Geography* 28, no. 4 (2004): 472–89.
- Lamper, Ivan. "Minulý týden." *Respekt* 8, no. 9 (1997): 52.
- Lamper, Ivan. "Minulý týden." *Respekt* 17, no. 18 (2006): 24.
- Lavin, Emer K., Brian E. McGuire, and Michael J. Hogan. "Age at Death of People with an Intellectual Disability in Ireland." *Journal of Intellectual Disabilities* 10 (2006): 155–64.
- Lederer, Jakub. "Mandragora šokuje otevřeností, nahotou však neuráží." *ZN zemské noviny* 7, no. 243 (1997): 7.
- Létající lékaři. Výstava fotografií programů zahraniční pomoci ministerstva vnitra České republiky, Ministerstvo Vnitřní ČR, 2018, <https://web.archive.org/web/20181002185319/http://letajicilekari.cz/>
- Lenskyj, Helen J. *Sexual Diversity and the Sochi 2014 Olympics: No More Rainbows*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Lewis, Victoria A. "Crip." In *Keywords for Disability Studies*, edited by Rachel Adams, Benjamin Reiss, and David Serlin, 140–45. New York: New York University Press, 2015.
- Liu, Petrus. *Queer Marxism in Two Chinas*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015.
- Liu, Petrus. *The Specter of Materialism: Queer Theory and Marxism in the Age of the Beijing Consensus*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2023.
- Livingston, Julia. *Debility and the Moral Imagination in Botswana*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005.
- Ljubková, Marta. "Rok, jaký si nechcete prožít." *Instinkt* 7, no. 28 (2008): 54.
- Lomasko, Victoria. *Other Russias*. Translated by Thomas Campbell. Brooklyn, NY: n+1 Books, 2017.
- Lóránd, Zsófia. "Feminist Criticism of the 'New Democracies' in Serbia and Croatia in the First Half of the 1990s." In *Thinking through Transition: Liberal Democracy, Authoritarian Pasts, and Intellectual History in East Central Europe after 1989*, edited by Michal Kopeček and Piotr Wciślik, 431–62. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2015.
- Lorek-Jezińska, Edyta. "Disability and Its Doubles: The Conflicting Discourses of Disability in Susan Nussbaum's *No One as Nasty*." In *Disability and Dissen-*

- sus: *Strategies of Disability Representation and Inclusion in Contemporary Culture*, edited by Katarzyna Ojrzyńska and Maciej Wieczorek, 158–72. Leiden: Brill, 2020.
- Lorenz, Renate. “The Chronic: Zum Begriffshorizont und künstlerischen Einsatz des ‘Chronischen’.” A conversation between Renate Lorenz, Elizabeth Freeman and Mathias Danbolt. *Springerin* 1 (2014): 17–23.
- Love, Heather. *Feeling Backward: Loss and the Politics of Queer History*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007.
- Lowe, Lisa. *The Intimacies of Four Continents*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015.
- Luciani, Laura, and Luntumbue, Valentin. “Finding your way back: A discussion with Madina Tlostanova.” 268–289. In Valentin Luntumbue, Stephan Raab, Philippe Lefevre, Nadya Kamenkovick, Adrian Waters, and Ruxandra Seniuc (Eds.), *Places in the Sun: Post-colonial Dialogues in Europe and Beyond*, Institute for a Greater Europe. 2021
- Lykke, Nina. “Transversal Dialogues on Intersectionality, Socialist Feminism and Epistemologies of Ignorance.” *NORA: Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research* 28, no. 3 (2020): 197–210. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08038740.2019.1708786>
- Machonin, Pavel. “Proměny sociálních nerovností v postsocialistické transformaci středoevropského tzu a jejich možné teoretické implikace.” In *Současná česká společnost: Sociologické studie*, edited by Milan Tuček and Zdenka Mansfeldová, 11–30. Prague: Sociologický ústav AV ČR, 2002.
- Machonin, Pavel, Lumír Gatnar, and Milan Tuček. *Vývoj sociální struktury v české společnosti 1988–1999*. Prague: Sociologický ústav AV ČR, 2000.
- Machonin, Pavel, et al. *Česká společnost v transformaci: K proměnám sociální struktury*. Prague: Sociologické nakladatelství, 1996.
- Mahtani, Minelle and David, Roberts. “Neoliberalizing Race, Racing Neoliberalism: Placing ‘Race’ in Neoliberal Discourses,” *Antipode* 42, no. 2 (2010): 248–57.
- Maldonado-Torres, Nelson. “On the Coloniality of Being: Contributions to the Development of a Concept.” *Cultural Studies* 27, no. 27 (2007): 240–70.
- Malík, Tomáš. “Kde se vzali nepřizpůsobiví: Politická korektnost naruby.” *A2* 26, no. 7 (2011): 33.
- Mansfeldová, Zdenka, and Petra Guasti. “Missing Links? Citizenship, Civil Society & Political Parties in European Constitutional Politics.” *Sociologický časopis* 43, no. 4 (2007): 859–62.
- Marada, Radim. “Civil Society: Adventures of the Concept before and after 1989.” *Czech Sociological Review* 5, no. 1 (1997): 3–22.
- Marada, Radim. Občanská společnost: Mezi inkluzí a exkluzí. *Sociální studia* 2, no. 1 (2005): 7–11.
- Marciniak, Katarzyna. “New Europe: Eyes Wide Shut.” *Social Identities* 12, no. 5 (2006): 615–33.
- Marciniak, Katarzyna. “Post-socialist Hybrids.” *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 12, no. 2 (2009): 173–90.

- Maříková, Hana, ed. *Proměny současné české rodiny: Rodina—gender—stratifikace*. Prague: Sociologické nakladatelství, 2000.
- Maříková, Hana, Marie Čermáková, Jadwiga Šanderová, and Milan Tuček, eds. *Proměny současné české rodiny: Rodina—gender—stratifikace*. Prague: Sociologické nakladatelství, 2000.
- Marling, Raili, and Redi Koobak. "Intersections of Feminisms and Neoliberalism: Post-State-Socialist Estonia in a Transnational Feminist Framework." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 38, no. 3 (2017): 1–21.
- Marshall, Daniel, Kevin P. Murphy, and Zeb Tortorici. "Editors' Introduction. Queering Archives: Historical Unravelings." *Radical History Review* 120 (2014): 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.1215/01636545-2703706>
- Martin, Emily. *Flexible bodies: Tracking immunity in American culture from the days of polio to the age of AIDS*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1994.
- Martinek, Jan. "Karanténa: Zdravotně postižení strádají." *Právo*, July 23, 2020. <https://www.novinky.cz/clanek/zena-zdravi-karantena-zdravotne-postizeni-st-radaji-40330098?>
- Martinová, Marta. "Komunismus bolí dodnes." *ESKA2LÁTOR* 1, no. 14 (2014): n.p.
- Matache, Margareta, and Jacqueline Bhabha. "Anti-Roma Racism Is Spiraling during COVID-19 Pandemic." *Health Human Rights* 22, no. 1 (2020): 379–82.
- Mayerchuk, Maria and Olga Plakhotnik. "Uneventful Feminist Protest in Post-Maidan Ukraine: Nation and Colonialism Revisited" in *Postcolonial and Post-socialist Dialogues: Intersections, Opacities, Challenges in Feminist Theorizing and Practice*, edited by Koobak, Redi, Madina Tlostanova, and Suruchi Thapar-Björkert, 121–37. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2021
- McCall, Leslie. "The Complexity of Intersectionality," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 30, no. 3 (2005): 1771–1800.
- McClintock, Anne. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. New York: Routledge, 1995.
- McGuire, Anne. *War on Autism: On the Cultural Logic of Normative Violence*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016.
- McRuer, Robert. *Crip Theory: Cultural Signs of Queerness and Disability*. New York: New York University Press, 2006.
- McRuer, Robert. *Crip Times: Disability, Globalization, and Resistance*. New York: New York University Press, 2018.
- McRuer, Robert. "Disability Nationalism in Crip Times." *Journal of Literary & Cultural Disability Studies* 4, no. 2 (2010): 163–78.
- McRuer, Robert, and Abby Wilkerson. "Desiring Disability: Queer Theory Meets Disability Studies." *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 9, nos. 1–2 (2003): 1–23.
- Melegh, Attila. *On the East-West Slope: Globalization, Nationalism, Racism and Discourses on Eastern Europe*. New York: Central European University Press, 2006.
- Melounek, P. "Zmrtvýchvstání." *Reflex* 3, no. 3 (1992): 46–47.
- Méndez, J. E. "Report of the Special Rapporteur on Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment." United Nations doc. A/

- HRC/22/53, 2013. [http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/HRBodies/HRCouncil/RegularSession/Session22/A.HRC.22.53\\_English.pdf](http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/HRBodies/HRCouncil/RegularSession/Session22/A.HRC.22.53_English.pdf)
- Mental Disability Advocacy Center (MDAC). "Cage Beds: Inhuman and Degrading Treatment or Punishment in Four EU Accession Countries." 2003. [http://www.mdac.info/sites/mdac.info/files/English\\_Cage\\_Beds.pdf](http://www.mdac.info/sites/mdac.info/files/English_Cage_Beds.pdf)
- Mental Disability Advocacy Center (MDAC). *Cage Beds and Coercion in Czech Psychiatric Institutions*. 2014. [http://www.mdac.info/sites/mdac.info/files/cagebed\\_web\\_en\\_20140624\\_0.pdf](http://www.mdac.info/sites/mdac.info/files/cagebed_web_en_20140624_0.pdf)
- Metzl, Jonathan. *The Protest Psychosis: How Schizophrenia Became a Black Disease*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2010.
- "Migrants and Refugees." *Last Week Tonight with John Oliver*, September 28, 2015. HBO. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=umqvYhb3wf4>
- Miketa, Kamil. "Nejdříve postavte policajta a potom okolo něj park!" *Rudé právo* 3, no. 5 (1993): 6.
- Minich, Julie. *Accessible Citizenships: Disability, Nation, and the Cultural Politics of Greater Mexico*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2014.
- Minich, Julie. "Enabling Whom? Critical Disability Studies Now." *Lateral: Journal of the Cultural Studies Association* 5, no. 1 (2016): n.p. <http://csalateral.org/wp/issue/5-1/forum-alt-humanities-critical-disability-studies-now-minich/>
- Mirza, Mansha. "Disability and Humanitarianism in Refugee Camps: The Case for a Travelling Supranational Disability Praxis." *Third World Quarterly* 32, no. 8 (2011): 1527–36.
- Mirza, Mansha. "Refugee Camps, Asylum Detention, and the Geopolitics of Transnational Migration: Disability and Its Intersections with Humanitarian Confinement." In *Disability Incarcerated: Imprisonment and Disability in the United States and Canada*, edited by Liat Ben-Moshe, Chris Chapman, and Allison C. Carey. 217–36. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Mitchell, David T., and Sharon L. Snyder. *The Biopolitics of Disability: Neoliberalism, Ablenationalism, and Peripheral Embodiment*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2015.
- Mitchell, David T., and Sharon L. Snyder. *Cultural Locations of Disability*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.
- Mitchell, David T., and Sharon L. Snyder. *Narrative Prosthesis: Disability and the Dependencies of Discourse*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000.
- Mitchell, David T., and Sharon L. Snyder. *The Body and Physical Difference: Discourses of Disability*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997.
- Mladenov, Teodor. *Disability and Postsocialism*. New York: Routledge, 2017.
- Mladenov, Teodor. "Neoliberalism, Postsocialism, Disability." *Disability & Society* 30, no. 3 (2015): 445–59.
- Mladenov, Teodor, and Gabor Petri. "Critique of Deinstitutionalisation in Postsocialist Central and Eastern Europe." *Disability & Society* 35, no. 8 (2020): 1203–26. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09687599.2019.1680341>
- Morozov, Viatcheslav. *Russia's Postcolonial Identity: A subaltern empire in a Eurocentric world*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

- Moss, Kevin. "Split Europe: Homonationalism and Homophobia in Croatia." In *LGBT Activism and the Making of Europe: A Rainbow Europe?*, edited by Philip Ayoub and David Paternotte, 212–32. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Moss, Kevin. "Who's Renting These Boys? Wiktor Grodecki's Czech Hustler Documentaries." *InterAlia: An Online Journal of Queer Studies* 1 (2006). [http://www.interalia.org.pl/en/artykuly/homepage/05\\_whos\\_renting\\_these\\_boys.htm](http://www.interalia.org.pl/en/artykuly/homepage/05_whos_renting_these_boys.htm)
- Mosely, Philip E. *The Kremlin and World Politics: Studies in Soviet Policy and Action*. New York: Vintage Books, 1960.
- Motejl, Otakar. "Umístování a pobyt osob s mentálním postižením v psychiatrických léčebnách." 2010. Příloha zprávy VOP za čtvrté čtvrtletí roku 2009. <https://www.ochrance.cz/zpravy-o-cinnosti/zpravy-pro-poslaneckou-snemovnu/>
- Motejl, Otakar. "Zpráva z návštěvy zařízení: Psychiatrická léčebna Dobruška." Sp. Zn.:6/2008/NZ/LS.Brno, 2008.
- Motejl, Otakar. "Zpráva ze systematických návštěv dětských psychiatrických nemocnic." 2013. [https://www.ochrance.cz/fileadmin/user\\_upload/ochrana\\_ob/ZARIZENI/Zdravotnicka\\_zarizeni/SZ-detske-psychiatricke-lecebny.pdf](https://www.ochrance.cz/fileadmin/user_upload/ochrana_ob/ZARIZENI/Zdravotnicka_zarizeni/SZ-detske-psychiatricke-lecebny.pdf)
- Mouffe, Chantal. *On the Political*. London: Routledge, 2005.
- Mračno, Jakub. "Prague Pride Festival 2022 zahájen. Historicky nejpestřejší program, ale hned s dvojnásobným varováním." *prahain.cz*, August 10, 2022.
- Müller, Karel B. "Češi a občanská společnost: Pojem, problémy, východiska." *Filosofická setkávání*: 2. Prague: Triton, 2003.
- Müller, Martin. "Goodbye, Postsocialism!" *Europe-Asia Studies* 71, no. 4 (2019): 533–50. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2019.1578337>
- Muñoz, José Esteban. *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity*. New York: New York University Press, 2009.
- Muñoz, José Esteban. *Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999.
- Musliu, V. (2022). Oh, "Nick" from Connecticut . . . Twitterpost. <https://twitter.com/VjosaMusliu/status/1509144524966268932>.
- Mužáková, Monika. *Byly to naše děti: O fenoménu lásky a sounáležitosti k rodičům a jejich dětem s mentálním postižením v každodennosti totality*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 2016.
- "Na Staroměstském náměstí demonstrovalo proti koronavirovým opatřením na deset tisíc lidí." *Irozhlás.cz*, November 17, 2021. [https://www.irozhlas.cz/zpravy-domov/koronavirus-cesko-praha-demonstrace-opatreni-vakcina-chcip1-pes\\_2111171750\\_vtk](https://www.irozhlas.cz/zpravy-domov/koronavirus-cesko-praha-demonstrace-opatreni-vakcina-chcip1-pes_2111171750_vtk)
- Nájemníková, Romana. "HIV pozitivní Zuzka v Aši: AIDS si nevybírám." *Chebský deník* 6, no. 264 (1997): 10.
- Nájemníková, Romana. "Já neumírám, já žiju, říká HIV pozitivní Zuzka." *Chebský deník* 7, no. 283 (1998): 1.
- "Náš mikrorozhovor s Petrem Anderlem, jedním z těch, kteří byli a jsou u toho." *Elán Express* 41, no. 4 (1990):1–2.
- Nash, Rebecca. "Exhaustion from Explanation: Reading Czech Gender Studies in the 1990s." *European Journal of Women's Studies* 9, no. 3 (2002): 291–309.

- Navara, Luděk. "Sněmovna v kauze Matiční prohrála." *Mladá fronta Dnes* 11, no. 88 (2000): 2.
- Navickaite, Rasa. "Postcolonial queer critique in post-communist Europe - Stuck in the Western progress narrative?" *Tijdschrift voor Genderstudies*, 17, no. 2 (2014): 165–85.
- Nečas, Ctibor. *Andr'oda taboris: Tragédie cikánských táborů v Letech a v Hodoníně*. Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 1995.
- Nečas, Ctibor. *The Holocaust of Czech Roma*. Prague: Prostor, 1999.
- Nečas, Ctibor. *Romové v České republice včera a dnes*. Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 2002.
- Nedbálková, Kateřina. *Matky kuráže: Lesbické rodiny v pozdně moderní společnosti*. Prague: Sociologické nakladatelství (SLON) ve spolupráci s Masarykovou univerzitou, 2011.
- Nedbálková, Kateřina. "Idle Ally: The LGBT Community in the Czech Republic," In *Czech Feminisms: Perspectives on Gender in East Central Europe* edited by Iveta Jusová and Jiřina Šiklová, 205–21. Indiana University Press, 2016.
- Nejvyšší soud, rozhodnutí ze dne 14.5.2013, Spis. značka: 30 Cdo 3223/2011, ECLI:C Z:NS:2013:30.CDO.3223.2011.I. <http://judikatury.cz/document/cz3v9820>
- Nelb Sinecka, Jitka. "Nahlédnutí za zeď: Deinstitutionalizace lidí s autismem za komunismu a po roce 1989 v narativech rodičů," *Sociální práce* 13, no.1 (2013): 37–48.
- "Nestyďte se." *irozhlas.cz*. [https://www.irozhlas.cz/zpravy-domov/petr-fiala-rozhovor\\_2205181713\\_cen](https://www.irozhlas.cz/zpravy-domov/petr-fiala-rozhovor_2205181713_cen)
- Network 4 Debate Project. "The Giant Cockroach—a Symbol of the Housing Shortage in the Czech Republic." <https://politicalcritique.org/video/2017/giant-cockroach-housing-shortage-czech-republic-dzuvle/>
- Neufeld, Masha, and Katharina Wiedlack. "Lynchpin for Value Negotiation: Lesbians, Gays and Trans-gender between Russia and 'the West.'" In *Queering paradigms VI: Interventions, Ethics and Glocalities*, edited by Bee Scherer, 173–94. New York: Peter Lang, 2016.
- Neumann, Iver B. *Uses of the Other: "The East" in European Identity Formation*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999.
- Neumannová, Vendula. *Hledat-Najít, Držet-Nepustit*. Prague: Waldpress, 2002.
- Ngai, Sianne. *Ugly Feelings*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005.
- Nguyen, Mimi Thi. *The Gift of Freedom: War, Debt, and Other Refugee Passages*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012.
- Nishida, Akemi. *Just Care: Messy Entanglements of Disability, Dependency, and Desire*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Temple University Press, 2022.
- Nixon, Robert. *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor*. Harvard University Press. 2011.
- Noll, Steven, and James W. Trent. *Mental Retardation in America: A Historical Reader*. New York: New York University Press, 2004.
- Nosálková, Tereza. "Mimina na vývoz." *Respekt.cz*, February 13, 2006. <https://www.respekt.cz/tydenik/2006/7/mimina-na-vyvoz>

