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Dialogic-affective entanglements in contexts of social exclusion and poverty:
An ethnography of a local housing discourse

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This endeavour would not have been possible without the help and support of so many people.
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I would particularly like to mention three Roma social workers and activists,

Marie Ferencová, Robin Stria, and Julius Kala

as they are no longer with us...

[...]

Nach allem

*was ich sonst erfahren und gelernt habe
scheint es mir glaubhaft
dass Menschen andere Menschen
verschleppen und in die Sklaverei führen
zu einer Reise zwingen*

Ach, die Tartaren!

Die Soviets

*in ihren seltsamen Chroniken
datierten einen Überfall ihrer Horden
auf das Jahr 1695*

Was ist das für ein Wort

Die Horde

Es stamme aus der Turksprache

heisst es

eine umherziehende Truppe

eine Bande

eine Band

[...]

Lukas Bärfuss, *The Journey*

[...]

After everything else
that I have experienced and learned
it seems credible to me
that people kidnap other people
and lead them into slavery
force them to a journey

Alas, the Tartars!

The Soviets in their strange chronicles
dated an attack by their hordes
to the year 1695

What kind of word is that?

The horde
It comes from the Turkic language
it is said
a roving troupe
a gang
a band
[...]

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Transcription Symbols

NA?	Uncertain speaker
[word	Overlap onset
word]	Overlap offset
=	Latching, subsequent talk not directly related to prior talk
(0.3)	Silence in absolute seconds
-	Cut-off sound
<u>word</u>	Emphasis
wo:rd	Prolonged vowel or consonant.
↑word	Marked shift in pitch, up (↑) or down (↓).
↓word	
.	Falling intonation
,	Slight rising intonation
—	Level/flat intonation
ˆ	Medium (falling-) rising intonation
?	Sharp rising intonation
WORD	Louder than surrounding speech
°	Reduced volume in comparison to surrounding speech
<word	Hurried start
>word<	Increased speaking rate
<word>	Decreased speaking rate
#word#	Creaky voice
hkm, or mhgmhm or MHGHM	Throat clear
~	Tremulous or wobbly delivery
a(h)a	Plosiveness in words
heh	Plosiveness in standalone particles
h hh	Hearable aspirations
hh-hh-hh	Laughter: Breathy laughter
Huh/hah/he	Laughter: Voiced vowels
h/hih/hoh/h	
a/ehh	
(())	Transcriber comments or descriptions, (<i>italic</i>) in case of visible behavior taking place simultaneously with speech

1 Introduction

Discerning dialogic-affective entanglements in contexts of social exclusion and poverty

This thesis considers the role of discourse in the political struggles of Roma people in contexts of social exclusion and/or poverty. Specifically, it examines how a neighbourhood of Roma and non-Roma people strove for safe and decent housing in the city of Ostrava, Czechia. They did this by organising their community as well as political protest.

In 1998, the municipal district government of Mariánské Hory a Hulváky instigated a new housing policy that led to the segregation of Roma and non-Roma residents, the former of whom were displaced from the town centre to its periphery, to neighbourhoods such as Bedřiška. The present study considers from a critical discourse ethnographic perspective the ways in which this housing policy has affected Bedřiška. By tracing the historical trajectory of the neighbourhood – from 1998 and to the present time of this thesis' composition – I attempt to understand the dialogic-affective entanglements that constitute this conflict over housing. To this end, I shall ask: who are the participants in this conflict over a basic need? What range of stances and positions do they adopt, and what are the broader emotions, languages, frames, or ideologies through which participants' voices intertwine in space and time? And what, potentially, can the answers to these complex questions show us about the ways in which Roma and non-Roma people may live together in relative peace?

Before commencing with this analysis, we should first consider the myriad topics, ideas, and histories that are particularly pertinent for the present analysis. One may imagine these topics as threads of 'skein[s] of wool that a cat played with' (Heller, Pietikäinen & Pujolar 2018: 16), a metaphor that I have found it fruitful to 'think with'. Where do these threads lead and how are they interwoven?

In what follows, I shall introduce, and seek to shed light on, ideas and (discursive) histories concerning minority–majority relations, dialogic practice, and affect. I shall embed these concepts within a European and Czech (discursive) history of Roma exclusion – a history that also includes moments of emancipation. Finally, I shall explain how this entanglement of 'threads' relates to my analysis and history of the Bedřiška neighbourhood and how this thesis is organised.

Minority-majority positions and language in society

First, what does it mean to be member of a minority or majority and how does this concept relate to discourse in society? As Gleason (1991) notes, the political notion of *minority* is abstract, vague, and open, and it becomes meaningful only in relation to the idea of a *majority* that, owing to its status as such, is able to exercise power over a minority group of people. These terms therefore do not refer to an essence inherent in the objects they represent, but rather to a status that is theoretically mutable (cf. Gleason 1991): minorities may become majorities. This is a fact that Czechia, or the case of the former Czechoslovakia, illustrates well. Czechoslovakia gained its independence from the Habsburg Empire in 1918 (see also Tancer 2019). Between 1938 and 1945, the territory was occupied by the German National Socialists (Nazis), who espoused the superiority of an “Aryan race”. Nazis’ plan was to exterminate Jewish and Roma minorities (including so-called “half-breeds”). Once the war was over, the Nazis planned to enslave Central and Eastern European “Slavs” whom they considered racially inferior (e.g., Vlahek 2022). After the war, all members of the German-speaking minority were forced to leave the country. From 1968 to 1989, the country was colonised by Soviet Russia. In 1993, Czechoslovakia was peacefully dissolved, giving rise to two new countries, namely Czechia (or the Czech Republic) and Slovakia (cf. Atkin, Biddiss & Talett 2011: 105–106).

The term *minority* was first used in the context of Central and Eastern European national movements striving for independence from imperial powers, a sovereignty that most of the aspiring nations first realised with the peace treaty of Versailles that concluded World War I (cf. Gleason 1991). It was during the period of those struggles for independence that academic discourse decontextualised the minority concept, and recontextualised it in the US milieu, with its own different minorities. Only later, in the second half of the twentieth century, was this concept reintroduced into European academic debates (cf. Gleason 1991: 393). In the America context, the US sociologist Donald Young used the term in his study tellingly titled *American minority peoples: A study in racial and cultural conflicts in the United States* (1932), which suggested that the circumstances of different social minorities can be compared. In so doing, Young shifted attention away from the idea of a struggle between different “races” to the idea that intergroup relations might be better understood by looking at a group’s position in an overall social structure (cf. Gleason 1991: 393–403). Louis Wirth then elaborated the idea of ‘minority group’, instilling this term with the meaning that it still retains in American cultural discourse: ‘a group of people who, because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from the others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination’ (Wirth 1945, after Gleason 1991: 398). This understanding of a minority position

as being characterised by a deficit of social justice vis-à-vis a majority position provided force to various movements – notably, for example, the US civil rights movement – and it remains the principal connotation today (cf. Gleason 1991: 403).

As noted above, the later twentieth century saw the minority concept recontextualised within European academic discourse. For instance, Essed's (1991) comparative work on 'everyday racism' experienced by African American women in California and Black Surinamese women in the Netherlands was particularly influential for linguistic discourse analysis in Europe (cf. Essed 1991: viii). In order to grasp 'everyday racism', Essed (1991) fuses macro with micro perspectives. More specifically, Essed combines psychological and sociological approaches, cognitive and interactional with structural components of racism, arguing that everyday racism is being 'created and reinforced through everyday practices' (Essed 1991: 2). She sees differences as not necessarily real but attributed by 'Whites', and especially by a 'white elite', to 'Blacks'. Van Dijk (1984; 1991), employing a critical discourse analytical perspective, speaks of 'ethnic prejudice', which he discerns in stereotypes and other cognitive patterns directed towards 'foreigners' by majority group members (cf. van Dijk 1984: 1). In contrast to Essed (1991) and van Dijk (1984; 1991), Reisigl and Wodak (2001) do not pre-define sociocultural groups but instead are interested in racism as a specific discourse used by certain participants in specific contexts.¹ Their approach has the advantage of circumventing the potential risk of essentialisation (see, e.g., Rivera 2000 for a critical reflection on this problem; see also Said 1979: xxxiii).

While the majority–minority concept is most often applied to ethnic or national groups, Bourdieu (1994) provides a more nuanced account of power relations between groups of people and their respective positionalities in social space (see also Fairclough 1999). Bourdieu differentiates between two principles that greatly determine a person's social position in relation to others, and at the same time indicate how close or distant and hierarchically higher or lower a certain social positionality ranks compared with others. Bourdieu's two principles are, namely, economic capital and cultural capital: *economic capital* refers, for instance, to a person's salary; typical examples of *cultural capital* would be a person's level of education, or their survival capabilities as acquired through cultural knowledge (cf. Bourdieu 1994: 20–23). As Bourdieu (1994) further explains, people, depending on their positions in this social space, share specific ways of doing things, particular tastes and points of views, and they will be likely also to interact with people with

¹ Reisigl (2007) understands *social discrimination* as a relational phenomenon in which '[s]omeone discriminates against somebody else by doing something' (366). *Discrimination* is thus a process that involves an agent and a patient, in which the latter is debased by the former. In cases of 'discrimination', agent and patient belong to different communities, whereby the former's action are based on a specific trait or characteristic (e.g. race, ethnicity, culture, gender) that they ascribe to the other person's group in comparison to their own group. Asymmetric power relations frame this process (cf. Reisigl 2007: 366–338).

whom they share ways of consuming and using things, cooking and eating, speaking and debating, perceiving and judging the material and social environment around them. In other words, they engage with certain people and thereby form and incorporate certain habits or *dispositions* (cf. Bourdieu 1994: 20–23). Consequently, people act and experience reality differently, and such differences are determined both by the economic capital and the cultural capital that different persons possess.

Regarding matters of judgement and prejudice, Bourdieu (1994) argues that through the enactment of *habitus* agents (re)produce different *symbolic languages*. These languages guide social practices of identification and distinction; habitus guides social actors in their choices, enacting a set of embodied principles or cognitive structures that orient those actors in their evaluations of the (social) world in their daily lives (cf. Bourdieu 1994: 23–24).

Habitus are generative principles of distinction and distinctive practices [...] Thus, for instance, the same behaviour or even the same good can appear distinguished to one person, pretentious to someone else, and cheap or showy to yet another. But the essential point is that, when perceived, these principles of vision and division, the differences in practices, in the goods possessed, or in the opinions expressed become symbolic differences and constitute a veritable *language*. (Bourdieu 1998 [1994]: 8)²

Consequently, members of a specific sociocultural group may perceive and evaluate the practices or attributes of people of other groups, such as speaking a particular dialect for instance, in a way that distinguishes the first group from members of the other sociocultural group. But that does not mean that the other group of agents perceives this sign in the same way. On the contrary, evaluations may be diametrically different from one group of agents to another (cf. Bourdieu 1994: 24–25).

Symbolic languages are closely tied to social order, which they (re)institutionalise in ritualistic ways, thereby enacting a sort of *social magic* (Bourdieu 1982). Every institutionalised name or social identity or categorical delimitation, such as ‘noble woman’ or “gypsy” (later in this chapter, I shall explain why I write this word in double quotation marks and the lowercase), involves specific behavioural expectations, rights to be and act in certain ways, and also certain obligations. In this sense, being referred to in a particular way imposes a kind of essence on a human self; to refer to

² ‘Les habitus sont des principes générateurs de pratiques distinctes et distinctives [...] Ainsi, par exemple, le même comportement ou le même bien peut apparaître distingué à l’un, prétentieux ou m’as-tu-vu à l’autre, vulgaire à un troisième. Mais l’essentiel est que, lorsqu’elles sont perçues au travers de ces catégories sociales de perception, de ces principes de vision et de division, les différences dans les pratiques, les biens possédés, les opinions exprimées deviennent des différences symboliques et constituent un véritable langage’ (Bourdieu 1994: 24).

people by specific names therefore signifies that they *should* behave in certain socially defined ways. Bourdieu expresses this point as follows:³

The act of institution is thus an act of communication, but of a particular kind : it signifies to someone what his identity is, but in a way that both expresses it to him and imposes it on him by expressing it in front of everyone (katagorein, meaning originally, to accuse publicly) and thus inform him in an authoritative manner of what he is and what he must be. (Bourdieu 1991: 121)

Hence, agents are born into a world with predefined social categories that acquire their force through institutionalisation, which is rooted in public validity and expectation.

According to Bourdieu (1982), institutionalising acts, such as invectives or acts of nomination thus have real effects in social life, but only insofar as they are grounded in social order; that is, they need to be supported by power structures so as to succeed more or less felicitously. Butler (1997: 141–151) challenges this understanding of the (re)production of identities and differences as necessarily grounded in institutional order, and in so doing offers a way to think the transformation of identities and expectations. Aligning here with Jacques Derrida, Butler argues that the force of a performative act (see Austin 1975) does not reside in its embedding within an institutional order, but rather in its ability to break with conventional uses. Thus, on account of its arbitrary character, every sign incorporates a conventional use, but also a potential break with it. A sign may be introduced and iterated in new contexts, and speakers can thus speak back and break with violent historical usages (cf. Butler 1997: 32–24; 41). Consequently, social positions, and therefore power relations, can be transformed, and a minority status may become a majority status.

Lastly, I should also draw attention here to the work of the Bakhtinian circle (e.g., Bakhtin 1981 [1975]), which has enabled me to recognise the ways in which language is related to different social positions and discourse as an expression of individual uniqueness. These ideas add yet another layer of theoretical complexity to the discussion above. According to Bakhtin (1981), there is a great variety in language use, all of which reflect a specific social position:

The internal stratification of any single national language into social dialects, characteristic group behaviour, professional jargons, generic languages, languages of generations and age groups, tendentious languages, languages of the authorities, of

³ ‘Ainsi, l’acte d’institution est un acte de communication mais d’une espèce particulière: il signifie à quelqu’un son identité, mais au sens à la fois où il la lui exprime et la lui impose en l’exprimant à la face de tous (katagoresthai, c’est, à l’origine, accuser publiquement) et en lui notifiant ainsi avec autorité ce qu’il est et ce qu’il a à être’ (Bourdieu 1982: 60).

various circles and of passing fashions, languages that serve the specific socio-political purposes of the day, even of the hour (each day has its own slogan, its own vocabulary, its own emphases). (Bakhtin 1981 [1975]: 263)

All of these languages (varieties, registers, and discourses) which may be more or less consolidated, represent particular perspectives on the world. They are ‘points of view’ from which meaning or value is ascribed to the social and material environment by voices that use these languages in daily interactions (cf. Bakhtin 1981 [1975]: 263).

As a result, every person’s consciousness is characterised by a multitude of dialoguing and/or struggling sociocultural languages, which together make up a distinctly unique entanglement (cf. Vološinov 1973: 38–39). This diversity reflects a human being’s trajectory; that is, the variety of experiences collected in different social fields through which people move during their lifetimes and which involve different social positions that they ‘occupy’. These, then, are positions that they ‘take up’, ‘are being put in’, or in which people simply ‘find themselves’ (Hanks 2006: 125; see also Heller 2012; Busch 2016). Humans thus experience a multitude of social positions and power relations during their lives, and they cannot be reduced to one simple minority position. A person’s ethnic identity (chosen or not) is never everything that he and/or she *is*; every individual embodies a multitude of different position and languages that evolve and change dynamically in time. It is in this sense that, for our present purposes, I understand the idea of *sociocultural position* and *majority* and/or *minority position*.

Roma people and Romani culture and language

The European Roma minority suffered and continues to suffer a long history of exclusion, persecution, discrimination, and extermination. Today, the Council of Europe estimates the number of Roma and Travellers in Europe at 10–12 million (cf. Council of Europe 2011: 1). However, this estimate is problematic, given that many countries are reticent to carry out a census, and also given that many people who identify as Roma do not dare to declare it officially (cf. Laederich 2011: 25–26). Many Roma citizens, even in cases when they are officially asked to do so, decline to state their identity as ‘Roma’ in census reports. It is therefore probable that there is an invisible majority of assimilated Roma living ‘normal’ lives within majoritarian society (cf. Laederich 2011: 25–27). These are among the many challenges that Roma elites striving for unity and social justice face.

Since the end of the nineteenth century, there have been several attempts to emancipate Roma communities in multiple eastern European countries, in Soviet Russia, and later in central and western Europe as well as internationally (cf. Council of Europe & n.d.a: 6.2). The year 1971 marked the breakthrough of this political movement, as the first World Romani Congress was held on the outskirts of London. During this event, participants from 14 states met to organise their communities on an international level. They agreed on the name *Roma* to refer to the different communities to which they belong, and they also adopted an anthem (*Gelem, Gelem*) and a flag to symbolise their communities.

Since the Congress, the word *Roma* has become the generic term used by the Council of Europe to refer to 'Roma, Sinti (Manush), Kale and related groups in Europe, including Travellers and the eastern groups (Dom and Lom), and covers the wide diversity of the groups concerned, including persons who identify themselves as Gypsies' (Council of Europe 2012: 4).⁴ It is nonetheless important to bear in mind that there is a difference between groups of Roma people who share a common language and origin, such as the Roma, Sinti (also Manush) and Kale (or Spanish Gypsies), and other groups who sometimes have a similar lifestyle, such as the Yenish (around and in Switzerland) or Irish Travellers (cf. Council of Europe 2012: 6).

Although not all Roma groups of people call themselves Roma, the word *Roma* usually appears in the name they use to designate the language they speak (e.g., *romanes*, *roman*, *romacilikanes*), or to denote 'husband' and 'wife' (*rom* and *romni*). According to Matras (n.d.), one can identify the broader population referred to as Roma accordingly. However, as suggested above, these various groups of people are said to share a common origin, language, and culture. By this historical logic, the ancestors of today's Roma emigrated from India between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries; passing Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor, they arrived in and spread out across Europe between about the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries (cf. Council of Europe 2011: 2). As Leaderich (2011) explains, this migration history led to the emergence of a Romanes language that takes the form of a multiplicity of different dialects and has a layered structure. All Romani dialects share a strong Prakrit basis and layers of Persian, Armenian, Greek, and Southern Slavic acquisition. Moreover, the migration within Europe led to what can be conceptualised as four 'meta-dialects': the Carpathian (e.g.,

⁴ Taking into account the Roma point of view, the Council of Europe (2012: 6) suggests a specific usage of names and adjectives in English: the word *Rom* (sing.) and *Roma* (pl.) should be used to designate people (whereas in English *Rom* designates 'a man' and 'a woman', in Romani, *Rom* means 'man' or 'husband' and *Romni* 'women' or 'wife'); *Roma* and *Romani* should both be used as adjectives, but the latter should refer to language and culture.

Bohemian), Vlax (e.g., Lovara), Nordic dialects (e.g. Sinti), and the Balkan meta-dialect (e.g., Arlii). All of these dialects contain contemporary loan words borrowed from local languages (cf. Laederich 2011: 20–21).

With regard to culture, Roma groups share a common store of traditions, such as respect for elders, ritual cleanness, a dualist approach to god, oaths, and the approach to death (cf. Laederich 2011: 25). Of particular interest for our purposes is the way in which Roma people handle conflict. Many Roma groups have the institution of a court (often *krii*) to manage conflicts between members and families (cf. Matras n.d.: 4). Mediation plays an important role in these court procedures; respected community members who are known for their impartiality serve as arbiters in the respective cases. However, there are also groups of Roma that have developed other forms of conflict resolution (cf. Wagner & Wagnerová n.d.: 2).

Another aspect of Roma identity that should be considered here is the concept of *Gadžë* to designate ‘non-Roma’. According to Laederich (2011), the word is used to designate a local non-Roma person; that is, a Rom from Poland would use it for Polish people exclusively. Jews, however, are not considered to be *Gadžë*. Rather, they are called *Bibolde* or *Džide*, while traditionally in the Balkans a *Gadžo* is a Muslim person (cf. Laederich 2011: 24). Consequently, different Roma groups differentiate themselves from others in similar ways, using similar terms.

However, Roma people use common language to differentiate themselves not only from outer groups but from other Roma people as well. From their study with and about Roma people in eastern Europe, Christian Giordano and Andrea Boscoboinik (2011) detect a widening gap between educated Roma elites and Roma people struck by poverty. As the authors note, questions of identity generally do not matter as much to the impoverished, as they are highly preoccupied with securing their daily living. Often, they prefer to be called “gypsies” considering the name Roma to be reserved for educated Roma. Moreover, the authors observed a strong mistrust felt toward Roma elites, as well as toward non-governmental Organisations (NGOs), among poverty-stricken groups of Roma people. Conversely, certain members of the elite may pejoratively refer to poor Roma as “gypsies”. Some authors further suggest that other divisions – based, for instance, on religious, economic, or social aspects of identity – might be more significant than ethnicity so as to understand the experience and problems of a specific group of Roma people (cf. Giordano & Boscoboinik 2011: 15–16).

In the context of the Czech Republic, one mainly finds Roma people belonging to the Servika Roma (also called Slovak Roma) and the Vlax Roma; the former constitute the great majority. These Slovak Roma moved to the Czech part of the former Czechoslovakia for better labour prospects after World War II and thereby replaced the original Czech Roma population that was almost entirely exterminated during World War II. Vlax Roma sometimes pejoratively call the Servika Roma *Rumungro* (cf. Wagner & Wagnerová n.d.). I have observed that locals often simply differentiate between *Romové* ‘Roma’ and *Olaši* ‘Vlax’ in Czech common usage. Both groups are said to share a common language, origin, and other characteristics with other Roma groups.

In what concerns the present research, the Roma individuals with whom I met and spoke usually identified as Roma as well as Czech. However, members of the younger generations were often losing the Romani language. As I was told, they were mostly Servika Roma. From my observations, these people mainly felt solidarity with other Roma people from the same municipal district, an entity that probably coincided with their community (cf. Wagner & Wagnerová n.d.: 2), but less so with Roma people who lived in a “hostel” that once existed in the neighbourhood and who – so I was told – were moved there from other parts of the city. Nonetheless, it is important to note that the Roma people who participated in this study also lived in what may be considered a fairly typical mixed neighbourhood, in which some neighbours get along well, and others do not.

In this work, I shall refer to *Roma* as ‘Roma people’. However, I also talk about ‘people who identify as Roma’ and/or ‘people who are being identified as Roma’ so as to remain aware of the de facto contractedness and openness of these categories. Moreover, I shall sometimes talk about ‘Roma and/or non-Roma people’ to stay aware of the fact that people may be both.

Dialogic imaginations in time and space

According to theorists associated with the Bakhtinian circle, every word that we say, every piece of text that we write, or every picture that we take is entangled in living dialogue. There is ‘inner speech’ as we ‘think and feel and desire with the help of words’ (Vološinov 1976: 21). There further is a narrow sense of dialogue that we all intuitively know, yet, as Vološinov (1973) notes, there is also a broad idea of *dialogue*, ‘meaning not only direct face-to-face, vocalised verbal communications between persons, but also verbal communication of any type whatsoever. A book, i.e., a *verbal performance in print*, is also an element of verbal communication’ (Vološinov 1973: 95, emphasis in

original). Both of these forms of dialogue – that is, dialogue in both the narrow and broad senses – take place in time and space.

As Bakhtin (1981) explains, every form of contemplation involves dialogue in the sense that every thought or piece of discourse is a response to what was said in the past and, therefore,

[it] finds the object at which it was directed already as it were overlain with qualifications, open to dispute, charged with value, already enveloped in an obscuring mist - or, on the contrary, by the 'light' of alien words that have already been spoken about it. It is entangled, shot through with shared thoughts, points of view, alien value judgments and accents. (Bakhtin 1981 [1975]: 276)

Every sign oriented towards an object or theme thus enters into a dialogue with what was already expressed and known about it before. Consequently, discourse is not only inherently social but also historical.

Not only does every piece of discourse respond to what was said about an object in the past, it also anticipates future answers. Every utterance is oriented toward a listener, that is to say, another individual's consciousness and experience. This inherent characteristic is especially pronounced in case of rhetorical discourse (cf. Bakhtin 1981 [1975]: 280). In his theory of *audience design*, Alan Bell (1984) has further argued that speakers accommodate their speech style to different audiences according to whether or not a person or a group of persons is known, ratified, or addressed (cf. Bell 1984: 159).

People experience and imagine their worlds together with others in a dialogic space using a multitude of languages that they share. Bakhtin's concepts 'polyphony' and 'heteroglossia' grasp this dialogic space well. Whereas *heteroglossia* refers to '[t]he internal stratification of any' national language (Bakhtin 1981 [1975]: 263), *polyphony* refers to the dynamic process in which a multiplicity of social languages (heteroglossia) is brought to life by social agents using their voices (cf. Bakhtin 1984 [1929]: 182). Alternatively, as Androutsopoulos (2011) puts it, heteroglossia is produced and reproduced by social agents 'who have woven voices of society in their discourse' (Androutsopoulos 2011: 282). The difference between these terms thus encompasses a shift in emphasis from individual voices (or languages) to relatively abstract social languages.

Dialogue typically takes place between communicating social participants, but as Vološinov (1976) notes, there is yet another participant surrounded by this 'social atmosphere'. An object or referent of speech might intrude on the situation or somehow call for attention, for example, the noise of a steam whistle (cf. Peirce 1992a [1894]: 4–5), or falling snow as the author suggests: '[w]ho is this third participant? [...] The snow? Nature? Fate, perhaps?' (Vološinov 1976: 103), he asks. This question inevitably points to the fact that there is something given that forces itself upon

present selves, that is a certain materiality but also habit or expectations (it snows in winter), experience or history (it always used to snow in winter) and/or the workings of nature (nature works in such a way that it snows in winter) (cf. Vološinov 1976). Such material forces thrusting themselves upon selves may thus become part of a given situation; that is, they become elements of semiosis (see Blommaert 2008: 12–18; Stroud & Mpendukana 2012; Thurlow 2015).

Thus far, I have traced a dialogic space within which communication takes place. But how does it come to be that some discourses are more dominant or widespread than others, or, expressed in Gramsci's (1971) terms, 'hegemonical'? Whereas authors such as Habermas (2016) or Benhabib (1994) emphasise the importance of rational discourse and participation from a normative point of view, Bakhtin (1981) speaks about *centralising and decentralising forces* from a more empirical or historical perspective: The former constitute verbal-ideological discourses that have historically developed in specific social spheres (or fields) and have strived to overcome heteroglossic realities.

Aristotelian poetics, the poetics of Augustine, the poetics of the medieval church, of "the one language of truth," the Cartesian poetics of neoclassicism, the abstract grammatical universalism of Leibniz (the idea of a "universal grammar"), Humboldt's insistence on the concrete – all these, whatever their differences in nuance, give expression to the same centripetal forces in sociolinguistics and ideological life; they serve one and the same project of centralizing and unifying the European languages. (Bakhtin 1981 [1975]: 270–271, emphasis in original)

As one may infer from this quotation, these voices striving for sociolinguistic and ideological unification are closely connected to processes of sociocultural homogenization. Bauman & Briggs (2003) call this project *modernisation*. In this process of modernisation, elites not only brought to life powerful inclusive categories, such as the 'modern' (nation) state based on democracy and the rule of law, but they also purified language from past, poetical, and emotional ways of speaking and they excluded the voices of women, the poor, and many others from the public sphere (cf. Bauman & Briggs 2003: 1–7; 299–300). Nonetheless, as Bakhtin (1981) notes, '[a]longside the centripetal forces, the centrifugal forces of language carry on their uninterrupted work; alongside verbal-ideological centralisation and unification, the uninterrupted processes of decentralization and disunification go forward' (272). As a consequence, centrifugal and centripetal forces always entangle in space and discourse, in every utterance or word.

Every thought or uttered word is shaped in situated interaction in a particular social and material space at a specific moment in time. These thoughts or utterances 'cannot fail to brush up against thousands of living dialogic threads, woven by socio-ideological consciousness around the given

object of an utterance, it cannot fail to become an active participant in social dialogue' (Bakhtin 1981 [1975]: 276). Hence all piece of dialogue contains past discourses and traces of past histories (see also Blommaert 2015). It is in this sense that Bakhtin (1981) breaks with the Marxist idea of a linear history, transcending linear and dialectical historical thinking.

In this latter sense, Bakhtin's (1981) theory aligns with Walter Benjamin's (1991) idea of history and development. In his essay about the notion of history, Benjamin (1991) explains his understanding of the idea of 'modern' development with the aid of Paul Klee's painting *Angelus Novus*. The painting illustrates an angel that seems to be flying backwards while staring at something; the author imagines this figure as the angel of history, caught in a catastrophic storm of development, looking at heaps of ruins piling up in front of him yet unable to stay to raise the dead and patch the ruins (cf. Benjamin 1991: 697–698). These (discursive) traces of the past do not disappear even if they are likely to be forgotten or suppressed. Rather, they are the building blocks on which the present is built, influencing what will be possible tomorrow. The question that arises is: what can one do with this problematic legacy to help construct a more 'peaceful' world?

Imagining “the gypsy”

Since different groups of Roma people arrived in Europe around the fifteenth century, there have always been manifold social and economic interactions between rural populations and members of different groups of Roma people. Such interactions included help with harvest work, trade, and little reparations, as well as making music and providing performances (cf. Bogdal 2011: 268–269; Muzeum romské kultury 2012: 12). In past writings, this reality has received almost no attention from the educated elite. Instead, scholars, intellectuals, scientists, and writers engaged in the dialogic imagination of “gypsies”. Whereas these elites understood themselves as the creators of 'modern' civilisations, they constructed the “gypsies” as the epitome of uncivility and backwardness, that is, as the Other of what they thought it was to be a 'modern' subject. In this process of othering, Roma people had no voice with which to speak up and defend themselves.

This dialogue about, but not *with*, individuals who collectively have been called “Zigeuner”, “gypsies” or “cikáni” can be characterised as *heteroglossic* in the sense that it involves different and even contradictory discourses (cf. Bakhtin 1981 [1975]: 270). Bogdal (2011) describes this process of othering as a (discourse) history of indignation that goes hand in hand with a (discourse) history of fascination. He further notes that there were also discourses that pointed to alternative ways of relating to “gypsies”, moments in time and space wherein other

more inclusive paths could have been taken, yet such alternative possibilities were largely ignored (cf. Bogdal 2011: 9–18).

In what follows, I shall elucidate how members of different Roma groups were historically constructed as “gypsies” from different positions. I shall mainly base these explanations on Bogdal’s (2011) extensive and thorough analysis, which explicates 600 years of European discourse history. This section is thus not about what actually happened (see Djurić, Becken & Bengsch 1996; Fings 2016) – that history still needs to be written (see Council of Europe 2018) – but is rather about the various ways in which Roma people have been imagined as a specific type in early chronicles and legal documents, ethnographic works and artistic representations.

According to Bogdal (2011), the reason why Roma groups are often perceived as dangerous when they move to a village or neighbourhood is rooted in the past, especially the medieval past. As the author explains, different Roma groups of people entered Europe at the same time as Mongols and Turks invaded Europe from the east, a region very difficult to control. Even though Roma people were not directly associated with the invaders, they were often thought to be their scouts or spies – designations such as *Tateren* ‘tatars’ or *Ägypter* ‘Egyptians’ indicate this relation. Roma people have thus been associated with danger, fear, and hate from early on (cf. Bogdal 2011: 10–11).