- “Nothing about us without us.” An Open Letter from Russia’s Indigenous and Decolonial Activists, International Committee of Indigenous Peoples of Russia. April 4, 2023. <https://icpr.international/archives/749>; last visited October 14, 2024.
- “Obecně závazná vyhláška k zabezpečení veřejného pořádku a bezpečnosti ve městě Jirkov.” *S* 92 3, no. 47 (1992): 10–11.
- “Obecně závazná vyhláška města Jirkova č. 4/2005 k zabezpečení místních záležitostí veřejného pořádku na veřejných prostranstvích.” <https://www.epravo.cz/top/zakony/sbirka-zakonu/nalez-ustavniho-soudu-ze-dne-11-prosince-2007-ve-veci-navrhu-na-zruseni-cl-3-obecne-zavazne-vyhlasky-mesta-jirko-va-c-42005-k-zabezpeceni-mistnich-zalezitosti-verejneho-poradku-na-verejnych-prostranstvich-16391.html>
- “Obecně závazná vyhláška města Duchcova č. 4/2015 o zabezpečení místních záležitostí veřejného pořádku, ochraně veřejné zeleně a zlepšení vzhledu města.” <http://www.duchcov.cz/ozv-c-4-2015/d-9492/p1=6827>
- “Otevřená společnost—názory studentů.” *Listy* 27, no. 5 (1997): 31–33.
- “Otevřený dopis lékařů vládě, parlamentu a médiím ohledně tzv. koronavirové krize.” N.d. [https://www.petice.com/otevreny\\_dopis\\_leka\\_vlad\\_parlamentu\\_a\\_mediim\\_ohledn\\_tzv\\_koronavirove\\_krize](https://www.petice.com/otevreny_dopis_leka_vlad_parlamentu_a_mediim_ohledn_tzv_koronavirove_krize)
- Oates-Indruchová, Libora. “Borders in the Social and Cultural Practice of Communist and Postcommunist Europe.” *East Central Europe* 41, nos. 2–3 (2014): 151–57.
- Oates-Indruchová, Libora. “Unraveling a Tradition, or Spinning a Myth? Gender Critique in Czech Society and Culture.” *Slavic Review* 75, no. 4 (2016): 919–43.
- Obourn, Milo. *Disabled Futures: A Framework for Radical Inclusion*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2020.
- Ong, Aihwa. *Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006.
- Open Society Fund. *Left Out: Roma and Access to Health Care in Eastern and South Eastern Europe*. [https://documentation.lastradainternational.org/lisidocs/300%20Acces%20to%20health%20care%20for%20Roma%20\(OSI\).pdf](https://documentation.lastradainternational.org/lisidocs/300%20Acces%20to%20health%20care%20for%20Roma%20(OSI).pdf)
- Ost, David. “The Endless Innovations of the Semiperiphery and the Peculiar Power of Eastern Europe,” in *The Future of (Post)Socialism: Eastern European Perspectives*, edited by John Frederick Bailyn, Dijana Jelača, and Danijela Lugarić, 19–50. New York: SUNY Press, 2018.
- Ostránský, Bronislav. “Deset let islámu po česku: Normalizace protiislámského étosu od směšných kuriozit k nudnému konsenzu.” *Azalarm*. <https://a2alarm.cz/2024/01/deset-let-islamu-po-cesku-normalizace-protiislamskeho-etosu-od-smesnych-kuriozit-k-nudnemu-konsenzu/>
- Pager, Devah. *Marked: Race, Crime, and Finding Work in the Era of Mass Incarceration*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.
- Pajerová, Monika, and Christian Lequesne, eds. *Demokracie v Evropě: Příspěvky k tématu demokratického občanství v Evropě*. Prague: Prostor, 2006.
- Pamuła, Natalia. “Czy adoptowałeś już niepełnosprawne dziecko?”: Przyczynek do

- analizy niepełnosprawności w dyskursie pro-choice w Polsce.” *Teksty Drugie* 2 (2020): 86–103.
- Pamuła, Natalia. “Kalekie świadectwa. Niepełnosprawność i protesty w Polsce w 2018 i 2020 roku.” *Przegląd Kulturoznawczy* 4, no. 50 (2021): 698–714.
- Pamuła, Natalia. “Ordinary Trauma: Twenty-One Disabled Women Surviving the 1989 Polish Transformation.” *Aspasia* 16, no. 1 (2022): 130–48. <https://doi.org/10.3167/asp.2022.160109>
- Pape, Markus. *A nikdo vám nebude věřit*. Dokument o koncentračním táboře Lety u Písku. Prague: GplusG, 1997.
- Parvulescu, Anca. “European Racial Triangulation.” In *Postcolonial transitions in Europe: Contexts, Practices and Politics*, edited by Sandra Ponzanesi and Gianmaria Colpani, 25–46. London: Rowman and Littlefield, 2016.
- Parvulescu, Anca. *The Traffic in Women's Work: East European Migration and the Making of Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014.
- Parvulescu, Anca, and Boatcă, Manuela. “The inter-imperial dowry plot. Modernist naturalism in the periphery of European empires, interventions.” *International Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, 22, no. 5 (2020): 1–26.
- Pasz, Jiří. “Zdravotní sestra změnila po misích v Jordánsku a Iráku názory: ‘Jsou to lidé jako my,’ říká.” *Hatefree.cz*, May 21, 2018. <https://www.hatefree.cz/blo/clanky/2745-medevac-daniela>
- Patja, K., M. Iivanainen, H. Vesala, H. Oksanen, and I. Ruoppila. “Life Expectancy of People with Intellectual Disability: A 35-Year Follow-Up Study.” *Journal of Intellectual Disability Research* 44 (2000): 591–99.
- Patsavas, Alyson. “Disabilities Studies Gains Cultural Capital? And Now What?” *Feminist Wire*, November 22, 2013. <https://thefeministwire.com/2013/11/disabilities-studies-gains-cultural-capital-and-now-what/>
- Patsavas, Alyson, and Dora Danylevich, eds. “Crip Pandemic Life: A Tapestry.” *Lateral* 11, no. 2 (2022). <https://csalateral.org/archive/section/crip-pandemic-life/>
- Patterson, Orlando. *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982.
- Pawłowska, Halina, and M. Čáp. “Viděno dvěma.” *Metropolitan* 2, no. 29 (1992): 15.
- Pecháčková, Marcela. “Marnost dvaceti let: Tereza Boučková.” *Instinkt* 7, no. 35 (2008): 12–17.
- Pečinka, Bohumil. “Česká rouškokracie a hra na strach.” *Reflex*, May 15, 2020. <https://www.reflex.cz/clanek/komentare/101170/bohumil-pecinka-ceska-rouskracie-a-hra-na-strach.html>
- Pedersen, Morten Axel. “Debt as an Urban Chronotope in Mongolia.” *Ethnos* 82, no. 3 (2017): 475–91.
- Pehe, Jiří. “Zeď v Matiční ulici je v nás.” *Literární noviny* 10, no. 44 (1999): 2.
- Pehe, Jiří. “Volby, které změní českou politiku,” *Český Rozhlas*, October 10, 2021, <https://plus.rozhlas.cz/jiri-pehe-volby-ktere-zmeni-ceskou-politiku-8594341>
- Peňás, Jiří. “O rodičích a zatoulaných kuřatech,” *Týden* 15, no. 28 (2008): 68.
- Petersen, Hans-Christian. “Between Marginalization and Instrumentalization:

- Anti-Eastern European and Anti-Slavic Racism." *Illiberalism.org*, August 18, 2022. <https://www.illiberalism.org/between-marginalization-and-instrumentalization-anti-eastern-european-and-anti-slavic-racism/>
- Petrusek, Miloslav. *Společnosti pozdní doby*. Praha: Sociologické nakladatelství, 2006.
- Petrusek, Miloslav, Hana Maříková, and Alena Vodáková. *Velký sociologický slovník*. Prague: Karolinum, 1996.
- Pfister, Dominika A. "Naučili Čechy slavit revoluci: Lukáš Černý z Korza Národní popisuje, jak studenti oživilí oslavy 17. Listopadu." *Forbes*, November 17, 2020. <https://forbes.cz/naucili-cechy-slavit-revoluci-lukas-cerny-z-korzo-narodni-popisuje-jak-studenti-ozivili-oslavy-17-listopadu/>
- Phillips, Sarah D. *Disability and Mobile Citizenship in Postsocialist Ukraine*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011.
- Phillips, Sarah D., and Martsenyuk, Tamara. "Women's agency and resistance in Russia's war on Ukraine: From victim of the war to prominent force," *Women's Studies International Forum*, 98, vol. 3 (2023):102731.
- Pickens, Therí A. *Black Madness :: Mad Blackness*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2019.
- Piketty, Thomas. *Time for Socialism: Dispatches from a World on Fire, 2016–2021*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2021.
- Pithart, Petr. "Dobrá společnost musí sama sebe opravit." In *Demokracie v Evropě—Příspěvky k tématu demokratického občanství v Evropě*, edited by Monika MacDonagh-Pajerová and Christian Lequesne, 147–52. Prague: Prostor, 2006.
- Pithart, Petr. "Evropa jako otevřenost, otevřenost jako pokora." In *Výchova k evropsanství*, edited by Novotná Jitka and Petr Urbánek, 18–25. Liberec: Technická univerzita, 1997.
- Pithart, Petr. "Programové prohlášení vlády." July 2, 1990. <http://www.vlada.cz/assets/clenove-vlady/historie-minulych-vlad/prehled-vlad-cr/1990-1992-cr/petr-pithart/ppv-1990-1992-pithart.pdf>. Link no longer available.
- Pithart, Petr. "Rival Visions." *Journal of Democracy* 7, no. 1 (1996): 12–23.
- Pithart, Petr. "Zpráva o stavu České republiky přednesena v ČNR Petrem Pithartem." *Lidové Noviny*, March 10, 1990, 9–10.
- Pitoňák, Michal. "A Decade of Prague Pride: Mapping Origins, Seeking Meanings, Understanding Effects." In *Mapping LGBTQ Spaces and Places: A Changing World*, edited by Marianne Blidon and Stanley D. Brunn, 417–43. New York: Springer, 2022.
- Pitoňák, Michal. "LGBT+ Activism and Morality Politics in Central and Eastern Europe: Understanding the Dynamic Equilibrium in Czechia from a Broader Transnational Perspective." In *Activist Feminist Geographies*, edited by Kate Boyer, LaToya E. Eaves, and Jennifer Fluri, 94–119. Bristol: Bristol University Press, 2023.
- Plakhotnik, Olga and Maria Mayerchyk. "Pride Contested. Geopolitics of Liberation at the Buffer Periphery of Europe," *Lambda Nordica* 28, nos. 2–3 (2023): 25–53.
- Platt, Kevin. "The Post-Soviet Is Over: On Reading the Ruins." *Republics of Letters*:

- A Journal for the Study of Knowledge, Politics, and the Arts* 1, no. 1 (2009): 1–22.  
<https://arcade.stanford.edu/rofl/post-soviet-over-reading-ruins>
- “Pomáhat a léčit.” PR Text, *A2larm*, February 18, 2018. <https://a2larm.cz/2018/02/pomahat-a-lecit/>
- Popa, Bogdan. *De-centering Queer Theory: Communist Sexuality in the Flow during and after the Cold War*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021.
- Portnov, Andrii. “Nothing New in the East? What the West Overlooked – Or Ignored” *TRAF0 – Blog for Transregional Research*. July 26, 2022. Last visited October 15, 2023.
- Povinelli, Elizabeth A. “The Child in the Broom Closet: States of Killing and Letting Die.” *South Atlantic Quarterly* 107, no. 3 (2008): 509–30.
- Povinelli, Elizabeth A. *Economies of Abandonment: Social Belonging and Endurance in Late Liberalism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011.
- Povinelli, Elizabeth A. “Notes on Gridlock: Genealogy, Intimacy, Sexuality.” *Public Culture* 14, no. 1 (2002): 215–38.
- Prague Pride. “Výroční zpráva Prague Pride 2014.” 2014. <https://www.praguepride.cz/cs/media-download/vyrocní-zpravy/6-vyrocní-zprava-2014/file>
- Prainsack, Barbara. “Solidarity in Times of Pandemic.” *Democratic Theory* 7, no. 2 (2020): 124–33. <https://doi.org/10.3167/dt.2020.070215>
- Říběň, Jiří. *The Defence of Constitutionalism: The Czech question in Post-national Europe*. Prague: Karolinum Press, 2017.
- Price, Janet, and Margrit Shildrick. “Bodies Together: Touch, Ethics and Disability.” In *Disability/Postmodernity: Embodying Disability Theory*, edited by Mairian Corker and Tom Shakespeare, 63–75. New York: Continuum, 2002.
- Price, Margaret. “The Bodymind Problem and the Possibilities of Pain.” *Hypatia* 30, no. 1 (2015): 268–84.
- Price, Margaret. “Crip Time and Procedures for Accommodation.” *Profession* 2013. <https://profession.mla.org/faculty-members-accommodation-and-access-in-higher-education/>
- Price, Margaret. *Mad at School: Rhetorics of Mental Disability and Academic Life*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011.
- “Připomínka Dne romského povstání v Brně.” *a2larm.cz*, May 16, 2017. <https://a2larm.cz/2017/05/pripominka-dne-romskeho-povstani-v-brne/>
- “Prohlášení sboru primářů Psychiatrické léčebny Bohnice.” September 4, 2006. <http://www.spdn-cr.org/media/soubory/nehody/ombudsman-smrt-very-musil-ova-odpoved-dr.pdf>
- Prokop, Daniel, Tabery Paulína, Martin Buchtík, Tomáš Dvořák, and Matouš Pilnáček, eds. *Rozdělení svobodou: Česká společnost po 30 letech*. Prague: Radioservis, a.s., 2019.
- Puar, Jasbir K. *The Right to Maim: Debility, Capacity, Disability*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017.
- Puar, Jasbir K. *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007.
- Puar, Jasbir K., and Eng, L., David. Eds. “Introduction: Left of Queer,” *Social Text* 38, no. 4 (2020): 1–24.

- Pullmann, Michal. *Konec experimentu: přestavba a pád komunismu v Československu*. Praha: Scriptorium, 2011.
- Pyne, Jake. "Arresting Ashley X: Trans Youth, Puberty Blockers and the Question of Whether Time Is on Your Side." *Somatechnics* 7, no. 1 (2017): 95–123.
- Quijano, Anibal. "Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality." *Cultural Studies* 21, no. 2 (2007): 168–78.
- Rakušanová, Petra. *Povaha občanské společnosti v České republice v kontextu střední Evropy*. Prague: SOU AV ČR, 2007.
- Rasell, Michael, and Elena Iarskaia-Smirnova, eds. *Disability in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union: History, Policy and Everyday Life*. London: Routledge, 2014.
- Rechel, Boika, Clare M. Blackburn, Nick J. Spencer, and Rachel Bernd. "Access to Health Care for Roma Children in Central and Eastern Europe: Findings from a Qualitative Study in Bulgaria." *International Journal for Equity in Health* 8, no. 24 (2009). <https://doi.org/10.1186/1475-9276-8-24>
- Rédai, Dorottya. "Un/queering the Nation? Gender, Sexuality, Nationality and Homophobia in the Media Discourse on the Violence against the 2008 Gay Pride in Budapest." *Sextures* 2, no. 2 (2012): 47–64.
- Reidner, Lisa, Soledad Álvarez-Velasco, Nicholas DeGenova, Martina Tazzioli, and Huub Baar. "Mobility." In *Europe/Crisis: New Keywords of "the Crisis" in and of "Europe"*, *New Keywords Collective*, vol. 1, edited by Nicholas DeGenova and Martina Tazzioli. New York: Zone Books, 2016.
- Remešová, Michaela. "Potměšil: Raději vozík než komunisty!" *Blesk*, November 15, 2009. <http://www.blesk.cz/clanek/zpravy-17-listopad/126864/potmesil-radeji-vozik-nez-komunisty.html>
- Remunda, Filip, and Vit Klusák, dirs. *Život a smrt v Tanvaldu*. Česká televize: Český žurnál, 2013. <https://www.ceskatelevize.cz/porady/10408111009-cesky-zurnal/212562262600001-zivot-a-smrt-v-tanvaldu/>
- Renč, Filip, dir. *Requiem pro panenku*. 1990.
- Řeřichová, Daniela. "Zdravý nemocný Jirkov." *S* '97 8, no. 33 (1997): 28–29.
- Resnick, Elana, Sunnie Rucker-Chang, and Chelsi West Ohueri. "Revisiting the Contours of Race, Racialization, and Race-Making in Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies." *ASEEES*, June 24, 2021. <https://www.aseees.org/news-events/aseees-blog-feed/revisiting-contours-race-racialization-and-race-making-slavic-east>
- Ringoldová, Dena. "Romové se stali hlavní obětí transformace." *Mladá fronta Dnes* 11, no. 260 (2000): 8.
- Ritzer, George. *McDonaldizace společnosti: Výzkum měnící se povahy soudobého společenského života*. Prague: Academia, 1996.
- Rivkin-Fish, Michele, and Cassandra Hartblay. "Global LGBT Activism and the Resurgence of Cold War Hostilities: A Call for Examining Russian Queer Experience and Strategies." *Brown Journal of World Affairs* 21, no. 1 (2014): 95–101.
- Roane, Kit R. "In a World Gone Mad, Mental Home Offers Sanity." *New York*

- Times*, April 10, 1996. <https://www.nytimes.com/1996/04/10/world/pazaric-journal-in-a-world-gone-mad-mental-home-offers-sanity.html>
- Rogowska, Beata. "The Role of the State during the Covid-19 Pandemic in Poland and the Czech Republic: A Comparative Analysis." *Nierówności Społeczne a Wzrost Gospodarczy* 18, no. 69 (2022): 101–26. <https://doi.org/10.15584/nsawg.2022.1.7>
- Romové v České republice (1945–1998)*. Prague: Socioklub, 1999.
- Roubal, Petr. "Anti-communism of the Future: Czech Post-dissident Neoconservatives in Post-communist Transformation." In *Thinking through Transition. Liberal Democracy, Authoritarian Pasts, and Intellectual History in East Central Europe after 1989*, edited by Michal Kopeček and Piotr Wciślik, 171–200. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2015.
- Routed: Migration and (Im)mobility Magazine*. Special issue "Epidemics Labour Mobility." <https://www.routedmagazine.com/epidemics-labour-mobility>
- Rubin, Gayle. "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex." In *Toward an Anthropology of Women*, edited by Rayna R. Reiter, 157–210. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975.
- Rupprecht, Tobias. "Pinochet in Prague: Authoritarian Visions of Economic Reforms and the State in Eastern Europe, 1980–2000." *Journal of Modern European History* 18, no. 3 (2020): 312–23.
- Rust, Will. "LGBT Avatars: Case Study for the Avatars Prague Pride Campaign 2014." Prague Pride YouTube Channel, *YouTube*, February 20, 2015. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ao9WWMQeDPYc>
- Růžička, Michal. "Continuity or Rupture? Roma/Gypsy Communities in Rural and Urban Environments under Post-socialism." *Journal of Rural Studies* 28, no. 2 (2012): 81–88.
- Rychlík, Břetislav, and Vladimír Kreidl. "Forum pro změnu politické kultury." *Literární noviny* 11, no. 21 (2000): 4.
- Rychlíková, Apolena, dir. *Borders of Europe*. 2024.
- Rychlíková, Apolena. "Pracovat 16 hodin v kuse?" *irozhlas.cz*, April 20, 2021. [https://www.irozhlas.cz/komentare/zakonik-prace-16-hodin-zamestnanost-poslanec-prumyslnik-juricek\\_2104200630\\_wei](https://www.irozhlas.cz/komentare/zakonik-prace-16-hodin-zamestnanost-poslanec-prumyslnik-juricek_2104200630_wei)
- Ryšavý, Zdeněk. "Policie se začala zabývat plakátem se sloganem o havěti: Na Romy útočí v kampani i další strany." *Romea*, September 12, 2018. <http://www.romea.cz/cz/zpravodajstvi/domaci/policie-se-zacala-zabyvat-plakatem-se-sloganem-o-haveti-na-romy-utoci-v-kampani-i-dalsi-strany>
- Šabatová, Anna. *Zpráva o šetření zástupkyně veřejného ochránce práv v PL Bohnice*. Sp. Zn. 2251/2006/VOP/JL, 2006.
- Šafir, Pavel. "Povinné roušky jsou symbolem diktatury hlouposti," *Forum24*, May 1, 2020, <https://www.forum24.cz/povinne-rousky-jsou-symbolem-diktatury-hlouposti/>, Accessed October 10, 2024.
- Sabsay, Leticia. "The Ruse of Sexual Freedom: Neoliberalism, Self-Ownership and Commercial Sex." In *Global Justice and Desire: Queering Economy*, edited by Nikita Dhawan, Antke Engel, Christoph H. E. Holzhey, and Volker Woltersdorff, 180–94. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2015.