Most importantly, however, the time of Roma migration to Europe was accompanied by radical historical changes, which marked the beginning of a new social order (cf. Bogdal 2011: 13; 44–46). As Bogdal (2011) explains, in this new pre-‘modern’ age, the control of land and people became central and would finally lead to the constitution of nations and ‘modern’ nation states. Conversely, all uncontrollable individuals without a fixed home came to be seen as a ‘masterless rabble’; the new ‘modern’ elite characterised them as ‘deficient’ and ‘harmful creatures’ that had to be forced to work or to become soldiers so that they would be of certain civilisational use. As a consequence, these “gypsies” were constructed as the negative Other, evoking shame and provoking anger (see also Hund 2014a: 146–156). These imaginings of Roma people stood in stark contrast to the older Christian order that urged a certain care that had to be taken of ‘the poor’ and ‘pilgrims’ (which is not to say that such ideal Christian care has been always provided to Roma people) (cf. Bogdal 2011: 13; 44–46).

As Bogdal (2011) further notes, authorities completely disregarded the fact that homelessness and poverty were forced on so many people in these difficult times. The ‘dangerous masses’ of poor people were constructed by elites as morally inferior or they imagined “gypsies” as

forming a sort of counterworld associated with darkness and night, and a world of organised crime. Everybody who lived like a “gypsy” or was somehow related to them lived a ‘disgraceful life’, and should be expelled or killed. It is in this way that individuals, apparently leading a “gypsy” lifestyle, inhabited the imaginaries of non-Roma Europeans up to the eighteenth century (cf. Bogdal 2011: 46–55).

As Bogdal (2011) notes, around 1800, anthropologists discovered “gypsies” as a people with origins in India holding a language that developed out of the Sanskrit language. These findings presented an opportunity to restore the denigrated image of Roma people, to give them a place in the club of civilised nations with an estimable history and culture of their own. Unfortunately, however, the voices of those who continued to degrade Roma people predominated. Thus, in parallel to the trend of academic differentiation, there was a generalising tendency that assigned “gypsies” to a group of de-territorialised others, to an ‘Oriental-Asian type’, or a ‘black African type’ (see also Hund 2017). These and other categorisations not only strengthened the idea that “gypsies” were strangers who did not belong in Europe, but also fostered hate, abhorrence, and disgust against them. As a consequence, Indo-European “gypsies” were degraded to ‘uncivilised’ and ‘parasitic’ ‘Pariah people’ whose ‘impurity’ legitimised their segregation and other practices (cf. Bogdal 2011: 14; 148–153; see also Hund 2014a: 156).

As Bogdal (2011) explains, the romantic movement contradicted dominant imaginings of the “gypsy”. Instead, romantic writers constructed “gypsy” figures and lifestyles that enabled their readers to imagine different forms of encounter, as well as an alternative social order to bourgeois industrial society. In the spirit of Rousseau’s critique of courtly and bourgeois elite cultures (see also Hund 2017: 153–154), writers imagined the topographic, social, and ethnic space inhabited by “gypsies” as a sort of lost paradise and associated it with values such as independence, freedom, authentic feeling, and natural beauty. In reaction to modernity and the socio-political and cultural changes it brought about, authors such as Alexander Pushkin and Victor Hugo used this newly appearing discursive space to construct national myths and patriotic fantasies in which the “gypsies” embodied something positive. Still, their imaginations were far from the realities actually lived and attested by Roma people themselves; that is, they did not break with existing civilisational delimitations (cf. Bogdal 2011: 14; 177–209).

Bogdal (2011) argues that romantic discourses and discursive tendencies in ethnographic writing intertwined around the middle of the nineteenth century. Certain ethnographers shared the romantic interest in their own folk cultures; their writings drew attention to the

likeness of different “peoples” in the lower strata of different societies, thus facilitating the inclusion of “gypsies” as such. However, the majority of writers dissimulated the similarities to focus on comparison and ranking of different national cultures and state orders. It remains an open question why this ethnographic lens became prevalent as opposed to a more sociological perspective focusing on the social situation of different groups of people occupying the lower strata in different societies (cf. Bogdal 2011: 259–263).

As Bogdal (2011) shows, (romantic) ethnographic perspectives bore the possibility for “gypsies” to be recognised as a cultural minority, and the possibility to be protected as such, however, at the end of the nineteenth century very different ideas prevailed, which guided state actions. Criminal scientists argued from a sociobiologic perspective that “gypsies” actually never represented a people with a culture and history of their own. Instead, they framed them as a group that would form and reproduce itself as a consequence of criminal energies and activities. These scientists, writers, and politicians characterised “gypsies” as an ‘asocial’ and ‘indolent’ “race” and stirred hate and fear of national amalgamation and degeneration. These voices paved the way for ethnic cleansing that took the form of sterilisations and, finally, the Holocaust (cf. Bogdal 2011: 14; 268–303).

I have summarised Bogdal’s (2011) findings here so that they serve purposefully as a general historical discursive background in which to embed (Hanks 2006) my own research. I consider this long, 600-year (pre)‘modern’ history of othering as an important thread to follow to make my case study wholly resonant, although I shall support my findings with other studies as well. It is true that Bogdal’s (2011) detailed account covers Europe alone and that, in reality, the history of Roma migration reaches far beyond Europe. This is not a significant problem for our purposes, though, as the territory that is called Czechia today and, hence, the city of Ostrava are located in Europe and are embedded within a European discourse history.

It has become clear that the figure of the “gypsy” became central to political discursive struggles, which, however, were led without Roma people. The appellation “gypsy” is thus an exonym. I shall therefore put the word “gypsy” in double quotation marks. I further write this name in lower case letters, as the idea was not always considered an ethnic category. I shall further write its imagined counterpart ‘modern’ in single quotation marks, because – as Latour (1993 [1991]) said, *Nous n’avons j’aimais été modernes*, that is, *We have never been modern*.

State of research and conceptualisation of affect and emotion as implying a stance on the world

As von Scheve (2009) points out, emotions were long considered to be of marginal importance in social and human science (see also Wetherell 2015: 140). This was attributable in large part to the belief in the ‘modern’ process of rationalisation, according to which emotion, as well as religious feeling, did not need to be studied because they would gradually lose importance in a more rationally constructed social life (cf. von Scheve 2009: 36–37). Moreover, in linguistics, too, the idea that emotions constitute an individual psychological phenomenon was long held as the prevalent view (cf. Fiehler 2002: 59; see also Fiehler 1990). In recent years, however, it has become increasingly evident to scholars that emotions are fundamental to the human condition: affect and/or emotions are central not only to the biological and psychological functionality of the individual, but also to interpersonal relationships and communication, and hence to the integrity of larger social units, which is why they can no longer be dismissed simply as irrational by-products impeding rational considerations and actions (cf. von Scheve 2009: 36–37; see also Wetherell 2012).

Subsequently, affect or emotion have become a popular interdisciplinary undertaking. Research centres were founded in Berlin, London, and across a number of Australian universities (cf. Boddice 2014). Exemplifying what some researchers have declared an *affective turn* (e.g., Clough & Halley 2007), Frevert (2011) maintained in her trend-setting monograph *Emotions in History – Lost and Found* that emotions not only *have* a history, but also *write* history. There has also been a renewed interest in emotion or affect in sociolinguistics. In response to new findings in the social sciences, and specifically in the field of child language acquisition, Ochs & Schieffelin (1989) published an article called *language has a heart*. In their article, the authors argue that linguists ‘have underestimated the extent to which grammatical and discourse structures serve affective ends’ (7); rather than understanding affect as just another sort of information encoded in language, they endeavour to grasp affect from a ‘functional perspective as part of a more general theory of human information processing and development’ (Ochs & Schieffelin 1989: 10). The authors thus argue that affective linguistic features regulate human behaviour in the same way as more cognitive meanings (see also Bally 1965), and they propose a framework for the study of affect in language. In another study, Fiehler (1990) attempts to set the cornerstone of a new research field in interactional linguistics, analysing emotions as everyday public phenomena that impact interpersonal interaction. Fiehler (1990) understands ‘emotions’ as embedded forms of experiencing displayed in communication; whereby communication has the aim of exchanging information as well as evaluations, the function of emotion displays is the communication of evaluations. Fiehler further suggests various useful categories to describe emotions in language (cf. Fiehler 1990: 1–11, 45). With regard to research on affect or emotions in interaction, the volumes edited by Peräkylä & Sorjonen (2012) and Robles

& Weatherall (2021) should also be mentioned here. Several of the contributions in these volumes consider displays of affect as stances in interaction, thus combining these two research fields (e.g., Goodwin 2007; Goodwin, Cekaite & Goodwin 2012; see also Du Bois & Kärkkäinen 2012).

Other attempts at more integrative approaches to emotions in language stress the psychological as well as the social dimensions of language. Jahr (2000) examines emotionality in text and shows that emotions are present even where one does not expect them, for instance in factual texts. Specifically, she offers a methodology that brings to light how emotional attitudes of writers can be recognised in the thematic treatment of particular issues in factual texts. She suggests that authors should make their emotions transparent (cf. Jahr 2000: 3–5). Schwarz-Friesel (2013) calls for more integrative approaches from the perspective of cognitive linguistics and elaborates a theoretical framework that recognises that language, cognition, and affect and/or emotion are always closely intertwined (see also Wetherell 2015). Specifically, she defines ‘emotions’ as multi-dimensional syndromes, which have an inner representation and can be subjectively experienced (cf. Schwarz-Friesel 2013: 55). In her analysis, Schwarz-Friesel (2013) is mainly interested in ‘feelings’, which she understands as the dimension of an emotion that enables conscious evaluation, representation, and communication and that leads to the encoding of emotions. As speakers or writers repetitively orient towards specific objects in the world in specific emotional ways, these orientations become ‘emotional attitudes’ (cf. Schwarz-Friesel 2013: 81). In the second part of her analysis, Schwarz-Friesel (2013) is interested in how emotions such as love, fear, sadness, hate, and despair are expressed and thematised in texts. She analyses texts concerning death, love, and the Holocaust and thereby demonstrates the close relation between language and human experience in time and space. Moreover, the entanglement of language and power in the (re)production of practices of social exclusion of individuals and groups of people as well as socio-political inequalities become apparent. Another important contribution was offered by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (1980). In their book *Metaphors we live by*, they argue from the perspective of cognitive linguistics that meaning is embodied and is ‘extended, via imaginative mechanisms such as conceptual metaphor, metonymy, radial categories, and various forms of conceptual blending, to shape abstract conceptualization and reasoning’ (Johnson & Lakoff 2002: 245). In the same spirit, Lakoff & Kövecses (1987) argue that emotions have a complex conceptual structure, demonstrating their argument through analysis of the conceptual organisation underlying expressions of anger in American English.

Later, the sociolinguists Buchholz & Hall (2016) called for an *embodied sociocultural linguistics* that goes beyond the analysis of language as ‘involving the manipulation of abstract symbols’ (Bucholtz & Hall 2005: 174). Buchholz & Hall (2016) reflect on the location of the body in languages from

different perspectives. From this and other theorisations (e.g., Thurlow 2016; Kiesling 2018; Richardson & Milani 2021) a research strand that Deumert (2018) calls *psycho-political linguistics* developed. This strand of linguistics focuses on the interrelatedness of elements such as affect, inequality, violence, trauma, and the unsayable (cf. Deumert 2022: 168). Deumert (2022), for instance, focuses on the connections between semiotic practices and (racial) capitalism in the context of domestic labour in South Africa, illuminating the insidious relation between care/intimacy and exploitation. Busch (2016) sheds light on the experience and loss of language after trauma in contexts of social exclusion using a multimodal and creative method. Her analysis is based specifically on a language portrait drawn by a female refugee living in Austria (see also Busch 2020a; Busch 2020b; Busch 2020c).

Despite this relatively new ‘turn’ in the social and human sciences, it should be mentioned that there were always, to some extent, approaches that considered emotions or related themes, such as subjectivity. There were, in fact, semiotic theories treating emotions as an encompassing constituent of language that continue today to influence linguistic approaches. As Edmund Husserl conceptualised his phenomenology, Bühler (1933), in parallel, put the individual acting with signs in the centre of his work and envisioned an expressive speech function as a component of every act of communication. In this way, both thinkers progressed beyond the psychological and platonic orientation to language (cf. Romano 2007: 191–192). In the spirit of Bühler (1990 [1934]), Jakobson (1960) elaborated a functional model of speech, which considered an ‘emotive function’ and a ‘poetic function’, the latter bridging between linguistics and literary studies. Later, Jakobson’s (1960) functions would be included into the theoretical framework of Dell Hymes’ (2008 [1962]; 1977 [1964]) ethnography of communication. However, despite a general turn to the pragmatic function of language – mainly through speech-act theory (see Searle 1969; Austin 1975) – the ‘expressive function’ of language continued to play a rather peripheral role (cf. Foolen 1997: 15), relegated, as it were, to the margins.

In the field of French pragmatics, meanwhile, Beneveniste (1971: 226) observed that the speaking subject is always present in his and/or her utterances, particularly, in the first-person pronoun, and Lyons (1977: 50–56) discusses an ‘expressive’ layer of meaning defining subjectivity as ‘the locutionary agent’s (the speaker’s or writer’s, the utterer’s) expression of himself or herself in the act of utterance’ (Lyons 1977: 13). These authors stand at the beginning of the research on subjectivity in language structure, which – in its most comprehensive form – is advocated by authors such as Halliday (1975). Halliday propagates a theory of language as choice, in which linguistic means are seen as resources for meaning-making through choices among different

possibilities. Kress & van Leeuwen (1996; 1999; 2006) integrated the latter's theories into their social semiotic approach to discourse (see also Kress 1995; Hodge & Kress 2007).

Authors such as Bally, Beneveniste, and Lyons also stand at the beginning of the research on subjectivity, intersubjectivity and evaluation in language or what has been termed 'stance' or 'stancetaking' in discourse (e.g., Englebretson 2007; Du Bois 2007). This multifaceted concept involves all aspects of speech that serve the expression of a speaker's attitude, viewpoint, or feelings about objects that he and/or she talks about, such as the expression of certainty or desirability (cf. Hunston & Thompson 2000: 5). Owing to its focus on the self, stance can be said to be closely related to affect or emotions and, hence, to living bodies interacting in social spaces. As Englebretson (2007) as well as Keisanen & Kärkkäinen (2014) note, 'research on stance, however the term is defined, represents an ongoing trend toward understanding the full social and pragmatic nature of language, as it is used by actual speakers or writers to act and interact in the real world' (Englebretson 2007: 1).

From this body of research, it is readily apparent that a great variety of topics is related to the research more specifically on affect or emotions. While it is certainly true that a focus on affect brings about an encompassing perspective that includes materiality, bodies, and subjectivity as well as social life, affect also seems to mean, at once, everything and nothing. Furthermore, it can be observed that the terms 'affect' and 'emotion' are being used interchangeably, and a central question that arises across several disciplines is: what actually *are* emotions? (e.g., Boddice 2014: 150). Von Scheve (2013: 18) problematises this multitude of definitions from the perspective of emotional sociology and proposes a comprehensive and interdisciplinary approach to the topic based on an extensive discussion of neurological, psychological, and sociological research, which can be applied easily to the analysis of discourse. Moreover, Von Scheve (2013) relates his findings to Bourdieu's *habitus* concept, discussed above and of particular importance for the purposes of my study. I shall consider, in addition, Wetherell's (2013; 2015) socio-psychological approach to affect, which focuses specifically on discourse and has been broadly applied in sociolinguistic work and related to the concept of stancetaking.

To answer questions concerning what affect and emotion really *are*, it seems appropriate to consider neurological and psychological research, as these disciplines have investigated this question for over a century. However, as von Scheve (2013) points out, social sciences often have shied away from considering the affect system for their theoretical accounts of emotions out of fear that they would propagate a biological determinism in sociology (cf. von Scheve 2013: 22). Nevertheless, I consider von Scheve's (2009; 2013) interdisciplinary, integrative and comprehensive conceptualisation of emotions and affect as particularly useful for the present work, as it offers

several productive starting points for analysis of discourse and its role in the constitution of social (dis)order. Moreover, as von Scheve (2013) further argues, basic affects as well as complex social emotions (e.g., shame) are characterised by a capacity of adaption, learning, and change, the critique of biological determinism becomes obsolete (cf. von Scheve 2013: 54). In what follows, I shall therefore build my own account upon the basic edifice of his conceptualisation of affect and emotion.