- Sádlík, Jan. "Mandragora varuje před zlem v člověku." *Plzeňský kulturní přehled: Kultura* 5 (1998): 6.
- Safuta, Anna, and Kristin Noack. "A Pandemic, and Then What? The Effects of the Coronavirus Pandemic on Migrant Care Workers in Germany." *Routed*, June 20, 2020. <https://www.routedmagazine.com/care-workers-germany>
- Sagramoso, Domitilla. *Russian Imperialism Revisited. From Disengagement to Hegemony*. London: Routledge, 2020.
- Sakwa, Richard. *Postcommunism*. Buckingham: Open University Press, 1999.
- Samuels, Ellen. *Fantasies of Identification: Disability, Gender, Race*. New York: New York University Press, 2014.
- Samuels, Ellen. "Six Ways of Looking at Crip Time," *Disability Studies Quarterly* 37, no. 3 (2017): n.p.
- Samuels, Ellen. "Crippling anti-futurity, or, if you love queer theory so much, why don't you marry it?" Paper presented at the annual meeting of Society for Disability Studies, San Jose, California, June 15–18, 2011.
- Sandahl, Carrie. "Queering the Crip or Crippling the Queer? Intersections of Queer and Crip Identities in Solo Autobiographical Performance." *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 9, no. 1 (2003): 25–56.
- Sandahl, Carrie, and Ann Fox. "Beyond 'Crippling Up': An Introduction." *Journal of Literary & Cultural Disability Studies* 12, no. 2 (2018): 121–259.
- Schalk, Sami. "Metaphorically Speaking: Ableist Metaphors in Feminist Writing." *Disability Studies Quarterly* 33, no. 4 (2013).
- Schweik, Susan M. *The Ugly Laws: Disability in Public*. New York: New York University, 2009.
- Scott, Darieck. *Extravagant Abjection: Blackness, Power, and Sexuality in the African American Literary Imagination*, New York: New York University Press, 2010.
- Šedá, Kateřina, Aleš Palán, and Lucie Faulerová. *Brnox: Průvodce brněnským Bronxem. Akce Kateřiny Šedé*. Brno: Kateřina Šedá, 2017.
- Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. *Epistemology of the Closet*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.
- Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. "Paranoid Reading and Reparative Reading; or, You're So Paranoid, You Probably Think This Introduction Is about You." In *Novel Gazing: Queer Readings in Fiction*, edited by Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, 1–38. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997.
- Seidl, Jan a kol. *Od žaláře k oltáři: Emancipace homosexuality v českých zemích od roku 1867 do současnosti*. Brno: Host, 2012.
- Shih, Shu-Mei. "Is the Post in Postsocialism the Post in Posthumanism?" *Social Text* 30 (2012): 27–50.
- Shildrick, Margrit. *Embodying the Monster: Encounters with the Vulnerable Self*. London: Sage, 2002.
- Shildrick, Margrit. "Living On; Not Getting Better." *Feminist Review* 111, no. 1 (2015): 10–24.
- Schmidt, Victoria. "The Violence of Knowledge in Practices toward Roma in the Czech Republic: The Historical Echo of Surveillance during Socialism." *Global Humanities* 4 (2016): 117–38.

- Schmidt, Victoria, and Jo Daugherty Bailey. "Institutionalization of Children in the Czech Republic: A Case of Path Dependency." *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare* 41, no. 1 (2014): 53–75.
- Schmüser, Pia. *Familiäre Rehabilitation? Eine Alltagsgeschichte ostdeutscher Haushalte mit behinderten Kindern (1945–1990)*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2023.
- Silný, Jiří. "Evropský rok proti chudobě a sociálnímu vyloučení?" *Deník Referendum*. April 27, 2010, <https://denikreferendum.cz/clanek/3182-evropsky-rok-proti-chudobe-a-socialnimu-vylouceni>.
- Šibík, Jan. "Každý desátý." *Chci ještě žít*. Photo exhibition, 2004.
- Šidlo, Jindřich. "Den, kdy zemřel Tibor Daniel." *Hospodářské noviny*, September 27, 2013. <https://nazory.ihned.cz/komentare/c1-60899870-den-kdy-zemrel-tibor-danihel>
- Šidlo, Jindřich. "Do Klatov přišel zákon." *Respekt* 4, no. 14 (1993): 10.
- Šidlo, Jindřich. "Plot jak uhod." *Respekt* 9, no. 39 (1998): 5.
- Šidlo, Jindřich. "Prvních sedmnáct paragrafů 260." *Respekt* 26 (1994): 4.
- Šidlo, Jindřich. "Z ghettá na ulici: Ohrada v Matiční se mění v plot." *Respekt* 10, no. 37 (1999): 5.
- Šidlo, Jindřich. "Zeď nám spadla." *Respekt* 10, no. 49 (1999): 3.
- Sigona, Nando, and Nidhi Trehan, eds. *Romani Politics in Contemporary Europe: Poverty, Ethnic Mobilization, and the Neo-liberal Order*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- Šíková, Jiřina. "McDonald's, Terminators, Coca Cola Ads—and Feminism? Imports from the West." In *Ana's Land: Sisterhood in Eastern Europe*, edited by Tanya Renner, 76–81. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997.
- Silva, Denise Ferreira da. *Toward a Global Idea of Race*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007.
- Šinkovec, Pavel. "Association of Czechoslovak Invalids: United Movement of People with Sensory and Physical Disabilities in Czechoslovakia, 1949–1959." Doctoral dissertation, Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel, forthcoming
- Sirotnikova, Miroslava G., Edit Inotai, Nicholas Watson, and Claudia Ciobanu. "Central Europe: From Pandemic Exemplar to Pariah." *Balkan Insight*, October 15, 2020. <https://balkaninsight.com/2020/10/15/central-europe-from-pandemic-exemplar-to-pariah/>
- Šiška, Jan, and Julie Beadle-Brown. "Progress on Deinstitutionalisation and the Development of Community Living for Persons with Disabilities in Europe: Are We Nearly There?" *Disability & Society* 38, no. 8 (2023): 1476–95. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09687599.2022.2071676>
- "Sítová lůžka v Bohnicích." Reportéři. *Česká Televize, ČT1*, May 10, 2010. <http://www.ceskatelevize.cz/ivysilani/1142743803-reporteri-ct/210452801240018/obsah/114375-sitova-luzka-v-bohnicich>
- Skoupá, Adéla, and Kateřina Frouzová. "Vesnice pro lůzu a deratizace havěti: Radikální kampaň v Mostě bude řešit policie." *Aktuálně.cz*, September 11, 2018. <https://zpravy.aktualne.cz/domaci/volby/vesnice-pro-luzu-a-deratizace-haveti-radikalni-kampan-v-most/r-ac23996ab51411e8a4d90cc47ab5f122/?redirected=1556041667>

- Slačálek, Ondřej. "Léčba Nemoci a Splácení Dluhu: KSČM a ÚSTR v Diskurzu Českého Antikomunismu." *Forum Historiae* 7, no. 1 (2013): 106–37.
- Slačálek, Ondřej. "The Postcolonial Hypothesis: Notes on the Czech 'Central European' Identity." *Annual of Language & Politics and Politics of Identity* 10 (2016): 27–44.
- Slačálek, Ondřej, and Eva Svobodová. "The Czech Islamophobic Movement: Beyond 'Populism.'" *Patterns of Prejudice* 52, no. 5 (2018): 479–95.
- Sládeček, P. "Úspěch i rozpaky." *Lidové noviny* 5, no. 31 (1992): 4.
- Sloboda, Zdeněk, Czeslaw Walek, and Roman Schlesinger. "Pride: Propagace homosexuality, projev hrdosti na utlačovanou identitu, nebo velká párty? Rozhovor Zdeňka Slobody s ředitelem pražského pochodu hrdosti Czeslawem Walkem a ředitelkou bratislavského pochodu hrdosti Romanou Schlesinger." *Gender, rovné příležitosti, výzkum* 14, no. 2 (2013): 52–55.
- Šmausová, Gerlinda. "Genderové aspekty displacementu." *Sociální Studia* 2 (2004): 9–26.
- Šmergllová, M., K. Komůrková. "Češi v kleci: Situace v léčebnách je dva roky po hysterické kampani dost zmatená." *Instinkt* 5, no. 19 (2006): 20–23.
- Smit, Christopher, and Jill Vyn. "Waiting for the New Normal." *A DisArt Journal*, September 29, 2020. <https://disartnow.org/journal/waiting-for-the-new-normal/>
- Smola, J., and Z. Vávra. "Svědectví o hrdinství a strachu: Dvaadvacetiletý Petr Jarolím zachránil patnáct životů." *Haló Sobota* 2, no. 2 (1985): 1.
- "Sněmovní tisk 783/5." Sněmovna. Parlament České republiky. <http://www.psp.cz/sqw/text/tiskt.sqw?o=7&ct=783&ct1=5>
- Snyder, Sharon L., and David T. Mitchell. "Ablenationalism and the Geo-politics of Disability." *Journal of Literary and Cultural Disability Studies* 4, no. 2 (2010): 113–25.
- Sokolová, Věra. *Cultural Politics of Ethnicity: Discourses on Roma in Communist Czechoslovakia*. Stuttgart: Ibidem, 2008.
- Sokolová, Věra. "Don't Get Pricked! Representation and the Politics of Sexuality in the Czech Republic." In *Over the Wall / After the Fall: Postcommunist Cultures through an East-West Gaze*, edited by Sibelan Forrester, Magdalena J. Zaborowska, and Elena Gapova, 251–67. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Sokolová, Věra. "Otec, otec a dítě: Gay muži a rodičovství." *Sociologický časopis* 45, no. 1 (2009): 115–45.
- Sokolová, Věra. *Queer Encounters with Communist Power: Non-Heterosexual Lives and the State in Czechoslovakia, 1948–1989*. Prague: Karolinum Press, 2022.
- Spelman, Elizabeth V. *Fruits of Sorrow: Framing Our Attention to Suffering*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1997.
- Sperling, Valerie. *Sex, Politics, and Putin: Political Legitimacy in Russia*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- "Společnost otevřená." *Sociologické aktuality* 5, no. 5 (1994): 2.
- Spurný, Matěj. *Making the Most of Tomorrow: A Laboratory of Socialist Modernity in Czechoslovakia*. Prague: Karolinum, 2019.

- Spurný, Matěj. *Nejsou jako my: Česká společnost a menšiny v pobraníci (1945–1960)*. Prague: Antikomplex, 2011.
- Šrubař, Ilja. “Longue durée, cyklicita a sociální transformace.” *Sociologický časopis* 37, no. 2 (2001): 149–60.
- Šrubař, Ilja. “Neo-liberalism, Post-communist Transformation, and Civil Society.” In *The Meaning of Liberalism: East and West*, edited by Zdeněk Suda and Jiří Musil, 223–34. Budapest: Central University Press, 2000.
- Šrubař, Ilja. “Neoliberalismus, transformace a občanská společnost.” *Sociologický časopis* 32, no. 1 (1996): 67–78.
- Štáhlavský, David. “Klaus i Hájek kritizují pražskou ODS za záštitu Prague Pride.” irozhlas. August 5, 2011; [https://www.irozhlas.cz/zpravy-domov/klaus-i-hajek-kritizuji-prazskou-ods-za-zastitu-prague-pride\\_201108052106\\_epres](https://www.irozhlas.cz/zpravy-domov/klaus-i-hajek-kritizuji-prazskou-ods-za-zastitu-prague-pride_201108052106_epres)
- Stankovič, Andrej. “Čachrování s autenticitou,” *Respekt* 3, no. 9 (1992): 14.
- Steele, Linda. “Temporality, Disability and Institutional Violence: Revisiting.” *Griffith Law Review* 26, no. 3 (2017): 378–400.
- Stening, Alison, Adrian Smith, Alena Rochovská, and Dariusz Świątek. “Credit, Debt, and Everyday Financial Practices: Low-Income Households in Two Postsocialist Cities,” *Economic Geography* 86, no. 2 (2010): 119–45.
- Stiker, Henri-Jacques. *A History of Disability*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999.
- Stöckelová, Tereza, Kateřina Kolářová, and Lukáš Senft. “Nation Un/masked: Imagined Immunities and Responsible Citizenship in a Postsocialist Epidemic,” *Sociológia: Slovak Sociological Review* 55, no. 6 (2023): 583–606.
- Stockton, Kathryn B. *The Queer Child, or Growing Sideways in the Twentieth Century*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009.
- Stone, Deborah A. *The Disabled State*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984.
- Storchová, Lucie. “Presenting the Other in Jiří and Růžena Baums’ Parallel Travel Journals from South Africa (1938–39).” In *Egypt and Austria LX: Perception of the Orient in Central Europe (1800–1918)*, edited by Lubica Hudáková and Jozef Hudec, 31–24. Krakow: Agyptos Foundation, 2016.
- Storchová, Lucie. “Visualizing Near East in Bohemian Travel Accounts of the Early Modern Period.” In *Visualizing the Orient: Central Europe and the Near East in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, edited by Adela Jünová Macková, Lucie Storchová, and Libor Jün. 61–83. Prague: FAMU, 2016.
- Strnadová, Iva, and Monika Mužáková. “Time of Paradoxes: What the Twentieth Century Was like for People with Intellectual Disabilities Living in Czechoslovakia/Czech Republic.” In *Intellectual Disability in the Twentieth Century: Transnational Perspectives on People, Policy, and Practice*, edited by Jan Walmsley and Simon Jarrett, 53–66. Bristol: Policy Press, 2019.
- Štrunc, Václav. *Kauza klecových lůžek: Rozbor internetové diskuze z roku 2006 z perspektivy disability studies*. Nepublikovaná diplomová práce. Prague: FHS UK, 2011.
- Stuckbery, Michael. “For the Love of Spargel.” *The Local*, April 13, 2020.
- Stuckler, David, and Sanjay Basu. *The Body Economic: Why Austerity Kills. Recessions, Budget Battles, and the Politics of Life and Death*. New York: Basic Books, 2013.

- Suchland, Jennifer. *Economies of Violence: Transnational Feminism, Postsocialism, and the Politics of Sex Trafficking*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015.
- Suchland, Jennifer. "Is Postsocialism Transnational?" *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 3, no. 4 (2011): 837–62.
- Suda, Zdeněk, and Jiří Musil, eds. *The Meaning of Liberalism: East and West*. Budapest: Central University Press, 2000.
- Sus, Jaroslav. *Cikánská otázka v ČSSR*. Prague: SNPL, 1961.
- Šustrová, Petruška. "Boj o zeď v Neštémicích pokračuje dál." *Lidové noviny* 12, no. 204 (1999): 10.
- Šustrová, Petruška. "Dilemata kolem zdi." *Literární noviny* 10, no. 24 (1999): 1–3.
- Šustrová, Petruška. "Kdo že to vlastně staví zeď v Maticní ulici?" *Lidové noviny* 12, no. 242 (1999): 10.
- Švarcová-Slabinová, Iva. *Mentální retardace: Vzdelávání, výchova, sociální péče*. Prague: Portál, 2011.
- Svašek, Maruška. *Postsocialism. Politics and Emotions in Central and Eastern Europe*. New York/Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2006.
- Synek, Michal, and Dana Hradcová. *Souostrovní/postižení/veřejnosti*. Praha: Display, 2024.
- Synek, Michal, Dana Hradcová, and Radek Carboch. "‘Všechno stejný, všechno zastavený’: Karanténa v ‘domově’ pro lidi označené za postižené." *Sociologický časopis* 58, no. 5 (2022): 563–85. [https://doi.org/10.13060/csr\\_2022\\_029](https://doi.org/10.13060/csr_2022_029)
- "Syrian Rights Activist Honored." *Human Rights Watch*, February 7, 2019. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/02/07/syrian-rights-activist-honored?fbclid=IwAR1psnq1qZLf2ehxBIdbF2BzRZWZJ383zBPaqbkz9SAbi8qs0rnT5I1Q-Uc>
- Sztompka, Piotr. "Pohled zpět: Rok 1989 jako kulturní a civilizační zlom." *Sociologický časopis* 32, no. 1 (1996): 5–20.
- Tabery, Erik. *Opuštěná společnost: Česká cesta od Masaryka po Babiše*. Prague: Paseka, 2017.
- Tabery, Erik. "Zpráva o křehkém světě." *Respekt*, April 20, 2020. <https://www.respekt.cz/tydenik/2020/17/zprava-o-krehkem-svete>
- Tabery, Erik, and Lenka Kabrhelová. "Stát teď získal obrovskou moc." Podcast Vinohradská 12, *Czech Public Radio*, April 21, 2020. <https://plus.rozhlas.cz/erik-tabery-stat-ted-ziskal-obrovskou-moc-spousta-lidi-je-existencne-zavisla-na-8186982>
- Tait, Robert. "Czech Democracy ‘under Threat’ from Rising Debt Crisis." *The Guardian*, January 6, 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/jan/06/czech-democracy-threat-debt-crisis>
- Tait, Robert. "Czech PM's Party Loses Election to Liberal-Conservative Coalition." *The Guardian*, October 9, 2021. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/oct/09/czech-pm-set-to-lose-power-after-weak-showing-in-general-election>
- Taylor, Sunaura. *Beasts of Burden: Animal and Disability Liberation*. New York: New Press, 2017.
- Taylor, Sunaura. "Vegans, Freaks, and Animals: Toward a New Table Fellowship." *American Quarterly* 65, no. 3 (2013): 757–64.

- “Thousands of Romanian Seasonal Workers Fly to Germany Despite COVID-19 Restrictions.” *Romania Insider*, April 9, 2020.
- Thompson, A. K., and C. O’Connor. “The Politics of the Mask.” *Boston Review*, June 7, 2020. <https://bostonreview.net/articles/politics-of-the-mask-ak-thompson-clare-oconnor/>
- Tickett, Miriam I. *Casualties of Care: Immigration and the Politics of Humanitarianism in France*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011.
- Tikhomirova, Anastasia. “Ich streichle keine deutschen Egos mehr.” *Die Zeit*, May 3, 2022. <https://www.zeit.de/zett/politik/2022-05/sexismus-osteuropaerin-diskriminierung-deutschland>
- Titchkosky, Tanya, and Katie Aubrecht. “Who’s Mind, Whose Future? Mental Health Projects as Colonial Logics.” *Social Identities: Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture* 21, no. 1 (2015): 69–84.
- Tlostanova, Madina. “Between the Russian/Soviet dependencies, neoliberal delusions, dewesternizing options, and decolonial drives.” *Cultural Dynamics* 27, no. 2 (2015): 267–83.
- Tlostanova, Madina. “The Janus-faced Empire Distorting Orientalist Discourses: Gender, Race and Religion in the Russian/(post)Soviet Constructions of the ‘Orient’,” *Worlds and Knowledges Otherwise* 2, no.2 (2008):1–11.
- Tlostanova, Madina, Suruchi Thapar-Björkert, and Redi Koobak. “Border Thinking and Disidentification: Postcolonial and Postsocialist Feminist Dialogues.” *Feminist Theory* 17, no. 2 (2016): 211–28.
- Tlostanova, Madina, Suruchi Thapar-Björkert, and Redi Koobak. “The Postsocialist ‘Missing Other’ of Transnational Feminism?” *Feminist Review* 121 (2019): 81–87.
- Tomičić, Ana. “Resisting ‘Dirty Business’: Report from the Field of Social Exclusion in the Czech Republic.” June 29, 2017. *LeftEast*. <https://lefteast.org/resisting-dirty-business-report-from-the-field-of-social-exclusion-in-the-czech-republic/>
- Tomský, Alexander. “Postižená společnost.” *aktuálně.cz*, November 19, 2010. <https://blog.aktualne.cz/blogy/alexander-tomsky.php?itemid=11322>
- Topol, Jáchym. “Pogrom v Klatovech.” *Respekt* 2, no. 11 (1991): 5.
- Tozer, Lilly. “How Ukraine’s Crisis Tested European Attitudes towards Refugees.” *Nature*, August 10, 2023. <https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/37563474/>
- Trávníček, Jiří. “Kronika jednoho velkého trápení.” *Host* 24, no. 7 (2008): 16–17.
- Trent, James W. *Inventing the Feeble Mind: A History of Mental Retardation in the United States*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
- Trěšňák, Petr. “Dobrodružství v pavilonu č. 14.” *Respekt* 22, no. 35 (2011): 46–52.
- Trnka, Susanna. “First in Masks? How Czechs Wore Face Masks When There Weren’t Any Available.” *Somatosphere*, July 20, 2020. <http://somatosphere.net/2020/first-in-masks.html/>
- Trnka, Susanna. “Forgotten Pasts and Fearful Futures in Czechs’ Remembrances of Communism.” *Focaal* 66 (2013): 36–46.
- Trnka, Susanna, and Catherine Trundle. *Competing Responsibilities: The Ethics and Politics of Contemporary Life*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017.

- True, Jacqui. *Gender, Globalization, and Postsocialism: The Czech Republic after Communism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003.
- Tuček, Milan. "COVID-19 in the Czech Republic 2020: Probable Transmission of the Coronavirus SARS-CoV-2." *Central European Journal of Public Health* 29, no. 2 (2021): 159–61. <https://doi.org/10.21101/cejph.a6963>
- Tuček, Milan, and Václav Vaněček. "COVID-19 in the Czech Republic 2020 and 2021: Comparative Analysis of Probable Work-Related Transmission of the Coronavirus Sars-Cov-2." *Central European Journal of Public Health* 30, no. 3 (2022): 201–4. <https://doi.org/10.21101/cejph.a7610>
- Tuček, Milan, et al. *Dynamika české společnosti a osudy lidí na přelomu tisíciletí*. Prague: Sociologické nakladatelství, 2003.
- Tuček, Milan, et al. *Odráz společenských změn ve veřejném mínění 1990–1998*. Prague: Sociologický ústav Akademie věd České republiky, 1999.
- Tyrer, Freya, Lori K. Smith, and Catherine W. McGrother. "Mortality in Adults with Moderate to Profound Intellectual Disability: A Population-Based study." *Journal of Intellectual Disability Research* 51 (2007): 520–27.
- "Úbytovny nemohou dlouhodobě řešit situaci sociálně slabých, uvádí výzkum." *Romea*, July 2, 2013. <https://romea.cz/cz/domaci/ubytovny-nemohou-dlouhod-obe-resit-situaci-socialne-slabych-uvadi-vyzkum>.
- Uhde, Zuzana, and Petra Ezzedine. "The Political Economy of Translocal Social Reproduction: Cross-Border Mobility in the Czech Republic." In *Towards a Scarcity of Care? Tensions and Contradictions in Transnational Elderly Care Systems in Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Noémi Katona and Artila Melegh, 26–47. Budapest: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Budapest, 2022.
- Uhl, Petr, and Anna Šabatová. "Podnět k zahájení správního řízení." *Romea*, September 25, 2011. <http://www.romea.cz/dokumenty/podnet-uhl-sabatova.pdf>
- Uhlová, Saša. *Hrdinové kapitalistické práce*. Prague: Cosmopolis, 2018.
- Uhlová, Saša. *Hrdinové kapitalistické práce v Evropě 2*. Prague: Alarm, 2023.
- Ulč, Otto. "Populism, Racism and Society in Czechoslovakia." In *Populism in Eastern Europe: Racism, Nationalism, and Society*, edited by Joseph Held, 63–107. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.
- Ustohalová, Jana. "Město, které udělalo z chudých rukojmí: Ústí se stane největším ghetttem." *Denikn.cz*, February 6, 2019.
- Váchalová, Anna. "Jak dál svaze invalidů?" *Elán Express* 41, no. 3 (1990): n.p.
- Václav, Petr, dir. *Cesta ven*. Moloko Film, 2014.
- Vann, Barbara H., and Jan Šiška. "From 'Cage Beds' to Inclusion: The Long Road for Individuals with Intellectual Disability in the Czech Republic." *Disability & Society* 21, no. 5 (2006): 425–39.
- "Vážený pane ministerský předsedo." *Elán: Časopis svazu invalidů* 41, no. 9 (1990): 2.
- Večerník, Jiří. "Sociální problémy a sociální struktura: Latentní konflikty a pasti v ČR po roce 1989." In *Současná česká společnost: Sociologické studie*, edited by Milan Tuček and Zdenka Mansfeldová, 44–66. Prague: Sociologický ústav AV ČR, 2002.
- Večerník, Jiří. "Výzkum společenské transformace a česká sociologie." *Sociologický časopis* 38, nos. 1–2 (2002): 55–77.

- Večerník, Jiří, and Petr Matějů. *Zpráva o vývoji české společnosti 1989–1998*. Prague: Academia, 1998.
- Velicu, Anca, Monica Barbovschi, and Ileana Rotaru. “Socially Isolated and Digitally Excluded: A Qualitative Exploratory Study of the Lives of Roma Teenage Mothers during the COVID-19 Lockdown.” *Technology in Society* 68 (2022). <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.techsoc.2022.101861>
- Verdery, Katherine. *What Was Socialism, and What Comes Next?* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Vincze, Enikő. “The Racialization of Roma in the ‘New’ Europe and the Political Potential of Romani Women.” *European Journal of Women’s Studies* 21, no. 4 (2014): 435–42.
- Vojáčková, Karolína. “Avatar pride přichází.” *Artikl.org*, August 8, 2014. <http://artikl.org/tema-mesice/avatar-pride-prichazi>
- Vrábková, Jiřina. “Women’s Priorities and Visions.” In *Ana’s Land: Sisterhood in Eastern Europe*, edited by Tanya Renne, 72–75. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997.
- Vrba, Martin. “Kdopak by se Pode Bál” *Artalk*, June 9, 2015. <http://artalk.cz/2015/06/09/kdopak-by-se-pode-bal/>
- Všeobecná encyklopedie v osmi svazcích*. Prague: Diderot, 1999.
- Výbor pro sociální politiku, Parlament České republiky. “84. Usnesení výboru pro sociální politiku.” 25. schůze, January 21, 2015. <http://www.psp.cz/sqw/text/text2.sqw?idd=152946>
- Wacquant, Loïc J. D. “Ghettos and Anti-ghettos: An Anatomy of the New Urban Poverty.” *Thesis Eleven* 94, no. 1 (2008): 113–18.
- Wacquant, Loïc J. D. *Punishing the Poor: The Neoliberal Government of Social Insecurity*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009.
- Wacquant, Loïc J. D. “Revisiting Territories of Relegation: Class, Ethnicity and State in the Making of Advanced Marginality.” *Urban Studies* 53, no. 6 (2016): 1077–88.
- Wade, Cheryl M. “I’m Not One of The.” *Sinister Wisdom* 35 (1988): 24.
- Wald, Priscilla. *Contagious: Cultures, Carriers, and the Outbreak Narrative*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008.
- Warner, Michael. *Trouble with Normal: Sex, Politics, and the Ethics of Queer Life*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- “Weapons exports from the czech republic increase at the expense of human rights protection.” Amnesty International. <https://www.amnesty.cz/zbrane/en/>. Accessed October 3, 2024.
- Weiner, Elaine. *Market Dreams: Gender, Class, and Capitalism in the Czech Republic*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007.
- Wiedlack, Katharina M. “Gays vs. Russia: Media Representations, Vulnerable Bodies and the Construction of a (Post)modern West.” *European Journal of English Studies* 21, no. 3 (2017): 241–57.
- Wiedlack, Katharina M. “Quantum Leap 2.0 or the Western Gaze on Russian Homophobia.” *Adeptus: Pismo humanistów* 11 (2018): 1–21.

- Williams, Raymond. *Marxism and Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- Wisner-Meiserová, Zuzana, dir. *Jsem pozitivní, žiju s AIDS*. 1992.
- Wolff, Larry. *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994.
- Wolf-Meyer, Matthew J. *American Disgust: Racism, Microbial Medicine, and the Colony Within*. University of Minnesota Press, 2024.
- Wood, Claudia. "For Disabled People, the Worst Is Yet to Come." *Destination Unknown: Summer 2012*. Demos. [www.demos.co.uk/files/Destination\\_Unknwn\\_Summer\\_2012\\_-\\_web.pdf?1340294386](http://www.demos.co.uk/files/Destination_Unknwn_Summer_2012_-_web.pdf?1340294386)
- Wood, Claudia. "Tracking the Lives of Disabled Families through the Cuts." *Destination Unknown: Autumn 2011*. Demos. [www.demos.co.uk/files/DestinationUnknownAutumn2011\\_-\\_web.pdf?1322826138](http://www.demos.co.uk/files/DestinationUnknownAutumn2011_-_web.pdf?1322826138)
- Wood, Claudia, and Eugene Grant. "For Disabled People, Cuts to Welfare Will Have a Deep and Lasting Impact." *Destination Unknown*. Demos. [www.demos.co.uk/files/Destination\\_unknown\\_-\\_web.pdf?1286894260](http://www.demos.co.uk/files/Destination_unknown_-_web.pdf?1286894260)
- Wood, Claudia, et al. "Less Money Doesn't Have to Mean a Poorer Service for Disabled People." *Coping with the Cuts*. Demos. [www.demos.co.uk/files/Coping\\_-\\_web.pdf?1315593443](http://www.demos.co.uk/files/Coping_-_web.pdf?1315593443)
- Woozley, Anthony. "The Rights of the Retarded." In *Ethics and Mental Retardation*, edited by Kopelman Loretta and John C. Moskop, 47–56. Dordrecht: Reidel, 1984.
- Yildiz, Can, Nicholas DeGenova, Yolande Jensen, Laia Soto Bermant, Aila Spathopoulou, Maurice Stierl, and Zakeera Suffee. "(The Crisis of) 'European Values.'" In *Europe/Crisis: New Keywords of "the Crisis" in and of "Europe"*, *New Keywords Collective* Vol. 1, edited by Nicholas DeGenova and Martina Tazzioli, 34–42. New York: Zone Books, 2016.
- Yurchak, Alexei. *Everything Was Forever, until It Was No More: The Last Soviet Generation*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013.
- Yurchak, Alexei. "Trump, Monstration and the Limits of liberalism." Presented to the Annual Meeting of the American Ethnological Society, Stanford University, March 2017.
- Yurchenko, Yuliya. "Ukraine and the (Dis)Integrating Empire of Capital." *Lefteast*, January 9, 2020. [www.criticatac.ro/lefteast/ukraine-disintegrating-empire-of-capital/](http://www.criticatac.ro/lefteast/ukraine-disintegrating-empire-of-capital/); Last visited October 14, 2024.
- Yurgens, Igor. "The West vs. Russia: The Unintended Consequences of Targeted Sanctions." *National Interest*, October 8, 2014. <https://nationalinterest.org/feature/the-west-vs-russia-the-unintended-consequences-targeted-11427>
- "Zase jsme best in Covid kasal se Babiš před odletem do Slovinska." *novinky.cz*, September 1, 2021. <https://www.novinky.cz/clanek/domaci-zase-jsme-best-in-covid-kasal-se-babis-pred-odletem-do-slovinska-40370720?>
- Zákon č. 98/2017 Sb. "Zákon, kterým se mění zákon č. 111/2006 Sb., o pomoci v hmotné nouzi, ve znění pozdějších předpisů, a zákon č. 117/1995 Sb., o státní sociální podpoře, ve znění pozdějších předpisů." Issued on April 5, 2017, enacted June 1, 2017. <http://www.psp.cz/sqw/sbirka.sqw?O=7&T=783>

- Zavadilová, Lucie. *Jsem HIV-pozitivní, aneb, Já neumírám, já žiji*. Prague: Grada, 2000.
- Zaviršek, Darja. "Pictures and Silences: Memories of Sexual Abuse of Disabled People." *International Journal of Social Welfare* 11, no. 4 (2002): 270–85.
- Zdravé fórum. *Občanská platforma pro obnovení normálního života*, <https://www.zdraveforum.cz>
- Zita, Stanislav. "Zpověď pacienta: Pacient postižený virem HIV odkrývá svůj osud čtenářům Mladého světa." *Mladý svět* 36, no. 47 (1994): 22–23.
- Znoj, Milan. "Spory o liberalismus." *Listy* 25, no. 2 (1995): 85–92.
- Znoj, Milan. "Václav Havel, His Idea of Civil Society and the Czech Liberal Tradition." In *Thinking Through Transition: Liberal Democracy, Authoritarian Pasts, and Intellectual History in East Central Europe after 1989*, edited by Michal Kopeček and Piotr Wciślik, 109–38. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2015.



# Index

*Note:* Page numbers in italics indicate figures.

- 1989 [year], 1, 2, 5, 6, 10, 12, 14, 20, 21, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 36, 39, 41, 42, 48, 49, 55, 58, 60, 75, 77, 78, 81, 82, 91, 93, 107, 118, 136, 145, 195, 198, 216, 228n14, 230n4, 231n8, 231n9, 234n11, 235n2, 246n17
- 1991 [year], 5, 12, 39, 65, 103, 148, 150, 177, 242n9
- Abandonment
- Chronic, 9, 31, 99, 136
  - Crip histories, 108
  - Economics of Abandonment*, 104
  - Profitable, 32, 108, 135, 157–59, 164
  - Racial, gender dynamic of, 85
  - Racialized, 16, 136, 146
  - Structural, 34, 41, 137
  - Violence of, 9
- Ability, 16, 20, 25, 48, 53–55, 59, 64, 85, 90, 144, 182, 184, 192, 205, 206, 214, 235n1
- Abjection, 16, 37, 98, 137, 227n2
- AIDS-phobic, 54
  - Morally legitimate, 117
  - Racial, 35
  - Stigmaphobic, 88
- Ablebodiedness, 1, 16, 37, 38, 80, 83, 91, 94, 153, 175, 183, 185, 212, 221, 251n20
- Abledness, 209
- Ableism, 28, 36, 63, 71, 169, 192, 209, 218, 230n23
- Ableist culture, 44
- Ablemindedness, 16, 183
- Abnormal, 30
- Absence, 83, 95, 97, 105, 143, 147, 159, 183, 186, 243n16
- Access, 26, 136, 155, 164, 172, 179, 182, 183, 208, 240n1, 241n3, 244n19
- Activism, 64, 235n1, 244n2
- Bed, 183
  - Disability, 227n2
  - Parental, 219
  - Vicarious, 179
- Acute, 8, 40, 41, 55, 71, 99, 116–17, 158, 200, 204, 205, 210–14, 242n7
- “acute agitation,” 120
- Adaptation, 48, 138
- Unadapted, 139
  - See also* Inadaptable
- Addiction, 83, 86, 151
- Drug, 77, 92, 98
  - Substance, 79, 144
- Adoption, 140, 141, 144
- Transnational, 140
  - Transracial, 145
- Adoptive, 137–46
- Children, 144, 145
  - “Adventures in Ward, 14,” 119–22, 129

- Affect  
 “Being stuck,” 94  
 Collective, 82  
 Intense, 109
- Affective  
 Attachment, 2, 3, 27, 31, 118, 143, 156, 194, 206, 222  
 Bond, 26, 143, 144, 205  
 Directionality for future, 146  
 Disability, 142  
 Disenchantment with postsocialism, 83  
 Distancing from postsocialism, 12, 104  
 Economy, 78  
 Endorsement, 147  
 Force on national/transnational/global scales, 12  
 Investments, 187  
 Labor, 73, 87, 100, 105  
 Landscape of postsocialism, 9, 99  
 Legitimizations, 145  
 Mapping of vocabularies, 4  
 Politics, 34, 99, 137, 179, 197, 235n1  
 Power, 53, 54, 206, 229n16  
 Public, 28  
 Range of optimism, 24  
 Residues, 6  
 Strategy of resistance, 35
- Affectivity of debt, 26, 28, 29, 32, 34, 205, 216, 222–24
- Affects, 98, 99  
 Antisocial, 36, 83  
 Link to socialist past, 35  
 Motivate disability, 192  
 Nationalist, 192  
 Negative, 8  
 Optimism, 9, 99  
 Positive, 24, 99  
 Public, 96  
 Relatedness, 206  
 Solidarity, 208  
 Troubling, 82  
 “Ugly,” 164
- See also* Cruel optimism; Failure; “Ugly feelings”
- Ahmed, Sara, 2, 16, 34, 89, 93, 94
- AIDS, 37, 53–58, 60–62, 77–81, 83, 87, 95, 231n10, 232nn13–15, 233n2, 233n5, 242n7, 244n19
- Archive, 54
- Death, 38, 54
- I Am Positive, I Live with AIDS*, 53
- In the shadows of AIDS*, 55, 231n12
- Odessa, 38, 40
- Pandemic, 53, 56, 98  
 Global, 53, 179
- Phobia, 71, 84, 88
- Post-Soviet, 37  
 “social AIDS,” 65
- Suffering, 40  
 Women, 40, 208
- “alien, illegal,” 165
- Alliance for Individualized Support, 212
- Alterity, 96, 139, 142, 241
- Amnesty International  
 Living Libraries, 71, 233n19
- Animal, 23, 30, 120
- Animality, 120, 122, 239
- Antidemocratic, 43  
*See also* Democracy
- Antiliberalism, 43. *See also* Liberalism
- Anxiety, 79, 82, 86, 88, 95, 100, 144, 188
- “apartheid,” European,” 25
- Appeltová, Michaela, 21
- Appropriation, 4
- Archives, 122, 210, 234n12, 236n5  
 Community housing, 109  
 Crip, 90, 208  
 Disabilities, 92  
 East European AIDS, 54  
 Feminist scholarship, 16, 248n2  
 Films, 79, 81, 88, 101–2  
 Hurt, 7  
 Institutionalizations, 118  
 Medical experts, 101