The question of how macro and micro levels of sociocultural reality relate to each other is an old one, which sociologists – as well as discourse analysts – refer to as the ‘micro-macro problem’ (cf. von Scheve 2013: 1). Investigating emotions from both a conceptual and functional perspective, von Scheve (2013) argues that *emotions* are socially structured and as such constitute ‘a bi-directional mediator between social action and social structure’ (142). ‘Thus, in line with corresponding paradigms in cognitive sociology and sociological social psychology, von Scheve (2013) contends that ‘social structures are in some way also properties of actors and are reproduced through structured ways of thinking, acting, and – as [von Scheve argues] – feeling’ (8). Consequently, structures of feeling are closely interlinked with social and cultural orders of meaning-making, a perspective that – as von Scheve (2013: 8) notes – is largely compatible with Bourdieu’s (1979) ideas as well as Anthony Giddens’s social theories.

It can thus be said that what von Scheve (2013) describes as structured emotions are patterned ways of feeling shaped in society, or, put a little differently, that affect and (social) cognitions (understood in a wide sense, as information processing) are always closely entangled. Emotions are formed in processes of socialisation, learning, and internalisation, and this holds true even on the level of core affective reactions (cf. von Scheve 2013: 142). Consequently, basic affective reactions are not biologically determined – as some have argued (see, e.g., Ekman 1993) – but they are shaped through situated experience.

Based on neurological accounts, such as those of Cacioppo & Gardner (1999), von Scheve (2013) explains that the *basic affect system* is a perceptual system that produces basic affects in that it leads to the attribution of meaning to stimuli; basic affective reactions are based on a motivational metric, which constitutes a kind of positive-negative continuum that initiates affective behaviour. Whereas the simple motivational metric is universal, the association of stimuli and affective reaction is almost entirely the product of socialisation, learning, experience, and internalisation (cf. von Scheve 2013: 22).

According to von Scheve (2013), this means that while complex emotions such as shame or guilt rely on a strong conceptual dimension related to culture, social practices, or experience, they still consist also of an affective dimension. Such complex emotions can be elicited or triggered

unconsciously and automatically in much the same way as basic affective reactions. The experience of emotions or their elicitation fosters specific action tendencies, and in this way increases the probability of certain reactions to the detriment of others. This, in effect, is why emotions mediate between social action and social order, and do so in a non-determinative way (cf. von Scheve 2013).

To sum up, it has become clear that basic affect and (social) cognition are always closely intertwined. In dialogue with the world, they give rise to habitual emotional experience and evaluation (see Bourdieu 1979; Fiebler 1990; Schwarz-Friesel 2013; Busch 2016), which can occur in more or less automatic and conscious ways. If further considering feelings as the dimension of emotion that enables conscious evaluation and communication of emotions – as I have argued above – then it can be held that ‘[r]oughly, whereas *affect* stands for pre-categorical relational dynamics and *feeling* for the subjective-experiential dimension of these affective relations, *emotion* signifies consolidated and categorically circumscribed sequences of affective world-relatedness’ (Slaby & von Scheve 2019: 43, my emphasis). In this context, it is also important to mention that what is called ‘fear’ or ‘anger’ are not universal givens but cultural constructs (e.g., Wierzbicka 1999) agreed upon to denote socially relevant experiences of affective-cognitive entanglements.

Finally, we should aim to clarify how the present understanding of affect and emotion can be related to the analysis of sociocultural discourse and to consider whether there are any objections to this intent. Based on neurological as well as psychological findings, Wetherell (2007; 2013; 2015; 2015) argues – similarly to von Scheve (2009) – that affect, cognition, and discourse are always closely intertwined. In addition, Wetherell (2013) criticises social and cultural research for disregarding psychological findings, albeit for a different reason. According to Wetherell, these works often erroneously conceptualise affect in relation to emotions and mindfulness as excess—that is, as an uncontrollable force acting upon, but not responding to, the world (cf. Wetherell 2013). She therefore suggests approaching affect as ‘affective-discursive’ practice taking place in situated interaction, with ‘patterned forms of human activity articulating, mobilizing and organizing affect and discourse as a central part of the practice’ (Wetherell 2015: 57). Her contention, at once, recognises the regularity inherent to affective and emotional experience and also considers relational aspects of activity, or rather interactivity (cf. Wetherell et al. 2015: 58–59): By means of affective-discursive acts people as well as objects are being positioned in relation to one another, as close or distant to one another, as affiliated or detached. They are being included or excluded, for example, by doing (and knowing how) ‘to do disappointed’, ‘to be resentful’, ‘to be emphatic’, etc. Writers or speakers thereby offer specific ways of perceiving, treating, or positioning objects as well as themselves and others. In so doing, speakers or writers offer emotional frames to readers

or hearers, who then may or may not identify, align with, reproduce, or adapt these frames (cf. Wetherell et al. 2015: 58–59).

In what follows, I shall align with but adapt von Scheve's (2009; 2019) and Wetherell's (2012) approach. I use the term *dialogic-affective practice* to adapt their ideas to my dialogic conceptualisation of discourse and so as to explicate the idea that there is no affect without dialogue with the world – that is, without engagement with a sociocultural and material space that affects us and with which we engage. I further employ Busch's (2012) adapted version of Gumperz's 'linguistic repertoire' and I adapt Du Bois' (2007) concept of 'stancetaking' (see also Jaworski & Thurlow 2009; Spitzmüller, Flubacher & Bendl 2017: 8) to integrate affective, deliberate, and ideological layers of discourse. These concepts will thus enable me to approach *dialogic-affective semiosis* in an integrative manner, as an embodied emotional phenomenon 'emerging' in situated social practice, 'embedded' within 'context', 'materiality', 'space', and 'time' (see Hanks 2006; Blommaert 2015; Thurlow 2019).

Antigypsyism

Stereotypes and negative or hostile attitudes towards Roma are most often discussed under the term 'antigypsyism', 'antiziganismus', or 'anticiganismus' (e.g., End, Herold & Robel 2009; Schär & Ziegler 2014; Cortés Gómez & End 2019a). The European Commission has produced its own definition of 'anti-Gypsyism'. In the Czech Republic, its meaning has been particularly shaped by the Roma activist and literary writer Václav Miko (2009). The Alliance Against Antigypsyism, a coalition of organisations that 'promote equality of rights for Roma', has published a 'Reference Paper on Antigypsyism' to confront the 'lack of a common understanding of the scope, depth and implications of antigypsyism [that] hinders the formulation of effective answers to tackle it' (Alliance Against Antigypsyism 2017). The present work shares this aim, which is why I wish to share the alliance's working definition here (Alliance Against Antigypsyism 2017: 5):

Antigypsyism is a historically constructed, persistent complex of customary racism against social groups identified under the stigma 'gypsy' or other related terms, and incorporates:

- a homogenizing and essentializing perception and description of these groups;
- the attribution of specific characteristics to them;
- discriminating social structures and violent practices that emerge against that background, which have a degrading and ostracizing effect, and which reproduce structural disadvantages.

Despite its wide use, the term ‘antigypsyism’ remains controversial, especially when used with a hyphen or capital letter, as in ‘anti-G(g)ypsyism’ or ‘anti-Z/Tsiganism’. Opera & Matche (2019), for instance, argue that these terms ‘further reinforce Romani marginalisation and further entrench racism against Roma in both political and academic discourse’ when used to describe ‘anti-Romani racism’ (Opera & Matche 2019: 276), mainly through the repetition of the historically racistly loaded appellation “gypsy”, which it reproduces. This is certainly a valid and sound argument that needs to be discussed. Where does the term antigypsyism come from, and what is the phenomenon or problematic that it enables us to grasp?

The term *antigypsyism* was first used by Romani activists in the 1920s and 1930s in the Soviet Union and was rediscovered by European activists and scholars around 1980 (cf. Cortés Gómez & End 2019b: 21). As Bogdal (2011: 11) notes, the term presents an analogy to the term ‘antisemitism’, with which it intersects to a certain extent. For instance, both groups of people were judged frequently to be ‘work-shy’ and ‘parasitic’, hence living their lives at the expense of “normal” people, who subordinate themselves – their desires, reasons, and anger – to the hegemonic social order (cf. Scholz 2009: 28). Unlike Jewish peoples, however, Roma people always constituted an unknown other unable, or never meant, to convey a certain definition of themselves. Put simply, they had no voice. Consequently, their bodies represented a perfect target for multiple projections and scapegoating. Roma people were imagined as “gypsies”, and very often these imaginings were racist (cf. Bogdal 2011: 11).

But how did it come to be that members of different groups were all racistly imagined as “gypsies”. What is the *function* of antigypsyism? As Bogdal (2011: 17) argues, the imagination of the “gypsy” is like looking into a ‘mirror’. This is because the imagined “gypsy” is closely linked to the construction of the ‘modern’ subject, of which it represents its Other, or what a ‘modern’ subject should *not* be. Drawing from Norbert Elias (1973) and his theory of the civilisation of manners, it can be assumed that the image of “the gypsy” has certainly played an important deterring and educative role. As Hund (2014a) explains, the stigma of the “gypsy” is marked by the gaze of the elitist thinker of the Enlightenment (a figure such as Kant, for example) upon the lower classes of their society; “gypsies” were categorised as the ‘lazy’ ones, who still had not learnt how to subordinate themselves and work (see also Walter 2014), purported virtues that became particularly important with the strengthening influence of the *Protestant Ethic* (Weber 2016 [1934]). Instead, these Others were described as preferring activities such as ‘stealing’, ‘drinking’, ‘eating’, ‘whoring’, etc. over decent work (cf. Hund 2014a: 149–152).

Bogdal's (2011) monograph demonstrates, too, how the 'modern' image of "the gypsy" was countered, for instance, by romantic writers who questioned this figure in their imaginings of a somehow positive "gypsy subject". These romantic writers, it can be argued, sought out ways to turn their Other into a positive self with which they could identify to counter then-dominant values. They therefore used the category "gypsy" so as to legitimate and live out their own dreams and desires; the romanticising of the "gypsy" women (e.g., Eulberg 2009) warrants especial mention in this regard. However, as Hund (2014a) contends, most elite thinkers differentiated between a 'wild' and a 'disciplined' form of freedom, and in this way contributed their part to racist theories (cf. Hund 2014a: 154).

Wulf Hund (2014b) more explicitly spells out what Bogdal (2011) only hints at: the fundamental role that the figure of "the gypsy" has played in the construction and reproduction of a capitalist economic system and a 'modern' territorial order. The figure of "the gypsy" that at that time was used interchangeably with the figure of 'the vagrant', 'the beggar' and other terms had the rhetorical or strategic effect to discipline and threaten people to settle and sell their labor power to escape the stigmatisation as outlaws, to be oppressed and persecuted (cf. Hund 2014b: 27–31; see also Scholz 2009: 25).

It thus becomes clear that the image of the "gypsy" is highly political and plays an essential function in the constitution, but also the contradiction, of 'modern' selves and order. "Gypsy" represents a sort of battlefield related to the struggle over values, the "good" way of life, work or social order versus its negative corollaries. Needless to say, this battle about "us" was fought without Roma people. Scholz (2009) argues, to this effect, that "the gypsy" stereotype inscribed in the capitalist work society still plays this role today. In this regard, "gypsy" functions as a relatively open category, and everyone could theoretically become a "gypsy".

The fact that the stigmatised "gypsy" and related terms historically related to different groups of people becomes particularly evident when looking at Karl Marx's writings and his construction of the "Lumpenproletariat". Marx's work plainly reveals that antigypsyism is also present in socialist traditions of thought. As Bourdin (1994) explains, confronted with the defeat of 'the bourgeoisie' and 'the proletariat' during the revolutionary period from 1848 to 1852 in France, Marx asked himself what had gone wrong, and he wondered who could actually be an ally of 'the proletariat' and who should be excluded from revolutionary activities. From these reflections, he identified what he called the 'Lumpenproletariat' and defined it as 'a rest' that does not share the historical path of the 'proletariat', but instead betrays it (see also Park 2015: 65–168). As Bourdin (2013) argues, Marx constructed and

stigmatised this category to indirectly imagine a communist revolutionary subjectivity that would bring about systemic change.

As one can discern from the passage quoted below from *Der achtzehnte Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte*, Marx's 'Lumpenproletariat' comprised a great diversity of apparently suspicious types:⁵

On the pretext of founding a benevolent society, the lumpen proletariat of Paris had been organized into secret sections, each section led by Bonapartist agents, with a Bonapartist general at the head of the whole. Alongside decayed roués with dubious means of subsistence and of dubious origin, alongside ruined and adventurous offshoots of the bourgeoisie, were vagabonds, discharged soldiers, discharged jailbirds, escaped galley slaves, swindlers, mountebanks, lazzaroni, pickpockets, tricksters, gamblers, *maquereaux* [pimps], brothel keepers, porters, literati, organ grinders, ragpickers, knife grinders, tinkers, beggars — in short, the whole indefinite, disintegrated mass, thrown hither and thither, which the French call *la bohème*; from this kindred element Bonaparte formed the core of the Society of December 10. (Marx 1995 [1852]: chapter V)

As Marx's list shows, the category of 'Lumpenproletariat' was heterogenous. It comprised humans of dubious origin, adventurous 'bourgeois', literary writers, rag collectors, vagabonds, and other social types that Marx considered to be part of the 'bohème'.

As Park (2015: 187–188) notes, the French word *bohème* opens a broad and multi-layered discursive field. The term may refer to the 'rebellious' population of Bohemia, which is Czechia today (cf. Walter 2014: 95). During the time Marx wrote his text, however, the word predominantly referred to "gypsies," who were called 'bohémiens' owing to their migration from eastern parts of Europe to France. Moreover, the term may more broadly refer to people who maintain a 'bohemian' lifestyle—that is, an unconventional, mostly artistic or literary life in poverty and embracing radical political ideas (as Marx himself did) (cf. Park

⁵ 'Unter dem Vorwande, eine Wohltätigkeitsgesellschaft zu stiften, war das Pariser Lumpenproletariat in geheime Sektionen organisiert worden, jede Sektion von einem bonapartistischen Agenten geleitet, an der Spitze ein bonapartistischer General. Neben zerrütteten Roués mit zweideutigen Subsistenzmitteln und von zweideutiger Herkunft, neben verkommenen und abenteuernden Ablegern der Bourgeoisie Vagabunden, entlassene Soldaten, entlassene Zuchthaussträflinge, entlaufene Galeerensklaven, Gauner, Gaukler, Lazzaroni, Taschendiebe, Taschenspieler, Spieler, Maquereaus, Bordellhalter, Lastträger, Literaten, Orgeldreher, Lumpensammler, Scherenschleifer, Kesselflicker, Bettler, kurz, die ganze unbestimmte, aufgelöste, hin- und hergeworfene Masse, die die Franzosen la bohème nennen; mit diesem ihm verwandten Elemente bildete Bonaparte den Stock der Gesellschaft vom 10. Dezember' (Marx 1869 [1852]: 49).

2015: 187–188). It may be concluded that what many so-called Lumpenproletarier actually had in common was a life lived in precarity.