- Postsocialism, 34, 88, 90–91  
 Sex work, 233n2  
 Asceticism, 22, 49, 86, 228n7  
 Ashley X, 116–17  
 Asociality, 60, 155  
 Asylum, 37, 69, 182, 185, 191, 244n4, 245n4  
 Atanasoski, Neda, 13, 14, 40, 43, 132, 199  
 Austerity, 7, 222–24, 244n4  
   Cure of financial crisis, 146  
   Economic crisis, 146–47, 211  
   Government, 162–63, 189, 194–96, 209, 222–24, 247n25  
 Ideology, 66  
 Manual, 33  
 Measures, 119  
 Neoliberal, 43, 145, 193, 198  
 Personal, 222  
 Politics, 25, 198  
 Post-Soviet, 177  
 Present, 2  
 “Promise” of, 30  
 Rhetoric, 14  
 Social housing crisis, 159  
 Solidarity, 170  
 Wartime, 130–31  
 Welfare, 163, 196, 224  
 Authenticity, 126  
   Individual, 61–62  
   Sexual, 57–58  
 Authoritarianism, 11, 43, 48, 49, 108, 132, 172, 175, 176–77, 195, 199, 201  
*Avatar* (film), 246n15  
 Avatars  
   LGBT, 173, 173–74, 178–84, 180, 181, 187, 246n14  
   Avatars app, 179–80, 182, 183–84, 187  
 AZT, 54  
 Backwardness, 2, 129, 133, 174, 241n5  
   Cultural, 43  
   Eastern, 175  
   “feeling backwards/backwards feeling,” 35  
   Precivilized, 76  
   Premodern, 192  
   Primordial, 132  
   Racialized, 40  
 Balibar, Étienne, 25  
 Balkan wars, 129, 131, 132  
 Baráčková, Daniela, 23  
 “bare life,” 126, 133  
 Barša, Pavel, 201, 230  
 Baxová, Pavla, 114  
 Becoming, 25, 51, 89, 93, 98, 171, 183, 187, 244n4  
   “becoming crip,” 93  
   “becoming West,” 171  
   “becoming white” (*see also* whiteness), 25  
 Bělohradský, Václav, 49, 52, 60  
 Belonging, 41, 121, 146, 183, 198  
   collective, 22, 56, 101, 145, 147, 207, 231n8  
   disabled, 29  
   trans/national, 25, 42, 172, 175, 184, 187, 192, 193, 199, 209, 210  
 Bendík, Emil, 148, 150, 242n9  
 Benevolence, 182, 196, 198  
 Berlant, Lauren, 2, 9, 27, 29, 34, 53, 164, 219, 242n7  
 “better, not getting,” 35  
 Biháriová, Helena, 149, 242n9  
 Binary logic, 95, 220, 225  
 Biopolitics, 7, 104, 105, 133, 140, 189, 197  
 Black, 16  
   abjection, 35  
   theory, 45  
 Blackness, 35  
 Black Protest (Poland), 45  
 Bodymind, 6, 7, 22, 39, 40, 217  
*Body without Soul*, 77, 86, 95, 234nn6–8  
 Bohnice, Psychiatric Hospital, 107, 110, 111, 116, 119  
 Boon, Joseph, 76  
 Border, 10, 41, 76, 78, 79, 84, 88, 89, 92–99, 101

- Bosnia and Herzegovina, 42, 125, 127, 129–31
- Boučková, Tereza, 137
- Buden, Boris, 17
- Bunzel, Matti, 87
- Butler, Judith, 201, 206
- Cacho, Lisa Maria, 96, 111, 136, 150–52, 154, 165
- “cage beds,” 106, 107, 113–17, 119, 235n3, 235n4, 238n19
- See also* Restrictive/Protective
- Canon, 59, 94
- Disability, 89, 91
- Feminist writing, 227n6
- Queer, 38
- Capital* (Marx), 84
- Capital, 31, 38, 66, 71, 74, 177, 212
- Cultural, 187
- Foreign, 76
- Global, 89, 91, 96
- Immunity, 218
- Racial, 91
- Social, 72, 136, 240n2
- Transnational, 87, 179
- Capitalism, 9, 15, 17–19, 26, 29, 39, 81, 197, 199, 220
- Crisis, 159
- Democracy, 46
- Global, 40, 88, 167, 188
- Hypertrophied, 14
- Industrial, 127
- Neoliberal, 21, 46, 76, 127 (*see also* Neoliberalism)
- Racial, 26, 135, 136, 159, 161, 240n2
- Socialism, 48
- Spirit, 49
- Transnational, 87, 244n4
- Victorious, 14
- Carboch, Radek, 212
- “carceral humanism,” 108, 110, 119
- Care, 4, 20, 36–38, 40, 54, 65, 87, 92, 103–7, 111–23, 127, 129, 130, 137–43, 145, 150, 156, 164, 178, 183, 186–89, 193, 195, 201, 202, 205, 207, 211–13, 215, 221, 236n4, 236n5, 237n15, 237n16, 238n18, 239n21, 240n1, 245n4, 248n2
- AIDS, 231n10
- Health, 113, 186, 188, 203, 219, 235n4, 237n12, 237n12, 239n1, 242n7, 246n19
- HIV, 231n10
- Institutional, 41, 105, 107, 115, 116, 118, 119, 140, 143, 211, 212, 235n3, 236n6, 238n20, 238n21
- Interdependent, 38
- Medical, 101, 113, 187, 191
- Mutual, 36, 38
- Noncare, 41, 137
- Parental, 241n6
- Providers, 208, 243n19
- Psychiatric, 235n3, 238n17
- Rationality, 111, 118, 212
- “catching-up,” 6, 8, 17, 24, 132, 133, 138
- Central Europe, 11, 78, 135, 171, 244n19
- Charta, 77
- Charles University, Prague, 84
- Chelcea, Liviu, 135
- Chen, Mel, 7, 123, 133, 142
- Chimera, 30, 73, 222, 228n15
- China, 13, 38, 39
- Chlouba, Karel, 196
- Chronic, 7–10, 21, 24, 34, 71, 100, 117, 204, 205, 210–14
- Abandonment, 9, 31, 99, 106, 136, 211, 212
- Definition, 7–8
- Disease, 54
- Health issues, 213, 214
- “inability to adjust,” 139–40
- Inadequate housing, 158–59
- Invalids, 8
- “mental retardation,” 133
- Neglect, 106, 131, 136, 250n18
- Nondevelopment, 116
- Normality, 116
- Past, 7
- state, 133

- Vulnerability, 101  
 Youth, 53
- Chronicity, 7–10, 14, 40, 42, 92, 100, 106, 117, 133  
 Chronicity vs. acuteness, 211  
 Chronicity, calculus, 116, 117  
 “chronospatial biopolitical regime,” 7, 133  
 Crip, 101, 137  
 Debilitating, 10  
 Definition, 7–8  
 Durational, 132  
 “mental retardation,” 116, 117  
 Racialized, 101, 146  
*See also* “durational now”; Present:  
 Elongated
- Chronopolitics, 8, 99
- Citizen, 26, 32, 46, 86, 222  
 “deserving disabled/vulnerable,” 193  
 Good, 21  
 Inadaptable, 24, 25, 42, 147, 153, 156, 165, 242n11  
 Model, 60, 62  
 “orderly citizen,” 155  
 Ordinary, 58–60  
 “problem citizen,” 154  
 “respectable citizen,” 98, 154–56, 162, 164
- Citizenship, 24–27, 41, 79, 92, 153, 159, 163, 196–98, 223, 242n10, 248n1, 249n13  
 “abstract,” 45  
 Aspirational, 62, 198  
 “decent,” 24, 155, 156, 165  
 Disabled/crip, 44, 193, 194  
 Healthy, 53  
 “infantile citizenship,” 219  
 Minority, 45  
 Moral script of, 41  
 Neoliberal, 81  
 Noncitizens, 51, 250n18  
 Nonwhite, 51  
 Normative, 62, 242n11  
 “Ordinary citizen,” 59–60, 149  
 Rehabilitative, 16, 21, 22, 26, 30, 33, 42, 45, 48, 57, 60, 67, 96, 104, 106, 136, 139, 140, 145, 162, 165, 170, 200, 201, 215, 216, 225, 232n15
- Sexual, 171, 172, 174, 175, 178, 180
- Civic  
 Citizenship, 67  
 Democracy, 73  
 Democrats, 247n25  
 Engagement, 44  
 Forum, 216  
 Freedoms, 216  
 Horizons, 13  
 Initiatives, 206, 227n5, 247n25, 249nn10–11  
 Participation, 68, 46  
 Partnership, 245n11  
 Responsibility, 57, 61, 72  
 Sentiments, 110  
 society, 44, 45, 49, 91, 118, 140, 155, 198  
 Spaces, 153
- Civility, 42, 59, 64, 73, 169  
 Pastoral, 56  
 White, 41, 50
- Civilization, 55, 90, 119, 124, 132, 139, 190, 199, 247n22  
 “civilization disease,” 221  
 European, 193  
 Uncivilized, 19, 51, 94, 95, 97, 192  
 “civilizational slope,” 5–6, 179, 187
- Clare, Eli, 19
- Class, 12, 22, 31, 74, 85, 100, 124, 135, 138, 140, 148, 161, 202, 211, 214
- Cleansing, 20, 50, 86, 228n7  
 Ethnic, 132  
 Moral, 53  
*See also* Purification
- Climate catastrophe, 201
- Closet, 56, 57  
 Broom closet, 105, 108, 109, 118  
*Epistemology of the Closet*, 54
- Coalition-building, 5, 15
- Cold War, 15, 25, 38, 39, 78, 129, 131, 169, 177, 180, 183, 204  
 “Cold War 2.0,” 12

- Coloniality, 42, 122, 123, 128, 188, 189, 250n18  
     Epistemological, 13  
     “colonial rationality,” 41, 106, 122  
 Coming out, 45, 53, 57, 61, 62  
     “Coming out crip,” 45  
 Commission for Human Rights, 135  
 Commodification, 84, 86, 95  
 Commodity, 84, 159, 234  
     “commodity racism,” 125  
 Communism, 18, 19, 23, 47, 80, 228n7  
 Communist Party of Czechia and Moravia, 10, 241n4  
 Communist sexuality, 39  
 Compassion, 68, 104, 150, 168–70, 182, 186, 187, 197, 198  
 Compulsory, 9, 24, 184  
     Able-bodiedness, 85  
     Ableness, 34, 209  
     Improvement, 99  
     Optimism, 34, 36, 88  
     Positivity, 34  
     Rehabilitation, 24, 189, 229n23  
     School attendance, 243n18  
 Concentration camps, 51, 231n8, 243n14  
     Labor, 50  
 Consciousness, 27, 44, 59, 63, 75  
     “break in a consciousness,” 11  
     Class, 74  
     Collective, 31  
     Postsocialist, 53  
 Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities, 32  
 “Covid children,” 218–20  
 Covid-19, 2, 12, 32, 201–3, 205, 210, 215–17, 234n10, 248n3  
     Accounting, 213, 215, 221  
     Debt, 221–22  
     Disorientation, 209  
     Ethic, 215  
     Governance, 210, 212, 213, 214, 216, 249n8  
     “I protect myself, I protect you,” 215, 251n21  
     “I protect you, you protect me,” 207, 214–15, 251n21  
     Loss, 206  
     Measures, 218  
     “multiplier,” 201, 206  
     “pandemic Pariah,” 205  
     Poverty, 229n17  
     Restrictions, 202, 221  
     Risks/Costs, 213, 215, 218  
     Roma, 243n19, 250n18  
     totalitarianism, 216  
     vaccination, 221  
 Crime, 137, 149–52  
     “de facto status crime,” 150, 165, 242n9, 242n10  
     Racially motivated, 149, 151  
 Crimean Peninsula, 175  
 Criminalization, 60, 150  
 Crip, 3–7, 10, 19–22, 24–26, 29, 34–40, 44, 53, 57, 74, 80, 81, 85, 88–91, 98, 99, 116–18, 123, 128, 134, 166, 169, 172, 178, 179, 182–84, 187, 189, 192, 196, 198, 202, 204, 207–10, 219, 227n2, 229n22  
     As an analytic, 5, 26  
     “becoming crip,” 93  
     “bed activism,” 183  
     Bodies, 7, 22, 34  
     Chronicity, 101, 137  
     “coming out crip,” 45  
     “crip signing,” as a critical gesture, 37, 64, 65, 128, 200, 205  
     Epistemologies, 4, 6, 91, 96, 98, 200  
     “ethics of touch,” 207  
     Failure, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39  
     Fat metaphor, 21  
     Genealogies, 89–90, 93, 96, 101  
     History, 4, 88, 98, 104  
     Horizons, 3, 5, 36, 194, 205, 208–9  
     Inarticulate, 25, 40  
     Knowledge, 16, 25, 101, 249n14  
     Memory, 229n23  
     “phony,” 3  
     Politics, 200, 208

- As a praxis, 5  
 Queercrip, 86, 102  
 Racialized, 93, 100, 135, 140, 142, 145  
 Solidarity, 64, 65, 200, 225  
 Survival, 36, 37, 39  
 Time, 6–7  
 “to crip,” 3  
 Utopia, 208  
*See also* Failure: Crip  
*Crip Genealogies*, 5  
 Crippling  
   Genealogy, 93  
   Postsocialism, 6, 7, 26  
*Crip Theory*, 3, 19, 20, 45, 85  
*Crip Times*, 7, 187, 189, 196, 198  
 Crisis, 20, 40, 41, 45, 58, 61, 137, 141, 143, 147, 158, 162, 168, 190, 191, 194, 210, 211, 216, 224, 232n15, 243n13  
   Financial, 9, 33, 119, 145, 146  
   Health, 201, 203  
   Housing, 135, 159, 243  
   Refugee/migration, 167, 169, 170, 182, 184–86  
 Croatia, 17, 127, 244n19  
 Cruel optimism, 2, 27, 29, 34, 98, 99, 188, 193  
 Cruising, 75, 94  
 Culture, 7, 19, 37, 44, 46, 84, 95, 141, 176, 230, 233n2, 236n9, 250n16  
 Culturedness, 94, 95  
 “culture of death,” 171  
 “culture wars,” 172  
 Curative, 2, 22, 27, 35, 44, 54, 61, 74  
   Imperative, 26  
   Logic, 6, 26, 30, 40, 42, 48, 57, 60, 165, 199–200  
   Politicals, 3, 37  
   Time, 7  
*Curative Violence*, 104  
 Cure  
   Ideology, 19  
   Miracle, 29  
   Postsocialist, 20  
 Customer, 68, 84, 94, 95, 233n2  
   Customer/Westener, 75  
 Cyborg, 179  
 Czech National Disability Council (Národní rada osob se zdravotním postižením), 4, 192, 247n23  
 Czechoslovakia, 1, 6, 10, 20, 26, 30, 46, 54, 55, 60, 62, 74, 91, 98, 140, 161, 171, 227n4, 229n23, 231n9, 236n6, 239n24  
 Dakić, Danica, 42, 124, 125, 127, 128, 129, 239n26, 239n28  
 Danihel, Tibor, 149  
 Death, 6, 9, 36–38, 65, 77, 88, 95, 105–8, 110–13, 130, 131, 146–51, 197  
 AIDS, 37, 38, 54  
 Avoidable, 113  
 Bendik, 148  
 Concentration/Extermination camps, 50, 51  
 Covid-19, 205–6, 212, 213  
 “culture of death,” 171  
 Disabled women, 41–42, 103–4, 118  
 Impending, 36, 40  
 Intellectual disabilities, 237nn14–15  
 Musilová, 107, 108, 111, 113, 115, 118, 121, 148  
 Premature, 164, 237n14, 237n15  
 Roma citizens, 82, 96, 146, 148  
 Sentence, 38  
 “slow death,” 9, 242n7  
 Social, 96, 100, 136, 146, 150, 151, 159, 165  
 Tragic, 41, 118  
 War, 50, 51, 189, 205  
 Debility, 5, 9, 87, 88, 145, 244n4  
 Debt, 28–32, 196, 197, 209, 221, 228n12, 228n13, 229n18  
   Accounting, 30  
   Affectivity, 26, 28, 29, 32, 34, 205, 216, 222, 223, 224  
   Burden, 14, 28, 32, 100, 203, 222  
   Debt/Credit logic, 30, 224

- Debt (*continued*)
- Economy, 32, 224
  - To future, 30
  - Immunity, 222
  - Indebtedness, 29, 30, 31, 187, 222, 223
  - Moral, 30
  - Redistribution, 222, 224
  - Repossession, debt collection, 32, 229n19
  - Social, 30
  - To society, 3, 225
- Deinstitutionalization. *See* institution-  
alization: Deinstitutionalization
- Delay, developmental, 42
- Democracy, 13–15, 26, 28, 31, 38, 44,  
47–50, 53, 60, 67, 73, 91, 174, 183, 193,  
199, 206, 217, 225, 228n12, 231n9,  
249n10
- Antidemocratic, 43
  - Capitalist, 15, 18, 47, 220
  - Collapse, 217
  - Functioning, 81, 82
  - Future, 49
  - Liberal, 10, 11, 13, 43, 45, 46, 48, 132,  
230n2
  - Parliamentary, 27
  - Participatory, 230n2
  - Postsocialist, 24, 100
  - Socialist, 38
  - Western, 58, 175
- Depression, 63, 144, 164, 220
- Desire, 2, 13, 17, 27, 34–38, 40, 41, 71, 76,  
79–83, 87–89, 94, 97, 102, 108, 110,  
122, 126, 147, 208
- “break with the past,” 232n16
  - Erotic attachments, 87
  - Illicit, 79
  - “nearly utopian,” 34
  - Queer, 38
  - Queer crip, 37
  - Romantic, 141
  - Sexual, 175
- Development, 9–12, 17–19, 39, 42–46,  
55, 78, 83, 90, 98, 112, 116–19, 152,  
159, 164, 174, 183, 188, 216, 220, 225,  
236, 238
- Capitalist West, 17
  - “civilized” attitudes, 157
  - Definition, 133
  - Disability rights, 44
  - Family policies, 241n4
  - Healthy, 19, 178
  - Historical, 24
  - Illogical, 195
  - Inclusive Development*, 188
  - “lower level of,” 241n5
  - Modern, 133
  - Moral, 195
  - “natural,” 194
  - Organic, 18
  - Political, 82
  - “positive identity,” 62
  - Post-1989, 14, 216
  - Postsocialist, 46, 48, 173, 217
  - Predictable, 17
  - Sexual, 117
  - Sex work, 76
  - Societal, 119
  - Solidarity, 16
  - Stunted, 219
  - Unequal, 244n4
- Developmental
- Conditions of region, 12
  - Delay, 42
  - Policies, 188
- Deviation, 30, 224
- Socialist, 44, 48
- Dignity, human, 84, 95, 111, 114, 115, 187,  
190
- Disabilita*, 4
- Disability, 1–10, 17, 19–22, 24–26, 32, 33,  
35, 40–42, 63, 64, 66, 69, 74, 77, 79,  
81–83, 85–94, 96–101, 103–7, 109–11,  
113–15, 117–19, 121–25, 127–29, 131–  
34, 138, 140, 142–45, 148, 153, 164,  
166, 167, 169, 170, 178, 182–90, 192–  
96, 198–200, 202, 204, 207, 211, 212,  
219, 228n7, 230n23, 232n17, 235n13,

- 235n16, 236n5, 237n16, 238n19,  
239n24, 239n28, 244n4, 245n4,  
247n27, 248n27, 249n14
- Activism, 91
- Antiracist disability epistemologies,  
101
- Collectivizing, 3
- Critical consciousness, 44, 63
- Critical disability epistemologies, 3
- Disability/crip intersectional politics,  
4, 5, 169
- Disabled citizenship, 44, 194
- Double bind, 104, 132, 187
- Epistemologies, 3, 4, 85, 86, 88, 91, 92,  
93, 94, 98, 101
- Exceptionalism, 195–96, 198
- Genealogies, 88, 92, 97, 98
- Intellectual, 41, 42, 103, 106, 111, 113,  
114, 115, 121–24, 127, 129, 133, 134,  
234n12, 237n14
- Justice, 44, 195
- Knowledge, 92, 93, 98, 101
- Metaphor, 2, 20–22, 30, 93, 192,  
229n22
- Nationalism, 193, 198
- Organizations, 44
- Periodicals, 28
- Politics, 28, 37, 198
- Prosthetics, 4, 19, 156, 179
- Prosthetizes, 132
- Protests 2011 195, 196, 229n21
- Racialized, 9, 41, 82, 96, 97, 98, 99,  
100, 127, 132
- Rejection, 35
- Rhetorical device, 192
- Rights, 16, 44, 45, 91, 227n2
- Semantics, 19, 20
- Studies, 5, 9, 37, 93
- Disabled people/people with dis-  
abilities, 4, 16, 26, 28, 29, 32–34, 71,  
90–92, 100, 104–9, 115, 118, 119, 121,  
125–29, 131, 132, 134, 139, 156, 178, 185,  
192–97, 202, 210–12, 227n2, 228n10,  
229n21, 229n23, 230n23, 236n5,  
239n21, 244n4, 245n4, 247n27,  
250nn16–17
- Disabled citizens, deserving, 193
- Disablement, 106, 164, 220
- Discrimination, 54, 72, 170, 193, 194,  
32n14, 240n1, 241n3, 242n10,  
244n19
- Anti-discrimination legislation,  
171
- Disgust, 153, 157
- Disidentification, 37, 88
- Disillusionment, 88, 90, 99  
*See also* transformational pessimism
- Disparity, 51, 240n1
- Dispossession, 126
- Divided by Freedom (Rozdělení svobo-  
dou)*, 31
- DIY, 209
- Domestic partnership, 171
- Domination, 118, 122–24, 127, 174
- Epistemic, 12
- Soviet, 12, 170, 176
- Western, 38, 43
- Donbas, 175
- Down syndrome, 123, 124, 133
- Druta, Oana, 135
- Duchcov, 153, 154
- Dunn, Elizabeth Cullen, 17
- “durational now,” 41
- Dystopic, 77, 81, 83, 96, 98
- Horizon, 88
- Impulse, 78
- Dzenovska, Dace, 11, 52, 168–70, 199
- Džuvle collective, 158
- “East,” 8, 13, 16, 19, 22, 25, 35, 38–41, 45,  
54, 76, 77, 79–81, 83, 85, 87, 90, 92–  
96, 129, 168, 169–73, 175, 176, 178,  
180, 202, 203, 206, 247n22
- East/West, 54, 92, 172, 174, 183, 201, 203,  
248n2
- Binary, 95, 178, 202
- Hegemony, 90
- Slope, 180