To sum up, in this discussion of antigypsyism and the uses of this term, I have argued four points: (1) Roma people were imagined as “gypsies”; (2) “gypsy” and its variants are strongly tied to a ‘modern’ self of which they represent its Other; (3) the idea of “the gypsy” represents a sort of battlefield over a “good” way of life and social order; and (4) the category “gypsy” is relatively open, and generally seems to refer to people who live in precarious conditions. Against this background, the question arises of whether racism directed towards Roma people can be understood without understanding the more particular phenomenon of antigypsyism. According to Markus End, Kathrin Herold & Yvonne Robel (2009: 19), antigypsyist cognitive patterns and their realisations cannot be understood without the idea of “*the gypsy*”, which the authors describe as a projective image that exists in our heads and that, theoretically, can be projected onto anyone who reveals certain similarities with it, including people affected by social decline, people who can be read as nomads, etc. In what follows, I shall therefore retain the term *antigypsyism*, which refers to the projection of a bundle of racist cognitive patterns on people identified as “gypsy” or related terms. I here understand *cognitive* in the broad sense, that is as information processing (cf. von Scheve 2013: 18, 33); cognition is thus always entangled with basic affect. I align also with the definition of the Alliance Against Antigypsyism mentioned above.

Porajmos, communism, and housing in post-communist Czech Republic

During World War II, the Nazis systematically murdered 250 000 to 750 000 Roma people; the Romani language calls this genocide *Porajmos* (Council of Europe n.d.: 7). The scale of this mass murder represents the apogee of a more than 500-year-old European history of discrimination and persecution of Roma people.

In 1927, the nine-year-old Czech-Slovak government issued the unconstitutional law 117, discriminating against wandering “gypsies”, which in some cases was implemented against all “gypsies” (cf. Nečas 2008: 47). As narrated on the website of the Museum of Romani Culture (2022), in 1939, shortly before the occupation by Nazi Germany, the Czech–Slovak government ordered the construction of disciplinary labour camps for men over the age of 18 *práce se štítící*, i.e., ‘avoiding work’ or living of crime (Decree No. 72). After the occupation of the country by Nazi Germany, German-modelled antigypsyist regulations were gradually introduced in the whole protectorate, involving, for instance, a ban on travelling and prescribing the official registration of

“*cikáni*” a “*cikánských míšenců*”, ‘gypsies and gypsy half-breeds’ (cf. Muzeum romské kultury 2022).

In Lety u Písku and Hodonín u Kunštátu, camps were opened on August 1940. Approximately 100 to 140 people lived in each camp, of whom 10–25% were Roma – marked with a red *C* in documents. From 1942 to 1943, the camps were officially called *Zigeunerlager I* and *II*, and they functioned as concentration camps, where Czech Roma and Sinti families were forced to stay before they were deported to concentration camps in Auschwitz II – Birkenau; around 2696 people passed through these places and at least 533 people died in them (cf. Muzeum romské kultury 2022: online). Both camps had Czech employees, including the prison officer Blažej Dydy, who was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1947, and the commander Josef Janovský, acquitted in 1948 (cf. Nečas 2008: 67).

After the war and the liberation of middle and eastern Europe by the Soviet army, many people hoped that the relationship of the elites towards the despised and disadvantaged sections of the populations would become more peaceful and premised on equal rights (cf. Bogdal 2011: 376). The amelioration of the circumstances of members of more vulnerable sociocultural groups – the working class generally but also Roma and Jewish people more particularly – constituted the communist promise after centuries of hatred directed towards them, and, indeed, living conditions did improve for many after the instauration of a communist regime (cf. Bogdal 2011: 376). As Pavelčíková (2013: 3–4) notes, thanks to social services together with the imposition of an obligation to official work, which a great majority of settled Roma respected, their living standards improved. Consequently, Roma people partially participated in the transition to a majoritarian consumer society.

In parallel to these positive changes, however, the ruling power’s plan to assimilate the whole society into communist culture and the Czechoslovak language led to the devastation of Romani culture and lifeworlds (cf. Pavelčíková 2013: 1–4). Not only were non-communist cultural activities banned from public life, but Romani ways of life and social and family ties were deliberately destroyed because the Roma population was considered by the state to be ‘backward’ (cf. Muzeum romské kultury 2012: 21; Pavelčíková 2013: 1–4). Although suppression of difference was directed towards all forms of purportedly deviating cultural activities, members of marginal communities (including national minorities) often experienced much greater difficulties when resisting authoritarian forces (cf. Pavelčíková 2013: 1, after Dubayová 1997: 93–97).

After World War II, many Roma people migrated from Slovakia to cities like Ostrava or Brno in search of work (cf. Muzeum romské kultury 2012), although not all such migration was voluntary. As Pavelčíková (2013) notes, in 1965 the government decided that Roma communities should be dispersed and unacceptable settlements destroyed. These measures led to the destruction

of Roma communities from within. Moreover, it led to chaotic migration flows throughout the whole country (e.g., Jurová 1993), which overburdened not only Roma communities but also urban centres: there were missing housing possibilities, and the integration of Roma into labour and school activities turned out to be more difficult than planned by state authorities. So-called ghettos arose in older parts of the city centre, which majoritarian society members had left for what they considered to be better housing (cf. Pavelčíková 2013: 3–4).

As Hübschmannová (1993) argues, Romani difference was unwanted because it did not fit the reproductive patterns of majoritarian society; and as Pavelčíková (2013) notes, the communist system mainly needed Roma workers for manual work. Jobs such as mining were dangerous and physically demanding, and many members of majoritarian society were not willing to perform such arduous, perilous tasks. Compounding this, the general level of education of the Roma population was low. It is thus no surprise that representatives of the communist regime did not even try to increase the number of better-qualified Roma, as they were mainly concerned with their alphabetisation. Nor did the regime try to change the general attitude of Roma people towards state schools. Roma parents in this period often perceived schools as hostile environments that would lead to the alienation of Roma children from their families and culture (cf. Pavelčíková 2013: 4).

At the same time, communist language policy also impeded Roma from climbing the social ladder. As Hübschmannová (1993) notes, while still in Slovakia, Roma people used to talk to each other in Romani only, and they used local Slovak dialects in their communication with Slovak villagers. As they settled in Czechia, locals often failed to understand eastern Slovak dialects, not to mention Romani. It was thus essential for newly arrived Roma to learn Czech, although what they learnt was a Roma ethnolect with strong language interference (cf. Hübschmannová 1993: 11, 71). In 1958, the Central Committee of the Communist Party further decided that it did not desire efforts to standardise the Romani language and literature to educate Roma children in Romani, as such efforts would only slow down their re-education, foster their isolation, and help to conserve their ‘primitive’ way of life (cf. Hübschmannová 1993: 71, after Jurová 1993). Although Roma people did not receive twenty-five strokes with a cane for speaking Romani, as Maria Theresia had once dictated, the use of Romani was strongly discouraged. Children speaking Romani were not accepted for the Pioneer camp (communist alternative to the Scout camp), or else they had to pay one crown for every Romani word they spoke, and social workers advised parents not to speak Romani with their children (cf. Hübschmannová 1993: 71–72).

As Hübschmannová (1993) extensively explains, many Roma parents succumbed to constant pressure and ceased speaking Romani with their children at home. Instead, they spoke to them in the ‘bad’ Czech that they used in their everyday life. Romani children were thus deprived of the

opportunity to learn a cultivated form of Romani that would give them better access to their own culture and values, and many were relegated to linguistic, cultural, and ethical voids (cf. Hübschmannová 1993: 72–73). The loss of their own communicative and symbolic culture paradoxically rather slowed down than fostered the inclusion of Roma children into majoritarian society (cf. Hübschmannová 1993: 73). Violent communist assimilation policies were yet another way in which majoritarian society deprived a minority of its uniqueness, communicative culture, social practices, and language.

However, there were also people who tried to counter communist assimilation measures. In 1968, civil society movements pressured the government to reform the communist system (cf. Novák 2021). This reform movement that reached its peak during the Prague Spring also marked the beginning of Romani emancipation in Czechoslovakia. It led to the foundation of the ethnically based organisation *Svaz Cikánů - Romů* ‘Union of Gypsies – Roma’ (SCR), which aimed at solving social problems of Roma people and strengthening Romani culture. During 1970 and 1973, the newsletter *Romano l'il* (Roma paper) published quarterly mediating Roma stories, essays, and poetry (cf. Muzeum romské kultury 2012: 23). However, the lifespan of the organisation was too short to bring about substantial change. The movement for a socialism with a human face was put to end through a military invasion and occupation of the country by troops of the Russia-led Warsaw Pact. Subsequently, the activities of the Union, as with other civil society initiatives, were prohibited with the beginning of the period of normalisation (cf. Pavelčíková 2013: 1, 4).

As Pavelčíková (2004) notes, despite communist repression of Romani activists and activities in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, such groups did not remain inactive. The former chairman of the SCR, Miroslav Holomek, Milena Hübschmannová, and representatives of Slovak Roma people were in regular contact with international Roma representatives, as well as with Roma activists who had left the country, including Ján Cibula, who emigrated to Switzerland where he established contacts with the Yenish Roma. Czechoslovak activists further played a central role in the preparations of the Second World Romani Congress that took place in Geneva in April 1978 (cf. Pavelčíková 2004: 125–126). Unfortunately, most of these activists were hindered by Czechoslovak authorities who prevented them from leaving the country. At this important event, 130 Roma representatives of 27 countries, together with UN and UNESCO representatives, decided that the International Roma Union (IRU, before R.I.J.) should represent all Roma people on the international level (cf. Pavelčíková 2004: 125). This moment, therefore, represented an essential step toward the recognition of Roma people and their culture and the protection of their human rights on an international level.

In the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, human rights activists wrote Charter 77, distributed it among dissidents within the country, and published it internationally. The Charter comprised a section describing the situation of Roma people in the country. It criticised, among other issues, the refusal of recognition of both Roma as an ethnic group and their right to self-determination. Roma people, the Charter held, should be allowed to decide themselves whether they want to fully integrate into majoritarian society or preserve their cultural and linguistic distinctiveness. The Charter's authors concluded that the difficult situation in which Roma people found themselves was becoming a matter of conscience for Czechoslovak society as a whole (cf. Pavelčíková 2004: 126–128).

Communist officials did not seriously consider Roma voices until shortly before the collapse of the communist regime. As Pavelčíková (2004) notes, in February 1989 the central committee of the communist party discussed an extensive report treating the situation of Roma people in the country. For the first time, the authors of such a report admitted that the measures for the integration of Roma that had been taken so far were not sufficient or even that such measures had failed. The document further describes the situation of Roma as a problem concerning the whole society and concedes that the dissolution of the *SCR* and the subsequent non-inclusion of Roma representatives into decision-making led to the disruption of dialogue with them. The authors therefore urged assessment of the constitutional status of Roma and considerations for the rehabilitation of Romani culture; social integration could not be achieved through socio-economic means only, but should also involve participation and cultural emancipation as a means of motivational (cf. Pavelčíková 2004: 129–133). Pavelčíková (2004) concludes that we shall probably never know the degree to which these ideas were translated into reality, as at that point there was only a short time left before the system itself collapsed. Overall, she argues that even if communist measures had a devastating effect on Romani culture, the level of discrimination was not comparable with the communists' treatment of so-called class enemies (e.g., bourgeois or religious communities). Roma people were regarded as victims of a previous regime, and communist policy was intended to ensure the well-being of Roma people, as well as other previously disadvantaged sociocultural groups. In reality, however, it deepened the crisis of Romani communities (Pavelčíková 2004: 133–135).

This rather charitable assessment of communist practices directed towards Roma people coincides with what several Roma told me and with the observations of other researchers (e.g., Mirescu 2011: 5): Today, many people identifying as Roma sometimes look back nostalgically to communist times, when work and social security was guaranteed, or they say that life was easier back then. During my fieldwork, a Roma man who lived in the Bedřiška neighbourhood told me that, in this regard, he felt the Roma people would fulfil the same role as 'capitalists' in the former regime; that is, they would fulfil the social function of 'class enemy'.

As Mirescu (2011) notes, despite the recognition of Roma people as an ethnic minority and other achievements that came after the fall of the Berlin Wall, these accomplishments paradoxically were accompanied by mass impoverishment and disfranchisement of Roma people in central and eastern Europe. Beginning in the early 1990s, representatives of different Roma groups achieved, with the support of the Council of Europe (CoE) and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), recognition as a transnational ethnic minority without a motherland: in 1992, the Romani language was recognised as a non-territorial minority language in the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages (ECRML); in 1993, with the adoption of the Council of Europe's Recommendation 1203, Roma were recognized as a European minority; and in 2004, the European Roma and Travellers Forum (ERTF), which has since had the function of advising the Council of Europe, was established by Roma organisations (cf. Mirescu 2011: 5–6).

Despite these positive developments, the transition from a planning economy to a free-market economy led to the closing of many unprofitable factories, mass unemployment, and insecurity. As Mirescu (2011) explains, in this transition process Roma people were often the first to be fired and the last to be hired. The author further points out that Roma people's insecure status in the labour market went along with a lack in participation and voice. In a general atmosphere of distrust and disrespect, Roma were been blamed for many socio-economic problems, and they thus became targets of discrimination and hate crimes (including on the part of state actors). They lacked access to education, health, and housing, and faced social segregation (cf. Mirescu 2011: 6–8; see Banga 2022 for a personal account).

In the past decade, Roma inclusion has therefore been on the European Union's (EU) political agenda. As Kostka (2019) notes, the interest in Roma inclusion on a pan-European level has especially increased with the entry of Central and Eastern European countries to the EU, as these post-communist countries are today home to the majority of Roma groups of people. Not only does the socio-economic situation of Roma clash with European values of equal opportunity, but the growing fears concerning East–West migration motivated this intervention (cf. Kostka 2019: 1).

The EU thus called on all member states to develop an institutional framework to support Roma inclusion. As Kostka (2019) explains, the EU therefore assured financial and other support so that states could carefully set up and implement their plans. For the programming period 2007–2013, the EU invested around 26.5 billion Euro in the inclusion of Roma people, an amount exceeding any financial support seen before. The actual impact of these policies, however, is rather more sobering, or at least difficult to assess, as the socio-economic situation of the Roma population appears to be even worse today (cf. Kostka 2019: 1–2). Consequently, for the period 2020–2030, a new strategic framework for social inclusion was put in place (cf. European Commission 2020).

The present thesis focuses mainly on the topic of housing and access to housing, and its case study is embedded in the social field of housing politics and, hence, the (re)production of so-called socially excluded localities. From an anthropological and criminologist perspective, Kupka, Walach & Brendzová (2021) illustrate, on the bases of two case studies (a “hostel” and a neighbourhood in the city of Brno), that illegal practices of organised groups, or what is commonly called *poverty business*, contributes to the (re)production of Czech socially excluded localities. This form of business-making, based on apartment speculation, exploitation of tenants (overpriced rents, harassment, or deliberate under-maintenance), and finally liquidation, often starts with practices of ‘winkling’ – that is, tenants of lucrative housing are offered small financial inducements for leaving their apartments (cf. Kupka, Walach & Brendzová 2021).

From the perspective of inter-group relations, Ružička (2006) points out that social exclusion ‘is an unwatched but seemingly indivisible aspect of social life in ‘modern’ cities’ (117). It is a process that usually occurs on a municipal level and often under the pretext of the provision of “social housing”: people marked as Others are relocated to spaces that according to the local imaginary are somehow ‘special’ (cf. Ružička 2006: 117). Ružička (2006) further contends that ‘the genesis of urban ghettos in Czech cities [is] the result of social and spatial control of the dominant cultural order by its exclusion of the Other (1). In other words, a lack of access to decent housing is caused by majoritarian society norms and practices that follow from these norms.

The present thesis also focuses on the relations between tenants in socially excluded spaces. Ružička (2006) argues that within such spaces community is absent; Bauman (2009) compatibly posits that a ghetto is contrary to community. This is because the social realities in socially excluded spaces are marked by a lack of trust, and this erodes the possibility of community before the construction of a community as such could even begin. Thus, in marked contrast to what one might think, the fact that people share a certain stigma and humiliation does not lead them automatically to be allies (cf. Ružička 2006: 121). Community must be fostered first. That said, however, I would suggest that it may be misleading to assume right from the start that there is no community in socially excluded localities. I observed moments of care, friendship, and community in ghettos, even wherein a sense of distrust might dominate relationships in general.