- “Eastern Europe,” 2, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 16, 17, 25, 26, 40, 42–44, 73–77, 79, 84, 87, 90–93, 107, 123, 124, 126, 127, 131, 132, 134, 146, 167–74, 185, 189, 199, 202–4, 230n23, 231n11, 233nn1–3, 234n10, 239n24, 244n19, 251n18  
*See also* Europe: Eastern  
 Europeanism
- Economy, 10, 14, 15, 18, 21, 31, 32, 39, 41, 47, 78, 85, 86, 91, 96, 127, 148, 165, 187, 220, 224, 234n10, 241n4  
 Global, 9, 87, 88, 90, 202, 244n4  
 Moral, 24, 26, 30, 121, 136, 146, 166, 200, 204, 205, 219, 221, 223  
 Planned vs. market, 19
- Elman, Julie Pasanante, 21, 22, 53, 58, 60, 187
- End of history, 90
- Endurance, 101
- Eng, David, 39, 140
- Engel, Antke, 74
- Enlightenment, 115, 122, 126
- Environmental collapse, 14
- Equality, inequality, 30, 74, 174, 241n4  
 Social, 30, 73
- Erotics, 38
- “eternal child,” 123
- Ethics, 18, 44, 65, 67, 105, 118, 144, 196, 207, 211, 214  
 Postsocialism/Rehabilitated citizenship, 59  
 Risk, 207, 211, 214  
 Touch, 207
- Ethnic difference, 53, 129, 140, 141
- Ethnicity, 16, 35, 40, 117, 123, 139, 142, 151, 164, 166, 184, 200, 214, 239n28
- Ethnicizing, 132  
 “ethnicizing guilt,” 132  
 Whiteness, 40
- Ethnic wars, 129
- Europe, 2, 6, 8, 9, 12, 17, 20, 26, 32, 40, 41–44, 52, 73–79, 84, 87, 90–93, 107, 121, 123, 124, 126–28, 131, 132, 134, 135, 146, 161, 166–74, 176, 184, 189, 197, 199, 202–4, 230, 231, 233, 234, 239, 244n19, 244n20, 246n13, 248n2, 251n18  
 “Eastern Europeanism,” 25, 35  
 Europeanness, 168, 174, 185, 186, 187  
 “Europe proper,” 11, 204  
 “the other of Europe,” 166  
 Return to, 16, 19, 189  
 Southern, 128  
*See also* Eastern Eastern
- European Commission, 52, 240n1
- European Disability Forum, 33
- European Union, 33, 52, 170, 229n19, 236n7, 239n11, 240n1
- “European values,” 174, 184, 193, 195
- European Year for Combating Poverty and Social Exclusion, 33
- Exception, 136, 156, 157, 195, 196, 241n4  
 Exceptional measures, 162
- Exceptionalism, 42, 169, 170, 192  
 Aspirational, 172, 183, 187  
 Disability, 187, 189, 192, 194–96, 198  
 Sexual, 171, 174, 177, 178, 179, 184, 199
- Excess, queercrip, 86
- Exclusion, 24, 31–33, 41, 42, 52, 72, 104, 118, 136, 145, 153, 159–61, 164, 165, 212, 214, 229n19, 236n5, 242n7
- Exploitation, 38, 61, 84, 86, 87, 92, 124, 126, 143, 188, 243n14, 245n4
- Eyal, Gil, 21, 22, 49, 51, 55, 58, 228n7
- Fabian, Johannes, 8  
 “fagging Putin up,” 177
- Failure, 7, 8, 10, 16, 19, 24, 45, 56, 59, 78, 79, 104, 112, 117, 136–42, 168, 169, 177, 195, 203, 205, 206, 213, 215, 217, 223, 229n22, 233n5  
 Crip, 34, 36, 37–39  
 Motherhood, 137–39, 141, 142, 145, 146, 178
- Fantasies, 38, 41, 56, 87, 88, 94, 123, 125–28, 130, 131, 138, 145, 161, 175, 192, 196, 198, 211, 233n4, 239n28
- Imperial, 126, 128, 190

- Fascism, 11, 199
- Feeble-mindedness, 124
- Feelings, 2, 24, 35, 95, 98  
mixed, 83, 95
- Femininity, 37, 40, 185  
Crip, 38
- Feminism, 184  
Crip, 16  
Eastern European, 16  
Intersectional, 209  
*Feminist Queer Crip*, 3, 89, 116
- Ferality, 127, 129  
“feral children,” 119, 121, 122
- Ferguson, Philip M.: *Left to Their Fate*, 115
- Ferguson, Roderick, 85
- Fetishization, 134, 135, 234n6
- Fiol-Matta, Licia, 138
- Flexibility, 22, 24, 58, 75, 104, 106, 153  
“Flexible subject,” 57
- Fortress Czechia, 191
- Foucault, Michel, 30
- Freaks* (Tod Browning), 119
- Freedom, 1, 2, 19, 21, 27–29, 31, 38, 46, 47, 53, 78, 80, 81, 85, 90, 111, 122, 167, 169, 172, 174, 179, 180, 182–84, 186–90, 198, 214, 216, 221, 225, 230n3, 251n19  
Of choice, 48  
*The Gift of Freedom*, 183, 189  
Giving, 169, 183, 186–88
- Future, 2, 6, 7, 11, 12, 15, 19, 21, 26, 31, 34, 35, 37, 39, 40, 46–49, 52, 55, 63, 66–68, 80, 83, 85, 86, 88–90, 95, 98, 99, 101, 116, 117, 132, 133, 145, 146, 150, 152, 169, 175, 190, 191, 199, 203, 204, 220, 222, 228n10, 243n18, 247n24
- Generations, 14, 219
- Postsocialist, 30, 77
- Promissory futures, 34
- Recuperative, 34
- Futurity, 89, 93, 194  
Crip, 116
- Gal, Susan, 78
- Garde, Jonah I., 188
- “gay propaganda laws” 176
- “gender ideology,” 177, 193
- Genealogy, 26, 89, 90, 91, 93, 138  
Mixed, 101
- Germany, 48, 87, 125, 202
- Gessen, Masha, 178
- Giver, charitable, 190
- Ghetto, 161, 162, 243n16
- Globalization, 39
- Global North, 22, 43, 53, 90, 140, 254n4
- Global South, 15, 38, 188, 234n10
- Gould, Deborah, 2
- Graeber, David, 32
- Grodecki, Wiktor, 75–93, 95, 96, 98, 99, 101, 102  
“growing sideways,” 117  
Growing up/coming-of-age, 7, 43, 53, 65, 92, 140
- Gržinić, Marina, 13, 90, 91
- “Gypsy lifestyle,” 50
- “Gypsy Question 139  
*See also* Roma: “Roma question”
- Hammer Museum, Los Angeles, 130
- Han, Clara, 30
- Happiness, 33, 34, 62, 105, 126, 158  
“harmful activities,” 153
- Havel, Václav, 20, 46, 48, 49, 78, 80, 82, 103
- Havelková Hana, 45, 241n4
- Health, 3, 4, 20–23, 38, 87, 105, 112, 113, 136, 153, 154, 177, 186–88, 190, 192, 201–14, 216–23, 225, 236n4, 237n12, 237n14, 237n16, 238n17, 240n1, 242n7, 243n18, 244n19, 246n19, 247n23, 248n4  
“healthy city,” 165
- Ideology, 37
- Ill, 21, 99, 100, 204, 205
- Mental ill, 144, 164
- Moral imperative, 20–22, 24, 26, 55, 94
- Public, 55, 201, 203, 211, 250n18

- Healthy Forum, 216, 219–21
- Hendikep*, 5
- Hendikepovani*, 4
- Lidé se zdravotním hendikepem*, 4
- Historical determinism, 12, 18
- Historical materialism, 84
- History, 3, 4, 6, 9, 17–19, 29, 38, 39, 57, 58, 70, 71, 79, 84, 90, 93–95, 133, 139, 173, 177, 190, 250n18
- Chile, 228n14
- Disability, 227n2
- Down syndrome, 123–24
- Institutional care, 115
- Medical, 99, 100
- Modern, 10, 60, 194
- National, 206
- Natural, 93
- “one-way,” 9
- “outside, 133
- Political, 204
- Post-1989, 145
- Postsocialist, 6
- Socialist Czechoslovakia, 229n23
- Union, 228n9
- HIV, 53–67, 70–74, 79, 86, 87, 92, 98, 231n10, 232n13, 244n19
- “carriers,” 56, 57, 58, 59, 60
- “HIV carriers,” “virus carriers,” 56, 57, 60
- HIV autobiographical narratives, 59, 62, 65
- HIV confession, 59, 61
- I Am HIV Positive (Jsem HIV pozitivní)*, 59, 62–63, 65, 67
- Living with the Virus and Faith (Život s virem a vírou)*, 63
- Narratives, 60, 61, 63
- Positive gay man, 61, 67, 71, 232n14
- Positive girl, 63
- Positive people, 54, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61, 63–65, 66, 74, 231n12
- Positive women, 59, 65, 67
- Roma communities, 242n7
- Seropositivity, 232n13, 232n15
- Holý, Ladislav, 138
- Homeless/ness, 67–72, 79, 100, 243n16, 250n15
- Homo economicus, 65–67, 70, 86
- Post-sovieticus, 65–67
- Homosexuality, 39, 83, 174, 247n22
- “homosexual hearing,” 37
- “homosexual panic,” 79, 88, 89, 95
- Horizon, 14, 23, 64, 82, 117, 139, 143, 200, 206
- Moral, 21, 41
- Political, 2, 22, 28, 195, 204, 205, 225
- Utopian, 2
- See also* Crip: Horizon
- Housing, 69, 73, 157–65, 196, 239n1, 240n3
- Benefits, 160, 163
- Capacities, 135, 136
- See also* *ubytovny*
- Community, 106, 109, 236n5
- Complex, 135, 155, 158
- Crisis, 135, 159, 243n13, 243n15, 243n16
- “entrepreneurs,” 136
- Estates, 155, 160
- Government-subsidized, 240n2
- “housing first,” 158, 243n15
- Institutional, 212
- Market, 136, 159, 239n1
- Permanent, 69
- Policies, 136, 159
- Precarious, 72
- Private, 136
- Projects, 135, 157, 158, 159, 160, 162, 164, 165, 211, 240n2, 243n13
- Providers, 136
- Provisional, 159, 160, 165, 240n2, 243n15
- Provisional tent, 250n15
- Public, 240n2
- Rapid Re-housing project, 243n15
- Rehousing, 243n15
- Social, 136, 159, 240n2
- Supported, 73

- Sustainable, 240n2  
*Ubytovny*, 135, 240n2, 243n16  
 Hradcová, Dana, 212  
 Huffer, Lynne, 90  
 Humanism, 27, 36, 44, 52, 85, 108, 110, 119, 195, 228n10  
 Humanist consensus, 195  
 Humanitarian crisis, 182, 191  
 Humanitarianism, 170, 186  
*Humanitarian Violence*, 131, 132  
 “Humanization” (of institutions), 110, 116, 119, 238n21  
 Hungary, 11, 167, 168, 191, 244n19
- Identification, fantastical, 121  
 Identity, 5, 34, 37, 86, 101, 177, 183–85  
   Carriers, 89  
   Cultural, 192  
   “Eastern European,” 25  
   Economic, 47  
   Ethnic, 138  
   Freed, 15  
   Gay, 62, 232n15  
   Giver, 169, 189  
   Gypsy, 241n5  
   HIV-positive, 62  
   “identity crisis,” 58, 232n15  
   Lesbian, 38  
   Model, 45  
   National, 96, 185, 187  
   Non-Russian, 247n22  
   Political, 47, 193  
   Postsocialist, 61  
   Proud-and-out, 183  
   Roma, 25  
   Sexual, 40, 177, 187  
   “spoiled identity,” 64  
   “the vulnerable,” 213, 215  
 “Illegal alien,” 165  
 Ill-health, 21, 99, 100, 204  
   Mental, 144  
   Roma, 164  
 Illness, 20, 23, 36, 38, 61, 63, 79, 85, 89, 114, 186
- Imitation politics, 43  
 Immunity, 20, 205–6, 209–22  
   Collective, 58, 207, 210, 217, 225  
   “bad credit,” 221  
   “imagined immunity,” 206, 209, 213, 219  
   “immunity debt,” 221–22  
   Individualization, 214  
   Interdependent, 206  
   “natural immunity” vs. “engineered immunity,” 218–19, 220–21, 222  
   Shared, 211, 212, 213, 215  
   Tests, 63  
 Immunological/biopolitical citizenship, 215  
 Immunologically fragile, 213, 219  
 Immunological triangulation, 218, 219  
 Imperialism, 167, 189, 197  
   Cultural imperialism, 85  
   “imperialist economics of boys,” 76, 86, 87  
   “imperialist economics of desire and capacities,” 87  
   Past, 125–26  
   Russian, 177, 204, 248n6  
   Western, 177, 239n28  
 Inadaptability, 24, 101, 136–37, 138, 142, 144, 146–47, 152, 154, 159, 163, 165, 166  
   Roma, 25, 101, 135, 148, 192, 228n7, 240n2  
   *See also* Maladjustment  
 Inclusion, 4, 28, 33, 118, 140, 144, 188, 192, 196, 198, 200, 211, 244n19  
 Independence, 1, 232n16  
 Independent living, 91, 108, 236n6  
 In/equalities, 30, 31, 73, 74, 81, 151, 174, 223, 241n4  
 “infantile citizenship,” 219  
 Insanity, 121  
 Institutional housing, 212  
 Institutionalization, 26, 36, 104, 118, 123, 126, 127, 129, 133, 142  
 Deinstitutionalization, 108, 236, 237n9, 238n21, 239n21

- Integration, 24, 68, 105, 142, 182, 197  
 “projective integration,” 74  
 “interarticulate,” 7, 106, 123–24, 142  
 Interdependence, 1, 232n16  
 Intersectionality, 142  
*See also* Solidarity  
*Interviews with Monster* (art project, Eva Kořátková), 107, 109, 110, 236n5  
 “intimate public,” 53  
*Invalida*, 5  
 “I protect myself, I protect you,” 215, 251n21  
 “I protect you, you protect me,” 207, 214–15, 251n21  
 Islam, 173, 174, 184, 192, 193, 246n16, 246n17, 247n21  
 Islamophobia, 168, 184, 246n16, 246n17  
 Isola Bella (art project), 124–30, 239n25, 239n28  
 Wallpaper, 126, 128–30, 239n28  
 Istanbul Convention, 171
- Jelača, Dijana, 11  
 Jirkov (town in North Western Bohemia), 152, 165  
 Johnson, Merri Lisa, 35  
 Justice, 15, 30, 44, 51, 134, 172, 183, 195, 199, 218, 227n6, 247n25  
 Epistemic injustice, 12  
 Redistributive, 222  
 Social, 14, 140, 216, 225, 230n23, 242n6
- Kafer, Alison, 3, 6, 89, 116, 229n22  
 Kaliáš, Ivan, 119–21, 123, 239n23  
 Kalmar, Ivan, 25  
 Kayiatos, Anastasia, 19, 177  
 Kim, Claire Jean, 218  
 Kim, Eunjung, 6, 104, 232n17  
 Kinship, 138, 140, 142, 146, 152, 178  
 Klatovy (town in Western Bohemia), 148–50  
 Klaus, Václav, 30, 46, 48, 65, 230n3, 235n4
- Klein, Naomi, 20  
 Klingman, Gail, 75, 78  
 Kocman, David, 113  
 Kondakov, Alexander, 177, 178  
 Koobak, Redi, 12, 15, 16, 227n6  
 Kovačević, Nataša, 40, 131, 132  
 Krása, Václav, 192  
*Kripl*, 4, 227n2  
 Krüppel, 4, 227n2  
 Ku-Klux-Klan, 151  
 Kulpa, Robert, 39, 58, 90, 173  
 Kuncovka (provisional housing), 157, 158, 242n12, 243n13  
 Kurtović, Larisa, 11, 199
- Labor, 33, 50, 57, 73, 79, 83–87, 98, 100, 105, 138, 163, 203, 210, 214, 224, 228n7  
 Cheap/ened, 44, 86, 87, 92, 202, 234n10, 248n2  
 Ideological, 145  
 Outsourcing, labor, 86  
 Reproductive, 202  
*See also* Affective: Labor; Concentration camps: Labor  
 “lagging behind,” 90  
*Last Week Tonight*, 167–69  
 Lege artis, 107, 111, 113, 237n12, 237n13  
 Lesbian, 38, 40, 103, 241n4  
 Lety (u Písku; Labor concentration camp; South Bohemia), 50, 231n8  
 Leveraged pedagogy, 173, 174  
 LGBTQIA\* 172, 175  
 Anti-LGBTQIA\* Discourses, 172  
 Rights, 172  
 Liberalism, 13, 45, 50, 81, 85, 92, 104, 178, 192, 230n3  
 Antiliberalism, 43  
 Il/liberalism, 44, 199  
 Liberal humanism, 36, 44, 51, 85, 195  
 Liberalism and colonialism, 90, 91, 121, 131  
*See also* Lowe, Lisa  
*See also* liberal democracy