The Bedřiška neighbourhood

The history of the neighbourhood that residents know by the women’s name Bedřiška starts around 1900 with the construction of the coal mine Bedřich and its later inclusion into the mine Jan Šverma (cf. Historie Dolu Jan Šverma 2023). This construction was accompanied

by the settlement of workers into small Finnish houses that had been constructed for them. Mining activities ceased in 1971 (cf. Kolektiv 2003).

Today, there are disagreements regarding the composition of the residents of the neighbourhood in the early 1990s. From reading newspapers, however, one learns that many seniors, but also young people and Roma as well as non-Roma residents, had lived together in the neighbourhood (cf. *Mladá fronta DNES* 4.11.1998; *Opavský a hlavičinský deník* 10.8.2007), up to the time that the government of the municipal district Mariánské Hory a Hulváky, to which the neighbourhood Bedřiška belongs, decided in 1998 to initiate a new housing policy. The policy envisioned an upgrade to the municipal district by pushing people identifiable as Roma out of the municipal district's centre. Not only did the municipal district mayor, Liana Janáčková, distribute free tickets to Canada to Roma residents on the condition that they agreed to give up their municipal apartment (cf. Tóth 2010), she also segregated the Roma people who remained at the municipal district's margins. The former miners' settlement Bedřiška was one such marginal place.

The municipal district's housing policy quickly led to conflicts between long-term tenants and new ones. As a consequence, the former repeatedly complained to the municipal district's housing department. And in 2007 a recording of a semi-public meeting with residents was circulated widely to the Czech public. The overtly racist utterances of Liana Janáčková, who was also at that time a senator, were then a topic of discussion on a national scale.

In 2010, the situation in the neighbourhood escalated when a conflict between neighbours resulted in a fire attack. This incident, however, put more community members on the alert. With some external help from a community worker, they started to communicate more, they met, and together decided what needed to be done. They cleaned up the place and began organizing events for their children and themselves. It was in this way that people living in this neighbourhood became a community. Their problems seemed to be solved.

Yet appearances can be deceiving: in late 2017, rumours began to circulate that some tenants' contracts would not be extended going forward. Subsequently, non-resident activists joined with community members to help the residents to retain their homes. They organised various activities and events, including, for example, a participative planning workshop with architects on 28–31 August 2018. The shared aim was to elaborate and present an alternative solution to the municipal district's plans to demolish houses and evict people to build houses for more affluent residents. This participative planning workshop also marked the beginning of my fieldwork activities in this Ostravian neighbourhood, which I chose as my case study.

The organisation of this thesis

In 1998, the district authority of Mariánské Hory a Hulváky instigated a new housing policy that saw mainly Roma residents relocated from the municipal district centre to its margins, including the former working-class neighbourhood Bedřiška. Chapter 3 traces a diachronic trajectory of the news media coverage of this shift in social and municipal policy. My data comprise seven reports between 1998 and 1999, which I categorise into four phases to give a sense of the process of legitimisation of the municipal district's housing policy. Specifically, I shall focus here on how the news media mediated the voices of different discourse participants and how it responded to the municipal district's discourse. In this respect, I shall be especially interested in what I call *dialogic-affective stances of social exclusion*, which I define as acts of misidentification that position a self and another respectively as superior and/or inferior and as 'in' and/or 'out' of an imagined community – that is, they may translate into a specific relation of (dis)alignment, and materialise as injustice (e.g., ghettoization).

In 2007, a recording became public in which the voice of the municipal district governor Liana Janáčková was recognisable, as she uttered racist words during a semi-public meeting with long-established residents of the Bedřiška neighbourhood. As Janáčková was also a senator (and a member of the Senate's human rights committee) this event set off a discussion on a *national* scale, with Janáčková implored to publicly account for her words. In Chapter 4, I shall focus on the stance taken by Janáčková to *account* (Scott & Lyman 1968; Goffman 1971) for her words in response to the accusations put forth by residents and civil society representatives. Here, I look closely at an interview that appeared on 6 August 2007 in the news magazine *Týden* ('Week'). I shall then proceed to explore the *effects of affect*: how, I shall ask, did the hateful words voiced by a senator affect people who identify as Roma. Towards finding an answer to this question, I shall provide an in-depth explication of an editorial text written by the Roma journalist Jarmila Balážová, an item that appeared on 21 August in the news magazine *Romano Vodři* 'Romani soul', which is related to the server *Roma.cz*.

Following Czechia's accession into the EU in 2004, the phenomenon of *Rompolitika* ('Rompolitics') – a right-wing extremist rhetoric and programme of policies targeting (poor) Roma as a means to gain popular support – has become much more pronounced (cf. Macková 2007). Violence against Roma was the order of the day, when, for instance, on 19 April 2009, neo-Nazis threw three Molotov cocktails into the house of a Roma family close to the city of Ostrava, resulting in the severe burning of a two-year-old girl named Natálka. Then, on 14 March 2010, a resident threw a Molotov cocktail into his Roma neighbour's house in the Bedřiška neighbourhood. Fortunately, no one was killed, but Roma tenants were left afraid that such violent attacks would

continue. Chapter 5 will centre on a facilitated neighbourhood meeting organised by a community worker to prevent conflict escalation and to empower the neighbourhood. I shall consider this this *dialogic-affective event* as a *deliberative discussion* oriented towards the future of the neighbourhood as a political community. Specifically, I shall focus on the workings of *distrust and/or trust* (Luhmann 2014). How does (dis)trust manifest itself in situated interaction and within the broader context? And how can or should it be thematised and transformed? In hazarding answers to these questions, I shall base my analysis on an audio-visual recording, whereby the voice of the videorecording that mediates the event will itself be made subject to critical scrutiny.

After some years of relative calm in Bedřiška, rumours circulated toward the end of 2017 suggesting that some residents' contracts would no longer be extended. In light of this development, residents, activists, and social workers took a more radical democratic approach to fight for their housing rights. Together, they organised several events, and sought to change the public image of the place as 'socially excluded' – an image propagated by the local authority and mediated by news media. One of these events was a participative planning workshop with architects, during which students and architects elaborated an alternative vision to official plans. In Chapter 6, I shall focus on the dialogic-affective imagination of the neighbourhood Bedřiška within a *frame of 'social exclusion and/or inclusion'*. Here, I shall look at the evaluation of the Bedřiška neighbourhood as a space in time by means of *signs of social exclusion* and how such evaluations are denied, countered, or contradicted. In so doing, I shall attempt to construct typical *chronotopic evaluative positions*, which are indeed argumentative (cf. Blommaert 2015: 112). I shall base my findings on an analysis of print news media discourse, as well as four multimodal posters created by workshop participants.

At the end of that planning workshop, the alternative vision of community elaborated by students and architects was presented and discussed during a public event with politicians, journalists, and other civil society actors. Chapter 7 will focus on this *deliberative discussion* as an emergent event embedded within '*modern*' *disgust* and the ways it is entangled with *(dis)order*, social inclusion, and/or exclusion (e.g., Douglas 1966; Ahmed 2014). How, I ask, does disgust pattern social interaction in ways that lead to the (discursive) inclusion and/or exclusion of people? And how does it contribute to the structuration of (dis)order? My aim here is to better illuminate the dynamic of discrimination of socially disadvantaged people, especially that of people who identify and/or are identifiable as Roma. My analysis will thus focus on an extract of the transcribed discussion, but it will also include other insights that serve to embed the analysed dialogic-affective event.

Before turning to my analysis, however, I shall now proceed to explain my research design, I shall discuss how my research question took shape. I shall then narrate how I entered this field, chose my case study, and collected my data, and how I approached said data to find answers to the constellation of questions my study seeks to answer.

2 Research design

A critical ethnography of a dialogic-affective housing discourse

This chapter opens with a reflection on my positionality in relation to my research question. Next, I describe how I approached my research topic and I then outline my analytical framework. This brings me to explain how I found my way into the fields of social exclusion and/or poverty and how I selected my case study, and collected and organised my data. Finally, I present a dialogue with the voices of Bedřiška as the inhabitants narrate their own history.

Positioning myself and formulating a research question

As Heller, Pietikäinen & Pujolar (2018) note, research questions do not arise in a vacuum. Rather, ‘they derive from our own inner conversations with ourselves about the world around us’ and ‘conversations we have with other people who are part of that world too’ (Heller, Pietikäinen & Pujolar 2018: 24). They also derive from our experiences, including what we perceive and observe around us – and hence from the many different ways we are being positioned and position ourselves in the world. In what follows, I attempt to trace the path that brought me to pose the research questions in the present thesis.

Throughout the course of my education and beyond, I was always interested in questions of human rights, the rule of law and democracy, social justice, intercultural relations, conflict, and understanding. Among other reasons, my interest is tied to my family’s history – particularly because my parents fled to Switzerland following the Russian invasion of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, which put an end to the Prague Spring and the dream of a socialism with a human face in August 1968. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, I spent most of my holidays with my family in Czechia and, later, I maintained this practice to a certain extent.

My willingness to speak a relatively unknown language and culture in public space would sometimes irritate people living in Switzerland. Similarly, my dual citizenship would confuse people in the Czech Republic. ‘So’, they would always ask, ‘are you Czech or Swiss?’ Such experiences often made me feel as though I were caught between two countries or identities. I thus developed a sensibility or interest in questions relating to migration and difference: why do we struggle so much with difference? Conversely, why do we construct difference where it does not exist? Why do we want to integrate, control, assimilate, dominate, put away, or even annihilate it? As we consider treating someone with goodwill or harshly, what is it that makes up the difference that matters to us? Why do we listen, talk, argue, and reconcile with some, but ignore, misunderstand, judge, and exclude others?

During my studies in political sciences, German language and literature, Islamic and Middle Eastern studies, and sociolinguistics, I attended lectures and seminars on such questions. However, it was only later that I became interested in the situation of Roma people in the Czech Republic. In my undergraduate thesis, for instance, I investigated argumentation in a public discussion about a nationwide ban on the niqab in public and a little later, I focused on affect in the same discussion. I also discovered Bakhtin's writings, which I found highly intriguing with respect to the analysis of public discourse. This was during a seminar offered by the Department of Romance Studies at the University of Bern, as part of the master's programme in sociolinguistics.

In terms of the concerns of the Roma minority, I remember how I once wrote a paper for a seminar called *Semiotics of resistance* in which I analysed a video clip recorded in a so-called socially excluded neighbourhood in the city of Brno. The refrain of the song was sung by a woman surrounded by children in the courtyard of a house (*Pavlač*). Who would have thought that a year or so later, I would stand in that same backyard, talking to a Roma woman and a Roma community worker about the feasibility of my doctoral project? In my Master's thesis, I further investigated an online social justice campaign in the Czech Republic. Part of my analysis involved a Facebook post and subsequent online discussion about a successful hockey player who publicly identified as Roma. In this work, I focused on polyphony, heteroglossia, and acts of stancetaking.

After my studies, I secured a paid internship at the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation. There, I had the opportunity to talk to people closely involved with social inclusion projects in Central and Eastern Europe. During several conversations with a Slovak colleague who was responsible for projects in this country, I learnt how disillusioning the results of many projects were. Donors would expect immediate results, but how could one project change a situation grounded in such a lengthy history of discrimination? One key piece of information that I took away from these conversations was that the support of local political actors was crucial to the success of every inclusion project, but it was too often lacking.

While working for the agency, I read the monograph *Deliberation across Deeply Divided Societies* by Jürg Steiner, Maria Clara Jaramillo, Rousiley Maia and Simona Mameli (2017). In this study, the authors analyse deliberation in discussion between members of sociocultural groups that, owing to long-lasting conflicts, can be characterised as deeply divided. More specifically, they organised discussions between ex-guerrilleros and ex-paramilitaries in Colombia; people who identify as Serbs or Bosnians in Bosnia and Herzegovina; and police officers and people living in favelas in Brazil. What I found especially interesting was that the authors included emotions in their normative model of deliberation. This book inflamed my fascination with conflict and/or dialogue anew, and strongly influenced my decision to write a PhD that focused on minority–majority relations and

dialogic-affective discourse (see Chapter 1). The field of housing politics was revealed as particularly interesting in this regard. I therefore pose the following research questions:

In contexts of social exclusion and/or poverty (and with a focus on access to housing), can dialogue act as a tool to transform relations between non-Roma people and people who identify and/or are identifiable as Roma into relatively ‘peaceful’ ones? Can change occur at the everyday and structural levels of context? If so, then what form should dialogue take?

In line with the theoretical discussion in Chapter 1, this overall line of questioning can be broken down into more concrete sub-questions so that it can be answered more effectively:

- Is there a willingness to communicate and/or cooperate on an equal basis between people who identify and/or are identifiable as Roma and non-Roma people? And is there a willingness to communicate and/or cooperate between tenants and local authorities?
- Who are the participants and voices that pattern the given conflict over housing? And what dialogic-affective stances do they take?
- What are the broader emotions, positions, languages, and/or ideologies intertwined with participant voices in space and time?
- Who is being addressed and how? Are there dialogic-affective positions that are being excluded – and if so, what are they?
- How does the conflict over housing evolve over time, and what does this tell us about the general conflict dynamic?

The underlying assumptions of this line of inquiry are that social inclusion is preferable to segregation, and that sustainable change can be achieved only within a democratic culture (see also Said 1979: xxxiii).

I believe that every human being should be able to engage and grow within the cultures and languages they choose, whether alone or in the company of others, so long as they do not impede the freedoms and rights of others. However, I also believe that culture and voice are possible only once basic needs are met. The freedom to shape culture stands in sharp relief to a life focused on mere survival day after day, which is a situation that many Roma people appear to endure today. Recalling the words of an admirable Roma woman, I believe that it is plausible to consider a Roma Republic as beginning in the hearts of people identifying as such.

Analytical framework

The present thesis contributes to a research field that Heller, Pietikäinen & Pujolar (2018) call critical sociolinguistics. It is critical in the sense that questions of power and social exclusion and/or poverty are central, and it is sociolinguistic in the sense that I attempt to show how ‘language matters, socially, politically, and economically’ (Heller, Pietikäinen & Pujolar 2018: 2). For my analysis, I draw on compatible sociolinguistic traditions of critical discourse analysis and linguistic anthropology, or rather its European counterpart of linguistic ethnography (cf. Blommaert & Jie 2010; Shaw, Copland & Snell 2015: 2), and interactional linguistics. Taken together, the different methods I borrow from these traditions form the critical discourse ethnographic approach that I outline below. This chapter thus focuses on these different traditions to reflect on dialogue, affect, and context, leading me to articulate my own definition of discourse.

As Wodak and Meyer (2016) explain, critical discourse analysis offers a set of approaches grounded in the analysis of language use in social context. Approaches are related to each other based on the principle of family resemblance. They share close relations to other disciplines, such as rhetoric, text linguistics, philosophy, sociology, political science, anthropology, social psychology, pragmatics, and others from which they borrow theories and methods that operate on various epistemological levels (micro-, macro- and middle-range) in order to understand social phenomena (cf. Wodak & Meyer 2016: 17).

But what does discourse actually mean? As Wodak (2008: 1) observes, notions of discourse have been used unsystematically in manifold ways and with reference to a multitude of theoretical works, such as those of Michel Foucault, Ernesto Laclau, Jürgen Habermas, Chantal Mouffe, and others:

Thus, discourse means anything from a historical monument, a *lieu de mémoire*, a policy, a political strategy, narratives in a restricted or broad sense of the term, text, talk, a speech, topic-related conversations, to language per se. We find notions such as racist discourse, gendered discourse, discourses on un/employment, media discourse, populist discourse, discourses of the past, and many more – thus stretching the meaning of discourse from a genre to a register or style, from a building to a political programme. (Wodak 2008: 1)

In view of this multitude of different understandings, it becomes all the more important to base one’s analysis on a clear definition of discourse.