- Liberty, 90  
 Ideals, 90
- Life, 1, 2, 10, 19, 21, 24, 30–32, 37, 53–55, 57, 59, 61–65, 67, 68, 70–73, 75, 77, 78, 80, 83, 95, 96, 98–101, 107, 108, 111, 114, 117, 126–28, 130, 133, 137, 140–42, 144, 147, 148, 151, 179, 182, 188–90, 192, 203, 204, 207, 213, 221, 232n16, 234n12, 237n9, 241n6, 242n7, 245n4, 249n9, 250n16  
 Expectancy, 113, 243n19, 244n19  
 “good life,” 9, 22, 31, 34, 38, 86, 87, 99, 105, 110, 118, 127, 219  
 “life not worth living,” 34, 54
- Liu, Petrus, 38
- Livability, 7, 133
- Lockdown, 202, 205, 206, 211, 212, 214, 222
- Lomasco, Victoria, 178
- Lorenz, Renate, 8, 9, 41, 99
- Love, Heather, 35
- Lowe, Lisa, 90, 122
- Lugarić, Danijela, 2, 11
- Mad Pride, 4
- Magnesia Litera, 49
- Maladjustment, 138, 143, 144, 146, 157, 163, 165, 166, 228n7  
*See also* Inadaptability
- Maldonado-Torres, Nelson, 122
- Mandragora* (Wiktor Grodecki), 75–78, 83, 84, 92, 94–98
- Marginalization, 16, 117, 139, 232n16, 240n2, 241n6
- Market, free, 18, 30, 31, 48, 67, 220, 232n16
- Marx, Karl, 84, 85, 234n9
- Masculinity, 94, 95, 144, 146, 150, 177, 183, 185
- Mask, 126, 207, 210, 216, 249n11, 249n13, 251n21  
 Mandate, 205  
 Masktree, 208  
 Masking, 207, 209, 210, 251n21
- Matiční wall, 98
- Mayerchyk, Maria, 174, 175, 177
- McClintock, Anne, 125, 126
- McDonaldization, 87
- McRuer, Robert, 3, 7, 19, 45, 85, 187, 189, 193, 196, 198
- MDAC (The Mental Disability Advocacy Center), 114, 117, 123, 235n3, 238n19
- Měděnec (town in Northwestern Bohemia), 103, 107, 116, 118
- Medevac (project of Medical Evacuation, Czech Republic), 186–91, 249n19  
 “Flying medics,” 186
- Melegh, Attila, 6, 179, 233n3
- Migration, 98, 168, 182, 244n4, 248n2  
 “migration crisis,” 169, 184–86
- Million Moments for Democracy (political initiative), 206
- Minority, 45, 46, 59, 71, 72, 170, 218, 244n19  
 Citizenship, 44, 45, 67  
 Identities, 4, 46, 74  
 Subject, 44–46, 61, 62, 68, 74, 198  
*See also* Minoritarian racialization
- Miranda, Joseph, 29
- Mitchell, David, 104, 197
- Mix  
 Mixed, 83, 93–98, 101, 102  
 Mixed-race, 93  
 Mixing up, 93
- Mizielińska, Joanna, 39, 58, 90
- Mladenov, Teodor, 44, 108, 196, 235n3, 247n27
- Mlynář, Vladimír, 50, 51
- Mobile, 44, 112, 187  
 Laborer, 202
- Mobility, 48, 74, 160, 182, 183, 203, 248n2
- Modernity, 5, 9, 13, 19, 90, 99, 126, 131–33, 153, 169, 174, 179, 189, 190, 199  
 Modernity/coloniality, 42, 122
- Monstrosity, 30, 236n5  
 “Moral kitsch,” 27, 49, 52, 60, 216

- Moral panic, 21, 41, 61, 79, 83, 85, 95, 161, 193
- Moss, Kevin, 76
- Most (Northern Bohemian city), 162
- Motejl, Otakar, 238
- Motherhood, 137–39, 145–47, 193  
 Adoptive, 137, 139, 141, 142  
 Failure, 141, 142, 145, 146, 178  
*See also* White motherhood
- “motherland,” 138
- Multiculturalism, 132
- municipal court, Prague, III, II4, II5
- Muñoz, José Esteban, 2, 37, 88
- Musilová, Jaroslava, II0, III, II4, II6, 148
- Musilová, Věra, 105–8, III, II2–18, 120, 121, 123, 132
- Muslim, 169, 173, 184, 185, 192, 197
- Mustafa, Nujeen, 167, 169
- Nation, 20, 22, 24–26, 30, 42, 50, 52, 55, 59, 72, 74, 80, 82, 88, 89, 94, 96–99, 101, 138–41, 144–46, 152, 165, 171, 173–75, 183–87, 190, 194, 197, 198, 222  
 Body of the nation, 79, 140, 175, 194, 232n15  
 Conscience, 50  
 “mother of the nation,” 141, 144  
 White, 42, 88, 94, 98, 141, 144, 145, 165
- National  
 Belonging, 41, 146, 184, 187, 192, 193, 209, 210  
 Trans/national belonging, 25, 172, 175  
 National/ist pride, 36, 37, 190  
 Rehabilitation, 40, 198  
 Sovereignty, 82, 185
- Nationalism, 43, 49, 73, 88, 193, 198, 199, 247
- Natural order, 30, 141, 192–96, 241n4
- Necropolitics, 189
- Neoliberalism, 7, 9, 29, 247n27  
 “racing of neoliberalism,” 137
- Neonazi, 147
- Neurodivergence, 123, 210
- New Keywords Collective*, 182
- New York Times*, 129, 130
- Nguyet, Erni John, 201
- Nishida, Akemi, 183
- Normal, 19–21, 110, 140, 163, 186, 190, 214, 224, 228n10, 250n16
- Normalcy, 3, 26  
 “proximity to normalcy,” 101
- Normative, 2, 5, 8, 9, 16, 24, 35, 38, 42, 47, 57, 60–62, 64–67, 102, 113, 118, 122, 127, 132, 155, 176, 178, 183, 184, 197, 199, 230n2, 234n12, 237n16, 242n11
- North, 51  
 Global North, 22, 43, 53, 90, 140, 245n4
- Not Angels but Angels*, 76, 86, 87, 95
- Objectification, 64, 76, 82, 84, 85  
 “objectionable phenomena,” 8, 160
- Odessa, Ukraine, 37–40, 208
- Ogilvy Czech, 179, 246n14
- Oliver, John, 167, 168
- Ombudsperson (Office of . . .), 110, 115, 116, 123, 235n3, 236n8, 238n18
- Open society, 18, 44, 48–50, 54, 56, 59, 61, 74, 230n2, 231n5, 231n9  
 Mythology of, 73
- Optimism, 10, 24, 36, 44, 63, 78, 81, 82, 88, 99, 104, 106  
 Aspirational, 192  
 Cruel, 29, 34, 98, 188, 193  
 Postsocialist, 31, 34, 230n23
- Orderly  
 Behavior, 155  
 Citizenship, 153, 155  
 “Orderly citizens vs. “ordinary citizens,” 149  
 Orderly citizens vs. “problem citizens,” 153–55  
 Space, 153
- Ordinances, 153–57  
 Antiloitering, 157  
 “bench,” 153, 154, 155, 163  
 Disorderly, 154

- Mask-wearing, 208
- Municipal, 152–53, 155, 160
- Public loitering, 153, 154
- Racial, 156–57
- “unsightly” bodies, 153
- Ordinary, 51, 58–60, 62, 72, 83, 106, 149
- Orientalism, 76, 95
- Orientalizing gaze, 12
- Ost, David, 43, 230n4
- Other, 19, 61, 88, 89, 122, 166, 190, 236n5, 239n24
- “the internal Other,” 25
- Muslim Other, 185
- Othering, 40, 87–89, 107, 165, 172, 174, 175
- Overcoming, 2, 11, 12, 20, 34, 36, 45, 57, 59, 61, 63, 65, 94, 145, 171, 183, 225
- Imperative to overcome, 21, 204
- Oxford English Dictionary*, 133, 228n15, 233n5
- Pamula, Natalia, 45, 104, 248n28
- Pandemic
- AIDS/HIV, 53, 56, 98
- Global, 53, 179
- Covid-19, 2, 12, 32, 201–22, 225, 234n10, 248n2, 248n4, 249nn12–14, 250n16
- Accounting, 213, 215, 221
- Debt, 221–22
- Disorientation, 209
- Ethic, 215
- Governance, 210, 212, 213, 214, 216, 249n8
- “I protect myself, I protect you,” 215, 251n21
- “I protect you, you protect me,” 207, 214–15, 251n21
- Loss, 206
- Measures, 218
- Multiplicity, 201
- “pandemic Pariah,” 205
- Poverty, 229n17
- Restrictions, 202, 221
- Risks/Costs, 213, 215, 218
- Roma, 243n19, 250n18
- Panic
- “homosexual panic,” 79, 88, 89, 95–96, 98
- Moral, 21, 41, 61, 79, 83, 85, 95, 161, 165, 193
- “parallel polis,” 49
- “paranoid reading,” 85
- See also* “reparative reading”
- Parental activism, 219
- Parenting, 137, 146, 241n4
- Interracial, 141
- Parvulescu, Anca, 16, 25, 81, 87, 218n2
- Pathology, 6, 9, 12, 21, 79, 83, 89, 95–97, 139, 143, 144, 217
- Patience as moral imperative, 28
- Pazarić (Bosnia and Herzegovina), 42, 125, 126, 128–30, 132, 133, 239n28
- Pedagogy, 45, 53, 59, 71–73, 141
- Civility, 57
- “leveraged pedagogy,” 173, 174
- Public, 45, 52, 67, 72, 73
- Perestroika, 55, 57, 60, 231n11
- Periphery, 42, 161
- “peripheral embodiment,” 64
- Personal lockdown, 214
- Pet Shop Boys
- “Go West,” 77, 173, 233n5
- Phillips, Sarah, 44, 235n13, 248n6
- Piketty, Thomas, 15
- Pinochet, 30, 228n14
- Písek (Town in South Bohemia), 148, 149, 151
- Pithart, Petr, 20, 27, 30, 43, 46, 55, 217
- Plakhotnik, Olga, 174, 175, 177
- Pleasure, 40, 80, 85, 143
- Poiramós* (The Roma and Sinti Holocaust), 50
- “policy of necessity,” 113
- Politics, 3, 10, 43–45, 64, 78, 105, 110, 163, 168–70, 177–79, 192–94, 197–200, 214, 219
- Abandonment, 115, 121

- Politics (*continued*)
- Ablenationalism, 194
  - Affective, 34, 137, 179, 197, 235n1, 247n26
  - Anti-liberal, 43
  - Antipolitics, 49, 224
  - Anti-state, 49
  - Aspirational, 192
  - Austerity, 25, 198, 223
  - Authoritarian, 199
  - Belonging, 121
  - Biomedical, 232n13
  - Biopolitics, 105
  - Care, 205
  - Chronopolitics, 8, 99
  - Cold War, 39
  - Compassion, 169, 170, 186
  - Crip, 169, 184, 200, 208
  - Cultural, 7, 232
  - Disability, 28, 37, 169, 184, 193, 198, 247n27
  - Disgust, 157
  - Diversity, 45
  - Family, 241n4
  - Global, 93, 188, 231n12
    - Gaeopolitics, 168
  - HIV/AIDS, 232n13–14
  - Humanitarianism, 186–92
  - Identity, 193
  - Imitation, 43–44
  - Inclusion, 4–5, 198
  - Integration, 105
  - Interdependence, 208, 215
  - Intersectional, 169
  - Liberal, 44
  - Liberal tolerance, 45
  - Liberation, 35
  - Masking, 207
  - Nationalism, 199
  - Neoliberal, 25, 45
  - Positivity, 35
  - “post-politics,” 49
  - Postsocialist, 48, 99, 205, 214, 228n14
  - Pride, 177
  - Racialized, 16, 90
  - Radical, 208, 215
  - Rehabilitative postsocialism, 204
  - Respectable, 235n16
  - Russian, 177, 248n6
  - Sexual, 178, 199
  - Shared vulnerability, 224
  - Solidarity, 198
  - Spatial, 132
  - Temporal, 132, 210, 219
  - Transformation, 183
  - Translation, 4
  - “unpolitical politics,” 49
  - Poor Czechia (Chudé Česko)*, 31
  - Popa, Bogdan, 15, 39, 78
  - Positive affects, 24
  - “positive life,” 54, 55, 57, 62
  - Popper, Karl, 48, 61, 74, 231n9
  - Porn, 76, 77, 82, 233n1
  - Postcolonial, 15, 16, 25, 218, 245n4
    - See also Post(neo)colonial
  - Postcommunism, 22, 85
    - See also Postsocialism
  - Postižení*, 5
    - osoby se zdravotním postižením*, 3
    - Zdravotní postižení*, 3, 4
  - Post(neo)colonial, 6
  - Postsocialism, 1–3, 5–7, 11–16, 19, 21–24, 26–28, 33–38, 40, 46, 57, 59, 67, 73, 81, 88, 90, 93, 94, 101, 123, 134, 140, 166, 169, 177, 178, 192, 194, 199, 200, 202, 204, 227n6, 230n23, 247n27
    - Affective landscape, 9
    - Area studies, 12
    - Consensus, 22, 31, 41, 42, 48, 78, 82, 137, 139, 232n13
    - Crippling, 6, 7, 26
    - Depoliticized signifier, 12
    - End, 209
    - Feminist killjoy, 16
    - “the inarticulate postsocialist crip,” 25
    - Lingering, 12
    - “postsocialist condition,” 26, 37

- Postsocialist consciousness, 53  
 Postsocialist laboratory, 45  
 Trouble, 11, 12  
 “the unfinished business of,” 11  
 Potměšil, Jan, 1  
 Poverty, 24, 31–33, 44, 134, 139, 153, 164, 188, 211, 223, 229n17m, 241n6, 244n19  
     Business, 161, 163, 243n16  
     *See also* Housing: crisis: Racial: Capital  
 Povinelli, Elizabeth, 9, 89, 104–6, 115, 118  
 “power of the powerless,” 49, 103  
 Prague Pride, 77, 170–84, 245nn5–10, 246n14  
 Pragulic, 67–69, 71, 232n18  
 Prainsack, Barbara, 213  
 Precariousness, 36, 86, 136  
 Precarity, 5, 16, 33, 44, 69, 72, 86, 100, 131, 144, 147, 159, 198, 245n4  
 Present, 2, 6, 9, 15, 23, 26, 27, 35, 38, 47, 52, 64, 70, 71, 101, 105, 177, 198, 199, 204, 231n12  
     Elongated, 41  
 Presentism, 14, 35  
 Price, Janet, 207  
 Pride, 36, 37, 72, 187, 189, 190  
     Belgrade Pride, 174, 246n12  
     Budapest Gay Pride, 174, 246n12  
     LGBT pride, 170, 179, 246n12  
     Marches, 170, 245n7  
     Prague Pride, 77, 170–84, 245nn5–10, 246n14  
     Turin Gay Pride, 174  
 primitive/ness, 75, 76, 94, 95, 121, 122, 124, 128  
 Privatization, 13, 17, 18, 31, 67, 135  
 progress, 6, 9, 18, 19, 33, 39, 52, 90, 92, 95, 99, 119, 132, 173, 174, 230n23  
     Contradiction, 133  
     Metanarrative, 54  
     Narratives, 35  
     Postsocialist, 195  
     Temporal, 10  
     Unquestionable, 118  
     “projective integration,” 74  
 Promise, 21, 22, 26, 30, 34, 74, 79, 89, 94, 116, 122, 128, 132, 163, 175, 179, 182, 183, 188, 190, 211, 234n6  
 Protective measures, 219, 250  
     Targeted vs. blanket protective measures, 213, 220  
 Provisional housing projects (*Ubytovny*), 135, 159, 160, 165, 212, 240n2, 243nn13–16  
 Provisional/Permanent, 135, 159  
 Psychiatric disabilities, 107, 113, 119, 126  
 “psychosis,” 80, 81  
 Puar, Jasbir, 9, 39, 164, 194, 197  
 Public  
     Attitude, 170  
     Beggars, 153  
     Behavior, 153  
     Campaigns, 251n21  
     Celebrations, 172  
     Comings-out, 57, 59, 73  
     Commemoration, 107  
     Debates, 45, 61, 63, 79, 89, 98, 105, 117, 123, 135, 137, 140, 146, 161, 163, 231n8, 241n6, 250n17  
     Decorum, 153, 160  
     Discussions, 44, 62, 63, 64, 80, 102, 154  
     Dissatisfaction, 82  
     Events, 178  
     Figures, 184  
     General, 108, 113  
     Gestures, 57, 208  
     Health, 55, 201, 203, 211, 250n18  
     Higher education, 67  
     Housing, 240n2, 243n16  
     Institutions, 32, 156  
     Intellectuals, 51  
     Interest, 60, 61  
     Life, 203  
     Loitering, 153  
     Money, 196  
     Notification, 27

- Public (*continued*)
- Opinion, 171, 245n11
  - Opposition, 172
  - Order, 153, 160
  - Outreach projects, 71
  - Pedagogy, 45, 52, 61, 72, 73
  - Performances, 65, 156
  - Places, 208
  - Policies, 249n13
  - Readings, 95
  - Reception, 50, 78, 82, 85, 96, 142, 143
  - Relations, 179, 186, 188
  - Response, 82
  - Self-transformation, 62
  - Services, 162–63, 211
  - Spaces, 26, 27, 53, 54, 72, 136, 153–54, 155, 156, 161, 163, 171, 184, 234n6
  - Spending, 193
  - Support, 68, 170–71
  - Transport, 32
- The public, 14, 49, 51, 52, 55–57, 65, 71–73, 109, 121, 125, 139, 156, 157, 206, 207, 209, 232n13
- Pullmann, Michal, 57, 58, 231n11
- Purification, 22, 50, 51, 59, 228n7
- Queer, 2, 9, 37–39, 58, 74, 79, 86, 88–90, 94, 95, 101–2, 117, 170–72, 177–80, 183, 196, 229n23, 233n5
- Ambivalently, 88
  - Analysis, 10, 81
  - Audience, 175
  - Avatars, 179
  - Canon, 38
  - Children, 140
  - Coming-outs, 57
  - Crip, 16, 37, 89, 102, 140, 229n22
  - Desire, 38
  - Disabilities, 178, 199
  - Epistemologies, 177
  - Experiences, 179
  - Families, 241n4
  - Festivals, 246n13
  - Horizons, 175
  - Justice, 44
  - Knowledge, 16
  - Marxists, 38
  - Movements, 179
  - Narratives, 35
  - Parenthood, 194
  - Phenomenology, 89
  - Pride, 170, 172
  - Problems, 45
  - Punk, 4
  - Scholars, 16, 78
  - Sexuality, 57, 174, 178
  - Solidarity, 179, 182
  - Subjectivity, 58
  - Temporality, 39, 89
  - Theory, 38–39, 45, 78, 229n22
  - Utopia, 182
- Queerness, 35, 38, 39, 77, 177, 178
- Queer Phenomenology*, 2, 89, 94
- Quijano, Antonio, 122, 123
- Race, 5, 7, 9, 10, 25, 26, 32, 35, 40–42, 50–52, 79, 81–83, 85, 90, 96–101, 117, 122–24, 127, 137, 140–43, 146, 148, 150–52, 154–57, 166, 183, 184, 200, 202, 211, 228n7, 233n3, 239n28, 247n21
- Critical race theory, 45
  - Disability, 96, 97, 100, 118, 124, 156, 187
  - Ethnicity, 16, 40
  - Inarticulated, 138, 142
  - “a mixed-race body,” 93
  - Motive, 151
  - Spatializing, 157
  - Trouble, 42, 50–52, 140, 141
  - Violence, 242n9
- Racial, 44, 52, 74, 89, 96, 97, 101, 122, 124, 136, 139, 142, 144–47, 151, 153, 156, 159–61, 218, 240n2, 243n14, 247n21, 247n25
- Abjection, 35
  - Amnesia, 42
  - Capital, 91, 135