The discourse historical approach (DHA) and its definition of discourse can serve as a starting point for the present analytical considerations. It not only shares with the present work a historical perspective and a focus on topics related to social exclusion (e.g., Wodak 2009: 35), but also

provides a definition of discourse that is compatible with my focus on social dialogue (see chapter 1). However, I shall amend the definition to make it meet my purposes.

The DHA understands discourse as a semiotic⁶ social practice (re)produced in contexts during specific discursive events. What is specific about its conceptualisation of discourse is an emphasis on (a) macro-topic-relatedness; (b) pluri-perspectivity; and (c) argumentative organisation (cf. Reisigl & Wodak 2009: 89–90). Accordingly, Wodak (2009: 39) defines ‘discourse’ in the DHA as being:

- related to a macro-topic (and to the argumentation about validity claims such as truth and normative validity which involves social actors who have different points of view);
- a cluster of context-dependent semiotic practices that are situated within specific fields of social action;
- socially constituted as well as socially constitutive;
- integrating various differing positions and voices.

As noted above, Wodak’s (2009) definition focuses on discourse as a social and semiotic dialogue taking place in a situated context. It contains different voices and positions wherein the latter represent more structured entities. I understand the difference between these ideas as related to the difference between polyphony and heteroglossia, which are two overlapping concepts (see Chapter 1). Dialogue, then, is the entanglement of these voices and/or positions. Voices and/or positions may more or less (dis)align by, for instance, ‘denying’, ‘countering’, or ‘proclaiming’ each other (cf. White 2003).

As Wodak (2009: 35–40) notes, texts show traces of other texts and discourses. For instance, the term intertextuality ‘refers to the linkage of all texts to other texts, both in the past and in the present’ (Wodak 2009: 39). Interdiscursivity ‘indicates that topic-oriented discourses are linked to each other in various ways’ (Wodak 2009: 40). In the spirit of Bakhtin’s (1984: 181–204) work, it

⁶ Charles Sanders Peirce semiotics constitutes the epistemological foundation of DHA (cf. Reisigl 2018: 48). At the beginning of his essay *What is a sign*, Peirce (1992a [1894]) tells an illustrative story about how a person may interact with their environment through the mediation of their senses and by means of signs to produce meaning. These *signs* may be icons, indices (or indexes), and/or symbols. *Icons* represent objects through imitation (i.e. by being alike, or similar). *Indexes* represent objects through a physical connection (i.e. they force attention to objects by pointing or referring to them). *Indications* may take various forms such as guideposts, relative pronouns or exclamations. *Symbols*, finally, are conventional signs, such as most words. They have become linked or associated with their meaning through continual usage. Reality is always mediated by one or several of these forms of signs, that is, there is no direct connection to reality (cf. Peirce 1992a [1894]: 4–5). Peirce (1992a [1894]) grasps the idea of meaning mediation in a triadic relation comprising three correlates: (1) a representamen, (2) its object, and (3) its possible interpretant. A sign is a representamen in that it is represented by a specific (logical) form. This form is determined by its object. As such, the sign evokes a specific interpretant, that is, a cognition in the mind of a person (cf. n 1992a: 290–291, 478).

should be added that a textual voice may ‘objectify’ the voices of others by entering into dialogue with them in specific ways. Sometimes, the textual voice seems to keep a distance from another voice while other times, it blends or merges with it. Sometimes, it is ‘only indirectly striking a blow at the other’s discourse’ (Bakhtin 1984 [1929]: 196). A text further belongs to a specific genre. Accordingly, Hanks (1987) argues on the basis of Bourdieu’s and Bakhtin’s theories that genres are ‘historically specific elements of social practice’ (668).

The DHA assigns a central place to argumentative practice, which distinguishes it from the present work. In the perspective of the present thesis, argumentation is certainly an important centralising force – but I stress that it is not the only one. Mainly, however, the present work focuses on affect and emotions as a central part of human practice. I therefore do not allocate such a central role to argumentation (or other strategies) in advance. Instead, I consider dialogue⁷ and affect as inherent principles of discourse organisation (see Chapter 1). Of course, dialogue can have an argumentative form or style that can then be critically evaluated.

Whereas ideas such as intertextuality and interdiscursivity grasp the (historical) relationships between text and broader social discourses about a specific topic, the strength of the interactional approach to discourse is – as the name suggests – its focus on situated interaction. Specifically, it looks at a concrete speech event. John Gumperz’s work, which can be traced to the beginnings of sociolinguistics, is central in this regard (e.g., Gumperz & Hymes 1972).⁸ Moreover, his work is marked by a concern for social justice (cf. Heller 2014) and an interest in linguistic, or rather discursive, diversity and practice (cf. Auer & Roberts 2011). As Sarangi (2011) notes, Gumperz himself positioned his work as somewhere in between that of Harold Garfinkel and Ervin Goffman; whereas Garfinkel’s ethnomethodological approach focuses on interpretative processes, Goffman’s ethologist perspective focuses on behaviour in encounters (cf. Sarangi 2011: 375).

According to the ethnomethodological perspective, people create and sustain social order in situated social interaction in everyday life (cf. Garfinkel 1972: 321–322). Agents or members of an organised arrangement, as Garfinkel (1972) calls them, engage in artful practice whereby they draw

⁷ According to Bakhtin, *dialogue* is not *dialectical*, or, rather, dialectical reasoning is understood as a construction that prevents multiplicity: ‘Dialogue et dialectique. On relève les intonations (de caractère émotionnel et personnel), on écosse des notions et des raisonnements abstraits à partir des mots et des propos vivants, on enserme le tout dans une conscience abstraite unique – et voilà qu’on obtient la dialectique’ (Todorov 1981: 161); ‘L’esprit unique dans son devenir dialectique, entendu au sens de Hegel, ne peut engendrer qu’un monologue philosophique. L’idéalisme moniste est le terrain le moins favorable pour l’épanouissement d’une multiplicité de consciences non confondues. Même en tant qu’image, l’esprit unique en devenir est organiquement étranger à Dostoïevski. Le monde de Dostoïevski est profondément pluraliste’ (Todorov 1981: 160).

⁸ In a text that appeared in the edited book *Directions in sociolinguistics*, which Dell Hymes edited with John Gumperz, Hymes (1972: 59–66) recasts his methodical framework of sixteen components of speaking that – as he says – can be regrouped under the acronym SPEAKING, which stands for Setting or scene, Participants, Ends (purposes – outcomes and goals), Act sequences (also form and message content), Keys (tone, manner, or spirit in which an act is undertaken), Instrumentalities (channel and code), Norms (of interaction and interpretation) and Genre (categories or types of speech act and speech event).

on their (common sense) knowledge and follow generally known methods (cf. Garfinkel 1972: 321–322). Consequently, as Garfinkel (1967: vii, 1) explains, the organisation of everyday activities is a *reflexive* and *incarnate* phenomenon. This means that contextual information is tacitly known and, as I explained in the preceding chapter, felt by people.

According to Garfinkel (1972: 321–324), agents render their activities recognisable to others through various displays in interaction and they engage in interpretative work. Speakers make what they do evident by means of various displays of interaction. Their behaviour appears like an assemblage of shared methods or cognitive and (as I argued in the introduction) affective schemes. Everyday practical activity is inherently reflexive and, as a consequence, every expression and action is indexical by definition (cf. Garfinkel 1967: 10–11; Sacks & Garfinkel 1970: 338).⁹ Garfinkel thus expands Peirce's notion of indexicality to all linguistic forms and thereby breaks with the structuralist assumption of a sign-referent correspondence (cf. Garfinkel 1967: 28–29).

Gumperz (1992) builds on Garfinkel's (1967: 5) *et cetera* principle. In his theory of conversational inference, Gumperz (1992) argues that speakers and listeners use 'verbal and nonverbal signs to relate what is said at any one time and in any one place to knowledge acquired through past experience' (230). It is through such processes of interpretation that participants in an interaction contextualise speech, continually looking for relevance and forming hypotheses about the speaker's intent (cf. Gumperz 1992: 230–231). Gumperz (1992; 1999) calls these verbal and nonverbal signs related indexically to common sense knowledge *contextualisation cues*. Such cues may take the form of prosody, paralinguistic signs, code choice, and choice of lexical forms or formulaic expressions (cf. Gumperz 1999: 461; Gumperz 1992: 231).

It is important to note that these cues occur on various levels of interaction. Gumperz (1992) identifies at least three levels of inference: (1) the perceptual plane, (2) sequencing, and (3) a more global level of framing. The level of the perceptual plane refers to auditory and visual communicative signals (prosody and paralinguistic signs) that are perceived, interpreted, and categorised. On the level of sequencing, speakers communicate what they intend with their speech acts. This naturally entails inferences and interpretations that might also go beyond explicit content, and hence comprise direct as well as implied or metaphoric inferences (cf. Gumperz 1992: 231–233; see Lakoff & Johnson 1980). Finally, the broadest level of inference is where framing takes place. In the spirit of Goffman (1986), the author writes that framing

⁹ The notion of *indexicality* was expanded by Garfinkel and Sacks (1970) to all linguistic forms (not only pro-terms and deictics), and the authors showed that the indexicality of actions is both ubiquitous and irremediable.

signals what is expected in the interaction at any one stage. I use the term “activity” here to account for the fact that contextualization may raise expectations about what is to come at some point beyond the immediate sequence to yield predications about possible outcomes of an exchange, about suitable topics, and about the quality of interpersonal relations. The assumption is that such global predictions or expectations provide the grounds against which possible ambiguities at the perceptual or sequential levels can be resolved. (Gumperz 1992: 233)

Specific moments in speech can thus evoke expectations about a particular interactional involvement.¹⁰ Consequently, communicated signs index broader patterns of action on a pragmatic, semantic, and/or relational level. In dialogue, participants and audiences draw on more global patterns to interpret interaction. But as Auer and Roberts (2011: 388) note, inferences are not simply based on contextualisation cues; they are also embedded or extended to broader socio-political scenarios, discourses, or ideologies – but more on that later.

As regards affect and emotion, I discussed in the introductory chapter how experience is always emotional, or emotion is experience. In other words, emotions contains an affective and (social) cognitive layer and these are always closely intertwined (e.g., von Scheve 2009).¹¹ I have also discussed how (discursive) practice is always intertwined with affect and (social) cognition and that it involves positionings (e.g., Wetherell 2013). These thoughts align with the ideas formulated by the Bakhtinian circle – particularly with Vološinov’s (1976) observation that ‘[i]nner speech is the same kind of product and expression of social intercourse as is outward speech’ (79). Gumperz’s notion of ‘linguistic repertoire’, and especially Busch’s (2012a) extension of it, grasps this discursive situation well.

¹⁰ Contextualisation cues not only represent communicative resources associated with specific cognitive frames but also cue participants’ *footings*, that is, their roles as speakers or listeners. This is what Goffman (1981: 124–159) discusses with reference to the idea of *participant framework*, according to which participant change their positions (e.g. as bystanders or addressed, as animator or author, etc.). Participants mark changes in footing in speech. ‘[L]inguistics provides us with the cues and markers through which such footings become manifest, helping us to find our way to a structural basis for analyzing them’ (Goffman 1981: 157). But a change in footing does not imply only switching from one role to another – what Goffman (1981: 155) calls a change in stance or alignment. Rather, footings are complex and multi-layered. Speakers can hold their position for some time, or they can laminate one position over another, temporarily transforming it in a process of reframing. This typically happens through a change in interactional arrangement (cf. Goffman 1981: 154–155); through a change of *key*, which refers to ‘the set of conventions by which a given activity’ is defined; or through an act of *keying* an activity ‘already meaningful in terms of some primary framework is transformed into something patterned on this activity but seen by the participants to be something quite else’ (Goffman 1986 [1974]: 43–44). Such an act thus ‘performs a crucial role in determining what it is we think is really going on’ (Goffman 1986: 45). It can thus be said that an act of keying redefines a situation that laments a different frame or interactional arrangement and participant roles onto what (with reference to Bakhtin 1986 [1979]) can be called a primary genre (see Hanks 1987; Prevignano & di Lizio 2003: 15).

¹¹ Von Scheve (2013: 18, 33) understands cognition in the broad sense, as information processing; cognitive patterns can thus be thought of as being entangled with basic affect and not only as mental.

As Sarangi (2011) notes, Gumperz's sociolinguistic innovation was to focus on linguistic diversity within a 'community of practice' as much interlingually as across languages. Sarangi further argued that code choice should be explained on the basis of contextually dependent choices that derive from the community member's broad 'communicative repertoires' or all the ways of communicating messages that are accepted within a community (cf. Sarangi & Candlin 2001: 367; see also Busch 2012: 504). In this regard, Blommaert (2008a: 18) argued that language is not tied to space but rather to the 'biographical trajectory' of a speaker and therefore should be looked at as a mobile 'resource' (see also Blommaert & Jie 2010: 7–8). Busch (2012a) then extends the idea of linguistic repertoire by embedding it into heteroglossia, polyphony, and personal experience (see also Busch 2017; Busch 2020a):

The repertoire can thus be seen as a hypothetical structure, which evolves by experiencing language in interaction on a cognitive and on an emotional level and is inscribed into corporal memory and embodied as linguistic habitus and which includes traces of hegemonic discourses. These discourses are expressed in categorizations that are backed up by inclusive and exclusive language ideologies. Drawing on a broad range of earlier voices, discourses, and codes, the linguistic repertoire forms a heteroglossic and contingent space of potentialities which includes imagination and desire, and to which speakers revert in specific situations. (Busch 2012: 512)

But how does experience, lived and emotional, express itself concretely in interaction? As mentioned in the introduction, emotions and the expression of 'feelings' are closely related to evaluation (e.g., Schwarz-Friesel 2013). I therefore built on Du Bois' (2007) concept of 'stancetaking' – which emerged from interactional linguistics – to grasp the idea of dialogic-affective experience and emotion.

According to Du Bois (2007), every act of stancetaking implies an evaluation oriented towards an object (including abstract ideas). Participants express their experience of the world by taking stances towards it, and these are always social or shared:

Stance is a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field. (Du Bois 2007: 163)

As Du Bois (2007) notes, the act of evaluation implies an explicit or implicit evaluation oriented towards a specific object. A second speaker may then respond to the evaluation made by the first

speaker by evaluating the ‘shared stance object’. In so doing, she thereby positions herself (and others) and (dis)aligns with her co-participant – that is, she intersubjectively relates to the other speaker’s evaluation in a certain way (cf. Du Bois 2007: 141–168).

As for the act of evaluation, this dialogue with a material and abstract world involves the indexicalisation (e.g., Garfinkel 1967: 10–11; Gumperz 1999) of a specific set of cultural values (to use Du Bois’ term) or ideologies (cf. Jaworski & Thurlow 2009; Spitzmüller, Flubacher & Bendl 2017: 8) in addition to affect and emotions. In the latter regard, it should be noted that Peirce (1992a [1894]) defines indexes as signs that represent objects through a physical connection (whereas icons represent objects through imitation by being alike or similar; and symbols are conventional signs, such as most words) (cf. Peirce 1992a [1894]: 5). An indexical relation is thus material and may also point to the body or physical symptoms (cf. Bucholtz & Hall 2016: 178). (Social) cognitions and affect, and hence emotions, are always closely intertwined and give rise to structured or patterned ways of experiencing both the (social) world and the articulation of it (e.g., von Scheve 2009; Wetherell 2012). These indexed values or categories, which in the present perspective are entangled within (inner) languages and/or discourses (e.g., Vološinov 1976), or repertoires (e.g., Busch 2012), then frame the meaning and understanding of the words of participants. Patterned ways of experiencing form a sort of attitude or ‘stand’ (Jaworski & Thurlow 2009: 221). They become matted as a specific *dialogic-affective entanglement* imprinted into the body or on our sensual system – a sort of *emotional stance*, or *dialogic-affective stance*.