- Disparity, 51  
 Prejudice, 135  
   “racial menace,” 85  
   “racial subjection,” 165, 166  
   “racial triangulation,” 25  
 Racialization, 25, 40, 76, 77, 79, 80, 82,  
   87, 89, 93, 142, 202, 233n3, 242n6  
   Calculus, 148  
   Minoritarian, 45  
   “social death,” 96  
 Racism, 25, 28, 35, 36, 51, 71, 72, 90, 100,  
   126, 139, 148, 152, 157, 168, 184, 192,  
   198, 233n3, 240n1, 250n18  
   Acts, 52  
   “commodity racism,” 125  
   Structural, 143, 159, 164, 229n23  
 Rapid housing, 158  
   *See also* “housing first”  
 Realism, 104, 121, 127  
   Rationality, 114  
   “realistically possible,” 11, 114, 115  
 Reason, 106, 118, 124, 127  
   “humanitarian reason,” 186, 189  
   Imperial reason, 122, 127  
 Recognition, 15, 27, 34, 37, 47, 52, 86, 91,  
   92, 98, 102, 118, 146, 193, 198, 206,  
   207, 225, 231n8, 243n15  
   Beyond, 101, 140, 144  
   Conditional, 144  
   Corporealized, 43  
   Identity, 5, 101  
   Inclusive, 5  
   Minorities, 14  
   Politics, 5, 43  
   Shock, 62  
   Social Problems, 162  
   Symbolic, 144  
 Recovery, 17, 20  
   Moral, 30  
 Refugee, 167–70, 182, 185–91, 244n4  
   Camp, 167, 186, 188, 191, 245n4  
   Temporary protection, 191  
 Regime change, 1, 11, 22, 26, 227n4  
 Rehabilitation, 2, 9, 19–24, 34, 45, 62, 74,  
   77–80, 89, 142, 163, 178, 184, 186–88,  
   191, 220  
   Capitalist, 93, 102  
   Collective, 61  
   Compulsory, 24  
   “cultural grammar of rehabilitation,”  
     19, 24  
   Ideologies, 59, 138, 140  
   Limits, 42  
   Logic, 6, 26, 28, 48, 61, 66  
   Moral, 24, 53, 57, 78, 118, 188  
   Narratives, 59  
   National, 40, 198  
   Notion, 20  
   Postsocialist, 22, 42, 44, 46, 57, 65, 79,  
     80, 85, 145, 154, 159, 165, 174, 175–  
     76, 187, 189, 192, 194, 204, 215,  
     221  
   Racial, 51  
   Social, 53, 55  
   Rehabilitative citizenship, 1, 16, 17, 21,  
     22, 24–26, 30, 33, 42, 45, 48, 57, 60,  
     67, 96, 104, 106, 136, 139, 140, 145,  
     155, 162, 170, 200, 201, 215, 225  
   Rehabilitative imperative, 24, 27, 34, 36  
   Rehabilitative morality, 29, 32, 67  
   “reparative reading,” 85, 86  
     *See also* “paranoid reading”  
   “repressive infantilization,” 63, 204  
   Reproductive rights, 45  
   *Requiem for a Doll*, 103, 104, 118  
   Responsibility, 21, 22, 24, 33, 57, 59, 61, 65,  
     66, 69, 72, 80, 114, 138, 196, 209, 214,  
     215, 220, 232n16  
   Responsibilization, 219  
   Ressentiment, 90  
   Restrictive/Protective beds, 116, 117, 121–  
     23, 235n3, 238n17, 238n19, 238n21  
     *See also* cage beds  
   Restrictive tools, 106  
   Retardation, 117, 119, 241n5  
     “mental retardation,” 106, 113, 115–19,  
       129, 132, 133, 144, 235n1, 239n28  
   Retroviral therapy, 54

- Revolution, 14, 31, 50, 58, 246n17  
   Mythology, 27  
   Velvet, 6, 26, 27, 70, 227n4  
 Roma, 42, 45, 50–52, 74, 90, 94, 135, 138–  
   42, 144–50, 154, 158, 160, 185, 196,  
   212, 241n3, 244n19, 244n20  
   Activists, 231n8  
   Adoptees, 138, 140, 145  
   Anti-Roma, 25, 82, 146, 147, 148, 150,  
   193, 250n18  
   Children, 137, 138, 140, 141, 145, 149  
   Citizens, 50, 96, 231n8  
   Communities, 16, 41, 100, 137, 139,  
   144, 146, 165, 228n7, 242n7,  
   242n10  
   Concentration camps, 231n8  
   Covid-19, 243n19, 250n18  
   Death, 82, 96, 146, 148  
   European Roma and Travellers  
   Forum, 239n1  
   European Roma Rights Centre  
   *Life Sentence*, 241n6  
   Families, 148, 150–51, 210, 241n6  
   Health, 164, 243n19  
   HIV, 242n7  
   Holocaust, 50, 231n8  
   Households, 240n3  
   Identity, 25  
   Ill/Health, 164, 244n19  
   Inadaptability, 24, 25, 101, 192  
   Inhabitants, 152  
   Longevity, 243n19  
   Masculinity, 146  
   Men, 148–49, 210, 243n19  
   Murdered, 242n9  
   Neighborhoods, 51, 148  
   Otherness, 25  
   Pathology, 144  
   People, 16, 24, 25, 41, 52, 97, 101, 139,  
   140, 144, 146, 148, 155, 164, 165,  
   211, 230n23, 235n14, 240n1,  
   241n5, 241n6, 242nn7–11, 243n14,  
   250n18, 251n19  
   Populations, 139, 140, 146, 147, 160,  
   164, 239n1, 241n5, 242n7, 243n19,  
   244n20  
   Protests, 243n14  
   Racialized, 155  
   “Roma Question, the,” 51  
   Social workers, 250n18  
   Women, 99, 101, 149, 243n19  
 Romance, 62, 66, 229n22  
 Rubin, Gayle, 87  
 Ruml, Jan, 50  
 Rupture, 6, 57  
 Russia, 171, 172, 174–80, 192, 199, 222,  
   247n22  
   Imperialism, 177, 204, 248n6  
   Invasion to Ukraine/also Russia’s  
   war against Ukraine, 12, 185, 191,  
   204, 209, 233n3, 248n6  
   “neo-empire expands,” 177  
   “the neo-imperial turn,” 177  
 Šabatová, Anna, 112, 116, 237n13  
 Sabsay, Leticia, 85  
 Samuels, Ellen, 6, 229n22  
 Sandahl, Carrie, 5  
 Science, 50, 100, 115, 119, 122, 125  
 Schweik, Susan, 153  
 Scott, Darieck, 35  
 Sedgwick, Kosofsky Eve, 54, 79, 85,  
   175  
 Segregation, 52, 133, 161, 240n1, 240n2  
 Self-fashioning, 22, 65, 67, 121  
 Sex, 59, 72, 82–88, 90, 116, 192  
   Acts, 41, 89, 98  
   Business, 70, 76–78, 82  
   Sex-seeking foreigner, 84  
   STD/sexually transmitted disease,  
   55  
   Tourism, 75  
   Work, 70, 75–80, 82, 86, 94–98, 233n1,  
   233n2  
 Sexism, 76, 184, 192, 246n16  
 Sexual  
   Heterosexual, 37  
   Liberation, 78, 172, 179, 180, 182

- Perversity, 79, 177  
 Transaction, 41, 79, 94  
 Violence, 86, 92, 98, 117  
 Sexuality, 5, 9, 25, 26, 32, 41, 78–83, 96–  
     99, 122, 127, 134, 138, 173, 176, 183,  
     184, 192, 200, 233n1, 247n21  
     Communist, 39  
     Crip, 117  
     Disabilities, 89  
     Heterosexuality, 37, 57, 177  
     Queer, 57, 178  
     Race, 90  
     *See also* Homosexuality  
 Sexualization, 76  
 Shame, 10, 12, 37, 163, 216  
 Shelter, 38, 202, 203, 211  
     “Shelter in home,” 203  
     *See also* housing: Projects  
 Shih, Shu-mei, 12  
 Shildrick, Margrit, 9, 207  
 Shock  
     Doctrine, 20  
     Therapy, 70, 177  
     Treatment, 19  
 Šibík, Jan, 36, 37, 40, 134  
 Šiklová, Jiřina, 18, 21, 87  
 Šimůnková, Monika, 135  
 Slačálek, Ondřej, 15, 16, 192, 228n13,  
     230n1  
 Slavic, 185, 191  
 Slavic-ness, 76  
 Slovak Republic/Slovakia, 97, 168,  
     244n19, 251n18  
     *See also* Czechoslovakia  
 Snyder, Sharon, 64, 104, 122, 197  
 Social, the, 2, 22, 24, 45, 53, 56, 73, 78, 101,  
     209, 225  
 “social death,” 96, 100, 136, 146, 150, 151,  
     159, 165  
 Social imaginary, 2, 214  
 Social Impact Award, 68  
 Socialism, 2, 5, 10–17, 20, 22–24, 36, 48,  
     65, 90, 175, 199, 201, 204, 216, 225,  
     227n4, 227n6, 232n16, 243n14  
     Juxtaposition of socialism and capi-  
         talism, 19  
     Socialist utopia, 14, 139, 230n23  
     State, 10–12, 17, 24, 57, 59, 118, 139, 155,  
         199, 203, 217, 220, 227n4, 227n6,  
         230n23, 231n11, 241n4  
     Social rehabilitation, 53, 55  
     Social welfare, 30, 32, 160, 163, 182, 194,  
         203, 224, 240n2, 241n6, 242n6,  
         247n25  
     Sokolová, Věra, 78, 241n4  
     Solidarity, 16, 178, 185–87, 191, 198, 206–  
         9, 216  
         Collective, 206, 208, 213  
         Crip, 64, 65, 200, 225  
         Epidemic, 224  
         Imagination, 179, 199  
         Intersectional, 170  
         Negotiating, 153  
         Queer, 182  
         Social, 30, 119, 196  
         “solidarity of the responsible,” 223  
         Transnational, 169, 170, 172, 183, 186,  
             187, 188–99  
         Unprecedented, 185  
     Soviet, 6, 12, 14, 15, 37, 39, 170, 174, 176,  
         177, 184, 204  
     Spectacle, 62, 71, 152, 177  
     Spelman, Elizabeth, 121  
     Sperling, Valerie, 192  
     Špidla, Vladimír, 14  
     Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty, 15, 16  
     State, 1, 6, 10, 11–15, 17–20, 22, 24, 27, 28,  
         30–33, 40, 44, 47, 51, 57, 59, 60, 66,  
         81, 82, 86, 90, 92, 97, 99, 100, 101,  
         103, 103–5, 107, 108, 118, 135, 136,  
         139, 140, 149, 150, 155, 156, 159, 160,  
         161, 164, 172, 175, 177–80, 186, 196,  
         199, 203–7, 211–14, 216–20, 223–25,  
         227n4, 227n6, 229n23, 230n23, 231n11,  
         232n13, 232n14, 235n4, 237n12, 240n2,  
         241nn4–6, 242n7, 242n10, 242n12,  
         243n14, 243n16, 247n22, 247n24,  
         247n27, 249n8, 250n17, 250n18, 251n22

- Sterilization, 36, 97, 100, 101  
 Stigma, 12, 37, 57, 59, 64, 136, 194, 223, 227n2, 241n5  
     Stigmaphile gesture, 3, 13  
     Stigmaphobic, 35, 88  
     Stigmatization, 54, 56, 60, 61, 232n14  
 Stiker, Jacques-Henri, 19  
 Stockton, Katheryne Bond, 117, 140  
 Stone, Deborah, 196  
 Striphas, Ted, 201  
 Stuck, 8, 15, 35, 90, 92, 97–99, 183, 225  
     Being stuck, 6, 9, 36, 94, 99  
     Stuckedness, 99  
 Subject, 11, 13, 21, 22, 25, 42, 44–46, 60–62, 65, 76, 85, 122, 126, 139, 146, 156, 161, 165, 168, 170, 180, 185, 187, 195, 196, 199  
     “minoritarian subject,” 44, 45, 74  
 Subjectivity, 29, 45, 58, 62, 85, 89, 177  
     HIV, 60  
 Substance use, 67, 71, 137  
     *See also* addiction  
 Suffering, 3, 9, 36, 40, 105, 106, 118, 120, 121, 148, 151, 158, 168, 186–88, 196, 221, 251n19  
     Subject of suffering, 170  
 Supreme Court, 111, 114  
 Surrogate, 193  
 Survival, 22, 30, 34, 41, 67, 71, 88, 100, 138, 194, 198, 212, 242n7, 245n4  
     Crip, 36, 37, 39  
 Susceptibility, 204, 214, 220, 221  
     “syndromes of post-communism,” 80  
 Synek, Michal, 108, 212, 237n9, 251n19  
  
 Tabery, Erik, 49  
 Tanvald, 148, 151  
     *Life and Death in Tanvald*, 147, 151  
 Temporality, 5–8, 100, 125, 204, 249n12  
     Crip, 5, 6, 101  
     Diagnostic, 133  
     Queer, 39  
     Temporal disorientation/disorientation of, 6  
     Temporal layering, 40  
     “Thank You that We Can” campaign, 27, 31, 106  
     “Those Who Walked Away . . .” (Ursula Le Guin), 105  
 Ticktin, Miriam, 188  
 Time, 15, 38, 62, 64, 65, 70, 71, 73, 84, 88, 91, 96, 97, 102, 104, 116, 117, 122, 132, 154, 157, 194  
     “broken time,” 6, 7  
     Coincidence, 39  
     Crip, 6–7  
     “folded time,” 6  
     Freedom, 80  
     Hard, 225  
     “knotted time,” 39–40, 58  
     Leisure, 97  
     Linear time, 6, 8, 9, 133  
     Modernity, 5  
     “normative time,” 8, 127  
     “out of time,” 116  
     peacetime, 131  
     Peculiar, 81  
     Progressive, 9, 132  
     Provisional, 156  
     “time afterwards,” 8, 9, 99  
     “time of securities,” 80  
     wartime, 131  
     *See also* temporality  
 #togetherwewillmakeit, 207, 214  
 Tolerance, 42, 44, 45, 70, 72–74, 172  
     “oasis of tolerance,” 174, 178, 180  
     Zero, 156, 162  
 Totalitarianism, 11, 74, 76, 170, 174, 176, 216, 251n22  
     Laboratory, Eastern Europe, 199  
 Touch, 120, 207, 208  
     “traffic in Eastern European bodies,” 81, 86  
     “traffic in women,” 87  
 Trafficking, sex, 87  
 Transformation, 4–8, 20–26, 34, 35, 37–41, 48, 65, 73, 74, 76–78, 83, 84, 97–99, 104, 106, 108, 122, 183, 194, 219, 239n21, 247n21

- Curative, 37  
 Debt, 209  
 Economic, 29, 31, 65, 66, 78  
 Failing, 40  
 Moral, 14, 58, 209  
 National, 74  
 Optimism, 78  
 Post-communist, 53  
 Post-1989, 42, 216  
 Postsocialist, 2, 4, 6, 7, 13, 17, 21, 22, 25, 26, 31, 33, 34, 38, 43, 46, 60, 68, 71, 76, 77, 78, 81, 89–90, 97, 99, 110, 140, 152, 166, 188, 200, 204, 205, 214, 222  
 Rehabilitative, 8  
 Self-, 22, 62, 63, 68  
 Social, 31, 55, 65  
 Teleological, 195  
 Transformational optimism, 78  
 Transformational pessimism, 41, 78, 83, 98, 99, 247n2  
*See also* Cruel optimism; Positive affects  
 Transition, 5–9, 18, 20, 25, 30, 39, 67, 76–82, 93, 99, 116, 133, 138, 171, 182, 222, 225, 232n16, 234n12, 235n12, 236n6  
 Economic, 31  
 Postsocialist, 2, 17, 34, 44, 58, 78, 91, 169, 234n12, 241n4  
 Transitology, 17–19  
 Doxa, 18  
 Transnational, 6, 12, 16, 19, 22, 37, 40, 52, 73, 76, 78, 79, 85–88, 91–93, 95, 97, 101, 140, 169, 178, 188, 191, 233n2, 235n13, 248n2  
 Capitalism, 87, 179, 244n4  
 Translation, 37  
 Trans/national belonging, 25, 172, 175  
 Travel of theory, 4  
 Solidarity, 170, 172, 183, 186  
 “traveling concept,” 4  
 Trnka, Susanna, 203, 249n7  
 “Ugly feelings,” 2, 35, 98  
 Uhlová, Saša, 92, 248n2  
 Ukraine, 12, 37, 44, 185, 186, 191, 204, 222, 233n3, 235n13, 246n19, 248n6  
 Union of Invalids, the (*Svaz invalidů*), 26  
 UN Special Rapporteur on Torture, 113  
 UN Treaty on the Rights of People with Disabilities, 108  
 USSR, 5, 6, 11, 12, 39, 177, 231n11  
 Soviet bloc, 14  
 Ústí nad Labem, Přeblice (towns in Bohemia), 97, 161  
 Value, 43, 68, 72, 86, 97, 107, 117, 118, 125, 127, 138, 141, 150, 159, 183, 186, 188, 202, 215, 220, 231n8, 237n16, 238n19  
 Crisis, 143  
 Property, 51  
 Violence, 74, 111  
 Verdery, Katherine, 13, 17  
 Vermin, 161, 162, 165  
 Violence, 6, 7, 9, 28, 34, 41, 45, 52, 74, 86, 87, 92, 96–100, 104, 111, 113, 117, 124, 129, 131, 132, 136, 146, 147, 149–51, 168, 171, 172, 174, 177, 189, 192, 201, 202, 215, 235n14, 235n14, 245n4, 247n21, 248n6, 250n18  
*Curative Violence*, 6, 232n17  
 Racial/ized, 51, 96, 97, 99, 100, 242n9, 243n14  
 “slow violence,” 9  
 Structural v., 201  
 Symbolic violence, 4, 34, 104, 250n18  
 Value, 74, 111  
 Viral, 54, 79, 94, 96, 203–5, 207–18, 221, 222, 244n19, 250n18  
 Agency, 203, 249n12  
 Mutation, 203  
 Postsocialism, 201  
 Threat, 205, 208, 216  
 Virus, 56, 58, 60, 61, 63, 79, 81, 88, 89, 92, 95, 97, 192, 201–3, 207, 209, 211, 214, 217–22, 224, 225, 232n15, 248n4, 248n5, 249n12, 250n18, 251n20  
 “virus of Islam,” 192

- Visegrad Four, 168  
 Vitality, 38, 98  
 Vulnerability, 5, 40, 55, 101, 129, 133, 136,  
     185, 198, 203, 205–9, 211, 213–17, 221,  
     224, 225  
     Biosocial, 202, 216, 221  
     Differential calculus, 202  
     Global, 201  
 “the vulnerable,” 213–16, 218–21
- Wacquant, Loïc, 161  
 Wade, Cheryl Maria, 40  
 War, 12, 15, 25, 38, 39, 48, 51, 78, 122, 125,  
     129–33, 168, 169, 177, 180, 183, 185,  
     186, 188–91, 197, 204, 205, 209, 223,  
     233n3, 239n28, 243n14, 246n19,  
     248n6  
*The Way Out* (Petr Václav), 99, 101, 102  
 Weiner, Elaine, 18, 19, 65, 220, 232n16  
 Welfare, 30, 32, 33, 105, 119, 135, 136, 140,  
     155, 160, 163, 182, 185, 194–97, 203,  
     220, 223, 224, 229n21, 240n2, 241n6,  
     242n6, 243n16, 247n25, 247n27  
     Logic of welfare, disability (Stone,  
     Deborah), 196  
     State, 196, 247n27  
 Westerner, 95  
 “Western gaze,” 76
- White, 26, 41, 42, 50–52, 74, 80, 83, 88,  
     91, 93–98, 101, 102, 108, 125, 137, 138,  
     140–48, 150–53, 157, 164, 165, 185, 188,  
     191, 201, 202, 240n2, 242n7, 245n4  
     “becoming white,” 25  
     Canon, 89  
     Family, 140, 143, 146, 158, 165  
     Whitewash, 162  
 Whiteness, 16, 26, 51, 52, 89, 98, 138–40,  
     146, 150, 153, 157, 187, 197–99, 210,  
     231n8  
     Ethnicized, 40  
     Globalized, 16  
     Insistence, 16  
     White abled supremacy, 93  
     Whiteness-centering device, 96, 97  
 Williams, Raymond, 2  
 Wismer-Meiserová, Zuzana, 53  
 Work. *See* labor  
 Worker, 85, 203  
 Working morale, 203
- Xenophobia, 36, 43, 71, 168, 198
- Yugoslavia, 129, 132, 186, 239n28  
 Yurchak, Alexei, 11, 12, 176, 199, 231n11
- Znoj, Milan, 49, 52