As noted above, the act of evaluation implies an act of positioning the self and others. In this regard, it should be noted that positioning carries a broader sense as well. According to Davies and Harré (1990), participants position themselves and others in (discursive) practice. An act of positioning, they argue, locates selves ‘in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced story lines. There can be *interactive positioning* in which what one person says positions another. And there can be *reflexive positioning* in which one positions oneself’ (Davies & Harré 1990: 48, my emphasis). Bamberg & Georgakopoulou (2008) further differentiate between three levels of positioning: (1) positioning within a discourse; (2) the positioning of participants towards each other and an audience; and (3) positioning in relation to dominant discourses (cf. Bamberg & Georgakopoulou 2008: 49). Heller (2014: 192) further argues that – especially if one is interested in questions of difference, power, and social justice – the social positions of participants need also to be considered. This is because ‘the social positions of the speakers [...] might play a role in how and why people make the inferences they do’ (Heller 2014: 193). Consequently, acts of positioning are related to different layers of context.

Heller (2014: 197) notes that to understand a social position of enunciation, one has to consider a broad ethnographic and historical context informed by political economy. Doing so involves not only ethnographic and historical investigation (cf. Blommaert & Jie 2010; Heller, Pietikäinen & Pujolar 2018; see also Krzyzanowski 2017), but also a broader understanding of context. From a linguistic anthropological perspective, Hanks (2006) conceives of context as ‘communicative’. His conception of discourse is interesting for the present purpose as it is based on Bourdieu’s work and fuses macro- and microlevel phenomena within social practice.

Hanks (2006) distinguishes between an emergent and an embedded dimension of discourse. Whereas *emergence* refers to the diachronic and dynamic processes of interaction and context (re)production in time, *embedding* points to the framing of the actual discourse through broader contextual structures – that is, the objective conditions under which the (re)production of social order occurs.¹² Together, the dimensions point to a space and process of contextualisation that is inherently productive and situated (cf. Hanks 2006: 115–117). As Hanks (2006) explains, these two dimensions pervade various analytical layers of context that build on one another, from ‘situations’, ‘settings’, ‘semiotic fields’ (symbolic and demonstrative) and ‘social fields’ to ‘habitus’ (see also Wodak 2009: 10). In what follows, I shall introduce and adapt these layers of context.

The idea of a *situation* points to the question of ‘how separate individuals are able to know or act within a common world’ (Goodwin & Duranti 1992: 27). As Garfinkel (1967: 66–75) notes, social actors are not ‘judgmental dopes’ determined by social structure. Rather, they accomplish intersubjectivity through ongoing social-cognitive work that – as I argued above – is always intertwined with affect. It is this inherent situatedness that provides participants with the capacity to perceive each other with all of their senses, to monitor each other, to feel and express inner states. This living potentiality lies at the heart of the (re)production of social order by living beings (cf. Hanks 2006: 117–118, after Schutz 1970: 163; see also Goffman 1964).

Setting refers to a framework of relevance – a theme or focal point that functions as a central point in relation to a horizon or relevant background. In a broader sense, relevance comprises (1) objects (ideal and material) around which participants orient themselves; (2) different aspects relevant to that object and the participant’s experience of it; and (3) motives of action (‘in order to’ motives) and the history of these motives (‘because’ motives) (cf. Hanks 2006: 119, after Schutz 1970). By adding setting, context expands in time and space to extend outward to notions of personal ‘experience’, ‘biographies’, (e.g., Busch 2016; Busch 2017; Busch 2020a; Busch 2020b)

¹² According to Hanks (2006), discursive practice produces ‘context’ in a processual and dynamic way that cannot be reduced to social structures or the logic of a specific field. However, it is considerably guided by structure, or as Hanks (2006) puts it: ‘Emergence is everywhere in relation to structure, and to describe context as emergent implies that it is structured’ (120).

‘genres’, ‘frames’, ‘ideologies’, or ‘histories’ (e.g., Goffman 1986; Hanks 1987; Silverstein 1992; Blommaert 2015) – and emotions. Blommaert (2015) further points to the fact that invoked voices or discourses ‘coincide with different levels of human consciousness and agency’ (110); speakers are not necessarily aware and can act on the discourses they invoke.

As Hanks (2006) further explains, the semiotic field is where discourse unfolds, transforms, and (re)produces context. In the present perspective, it is here that living semiotic and dialogic-affective practice unfolds in time by means of signs (see Bakhtin 1981 [1975]; Peirce 1992a [1894]; see also Kress & van Leeuwen 1996; Van Leeuwen 2005; Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006; Jaworski & Thurlow 2010).

Social field: Bourdieu (1994) locates people who embody a given *habitus* in different social fields. These fields have their own structures, practices, values, rules, and roles that are constantly challenged by agents trying to change or the maintenance of these constituents of the field. Inspired by practice sociology, Hanks (2006) suggests an adapted definition of the social field as ‘a bounded space of positions and position takings, through which values circulate, in which agents have historical trajectories or careers, and in which they engage on various ‘footings’ (e.g., competitive, collaborative, collusive, strategic)’ (121). Consequently, a political economy, Europe, a nation state, a city, a municipality, and a neighbourhood are all social fields that intersect and embed.¹³ They may become relevant and may be altered to a certain extent through social interaction.

How do these different layers of context relate to each other? According to Hanks (2006), embedding points to the relation between analytical layers of context. A situation is embedded in a setting, which is embedded in a semiotic field, and so on. Every layer then inherits features from the previous one. The embedding of participants in contexts thus implies various levels ranging ‘from the individual subject to intersubjective copresence (situation), to co-engagement (setting) to participant roles [here, participant positions](demonstrative field) to agent positions (social fields)’ (Hanks 2006: 123). In contrast, emergence refers to the dynamicity and historicity inherent to all these layers of context (cf. Hanks 2006: 126–127). An ethnographic approach allows for the in-depth exploration of (discursive) practices, processes, and dynamics needed to understand and explain how and why they work – and what they mean to the people involved (cf. Heller, Pietikäinen & Pujolar 2018).

¹³ As participants, the *social fields* – in which the participants’ interaction is embedded – have their own history in time. They offer specific participant roles and social positions, which may be occupied by persons or groups as well as by objects more or less intentionally. This *occupancy* (Hanks 2006: 123) must not be the result of purposeful action by a participant, for example: ‘[i]f a police officer calls to me on the street, I am interpolated into a position, whether or not I wish and whether or not I produce a sign of my position’ (Hanks 2006: 125), but I might also take up a position intentionally.

In this respect, I would like to expand on the present operationalisation of dialogue and space in a more material sense, as dialogic practice always emerges in the interaction between social bodies and/or materiality (cf. Vološinov 1976: 100). Blommaert (2008b) notes in this regard that material products (e.g., texts) are always created within concrete contexts of production, and that they can move across contexts. They further contain traces of the practices that produced them, and they yield future (discursive) practice (cf. Blommaert 2008b: 12–18). This process can be grasped with Bauman and Briggs' (1990) concept of entextualisation. *Entextualisation*, they say, 'is the process of rendering discourse extractable, of making a stretch of linguistic production into a unit – a *text* – that can be lifted out of its interactional setting' (1990: 73, emphasis in original). Discourse thus becomes decontextualisable. This means that in the process of entextualisation, a textual unit or voice may be reflected upon and recontextualised into another context (cf. Bauman & Briggs 1990: 73–75; Blommaert 2001: 17–20). A unit of discourse or a voice is being objectified and, as such, possibly becoming recognisably 'double-voiced' (Bakhtin 1984 [1929]: 196–199).

Taken together, these concepts represents 'instruments that allow us to set unique communicative events within larger historical frames' (Blommaert 2005: 48). From the perspective of social semiotics, Thurlow (2015) further demonstrates how thin the line between language and materiality actually is. Pointing to the multimodal nature of textual practices, his analysis focuses on banal objects embedded within everyday luxury consumer culture. As for affect, Thurlow (2021) shows how texts such as promotional materials can enrol readers into sensory experiences.

Space also represents a product that can be read. As Bakhtin (1981) explains, a road represents a path and a point of encounter for various people from different social classes, religions, ages, or nationalities at a given moment in time and place. It also has a history and therefore carries 'traces and signs of time's passage' – like marks of a historical era (cf. Bakhtin 1981 [1975]: 243–244). Consequently, as Jaworski & Thurlow (2010) note, 'all landscape is semiotic, i.e. its meaning is always construed in the act of socio-cultural interpretation' (2). Participants in interaction engage 'in and with space' (Thurlow 2019: 94), and a specific landscape may more or less facilitate different uses of language (cf. Stroud & Mpendukana 2012; see also Blommaert, Collins & Slembrouck 2005).

Having said all this, how should discourse be defined to fit the present purpose? I suggest that discourse is,

- a dialogic-affective semiotic¹⁴ practice (encompassing centralising and decentralising forces) that involves participants who embody habitus and a personal linguistic repertoire, taking dialogic-affective stances oriented towards the world;
- entangled with socio-biographical and historical trajectories;
- integrative of various voices, languages, evaluative positions, and/or ideologies;
- related to a topic and specific dialogic-affective events;
- embedded and emerging in specific social fields, within and with time, materiality, and space.

To conclude this section, I would like to expand a bit more on ethnography¹⁵ and fieldwork, in particular. In his conception of the ethnography of communication, Hymes (1977) understands ethnography as a perspective on human behaviour that he refuses to relate to a linguistic tradition (see also Hymes 1962; 1964; 1968; 1971; 1972). Instead, he sees its place at the intersection with other disciplines, such as social anthropology, sociology, or psychology (see also Blommaert & Jie 2010: 14). The goal of ethnography, he says, is to produce theories based on the study of empirical cases. Doing so provides an *emic* account of human behaviour.¹⁶ Emic means that descriptive

¹⁴ Based on Peirce's and Bakhtin's writings, I adopt a trichotomic and dialogic conception of signs. According to Reisigl (2017), a trichotomic conception of signs stands in contrast to the structuralism of Saussure. The latter suggests a perspective that conceives of the relation of signs and their objects of representation as arbitrary, word-dependent and binary (cf. Reisigl 2017). Consequently, Saussure abstracts language from its immediate context of use and makes it appear as a fixed system. As Bourdieu (1993) notes, he acknowledges its arbitrary, that is to say, conventional nature: 'donc arbitraires, au sens saussurien, conventionnelles, ex Instituto, comme disait Leibniz, dont on peut retracer la genèse sociale' (Bourdieu 1993: 124). In contrast to this, Peirce's (1992a [1894]) story shows how humans produce meaning in interaction with the objective world around them. As such, the narrated event resembles the experience of natural sciences researchers who in a kind of 'monologue' with materiality observe objects that have no voice (cf. Todorov 1981: 33–34) to discover or construct natural laws, whereby they draw on logical constructs. However, as Bakhtin (1981) notes in his essay *Discourse in the novel*, every form of contemplation, be it monological or dialogical, involves dialogue and, thus, other person's thoughts. Consequently, every thought or expression is a response to what was said in the past, but also an anticipation of future utterances (cf. Bakhtin 1981: 276).

In his *Letters to Lady Welby*, Peirce (1992b [1906–1908]) distinguishes between two parallel categories of objects: an immediate object and a dynamical object. Thereby, he shows that people not only draw on information provided within an actual experience, but also interpret their environment in the light of previous experiences (cf. Peirce 1992b [1906–1908]: 477–478). Barret-Fox (2016) argues that the idea of internal relationship between a dynamical and an immediate object and moments of creativity is what differentiates Peirce's and Bakhtin's conception of words/signs from Saussure's or Derrida's. The former do not consider signs as a consequence of an arbitrary and unmotivated relation between ideas and forms, but rather as motivated and therefore representing, at least partially, an objective reality.

¹⁵ Blommaert and Jie (2010) describe *ethnography* as a paradigm that originated in anthropology with which it shares specific ontologies, methodologies and epistemologies. Humanism, for instance, is an epistemology that the ethnography of communication shares with anthropology, which means that it describes language from the perspective of human beings who believe that culture can be studied and understood. As regards its ontology, the ethnography of speaking reflects on language from a practical functionalist perspective. Language is understood as deeply embedded in social life, where it functions as a set of resources or means by which social beings perform as such. Consequently, language cannot be abstracted from context, as it is context that gives meaning to every act of language use; indeed, more than that, language is context (cf. Blommaert & Jie 2010: 5–7).

¹⁶ As part of his programme, Hymes (2008 [1962]: 8–23) suggests a theoretical framework for the ethnographic analysis of speech or communication. He thus elaborates an *etic* framework that should help researchers to provide emic

categories should be based on the perception ('homemade models') of the participant in the culture (cf. Hymes 1977: 6–11, 22). Still, the determination of relevant categories remains an intersubjective undertaking between the ethnographer and the participants in a culture (cf. Hymes 1977: 6–11, 22; Blommaert & Jie 2010: 12), that is, it involves dialogue. As Hymes (2008 [1962]: 5–8) argues, fieldwork is therefore essential to ethnography – even if, as Blommaert (2008b: 18–19) notes, it is not indispensable.

Blommaert & Jie (2010) observe that fieldwork is traditionally understood as data collection but, in reality, it is more than that. In fact, it is a process through which a researcher learns to understand a specific field. Fieldwork should thus enable a researcher to position themselves within a social environment and give an account for it based on inductive observation and abductive theory building without simplification (cf. Blommaert & Jie 2010: 11, 26–27; Reisigl & Wodak 2016: 32; see also Reisigl 2017). Metaphorically, one can imagine discovering a place by following certain paths, observing a specific crossroad in a large city, or following certain threads entangled in a 'skein of wool that a cat played with' (Heller, Pietikäinen & Pujolar 2018: 16). In what follows, I give an account of how I entered the field; how I learnt about contexts of social exclusion and/or poverty; and how I selected a particular case study and started to understand it.

Getting into the field

My process of gaining access to the field and fieldwork started with some preparatory work (cf. Blommaert & Jie 2010: 20–22). I conducted documentary research into the chosen topic and the context of the study, and I undertook relevant theoretical reflections. I further completed a course in mediation, hoping to get a job at a local organisation that would enable me to begin my fieldwork and identify a suitable case study. Luckily, an organisation in the city of Brno accepted my application; I had the opportunity to work for a rehousing project for several months between

accounts of situated human interaction as well as to make their observation comparable to other studies. However, it is important to note that throughout his writings, Hymes continues to point out that the etic categories he suggests represent a 'preliminary grid' only (cf. Hymes 1977 [1964]: 11). As regards the ethnography of speaking or communication – as he calls his approach in later writings – Hymes (2008 [1962]: 8–23) explains that every description should focus with an organising perspective on the *speech economy* of a given community with the aim to inductively discern relevant units, patterns (or speech habits), criteria and rules that are valid in a specific system. The delimitation of a given speech economy does not run along the boundaries of a homogeneous linguistic code but is rather defined in relation to the speech habits of the population under study. A speech economy contains three aspects that can be analysed separately: (i) speech events; (ii) its constituent factors; and (iii) the speech functions. *Speech events* can be detected through words that name them. This might be nouns (e.g. Sunday morning ceremony), but also verbs, phrases, or sentences (e.g. 'cussing out'). Every speech event comprises factors of speech that include: (i) a sender (addresser); (ii) a receiver (addressee); (iii) a message form; (iv) a channel; (v) a code; (vi) a topic (topoi); and (vii) a setting (scene, situation). The third aspect to be considered are functions within speech events. It is important here to bear in mind that the presumed universality of functional categories might not meet social reality in all circumstances, which is why Hymes (2008 [1962]: 16) does not impose a set of functions but only mentions Jakobson's speech functions.

August 2018 and February 2019. I was thus soon walking around in Brno's socially excluded neighbourhood, embarking on my on-site learning process. To give an account for this learning process, I sometimes incorporate vignettes into my work. These are brief narratives that centre on the researcher's personal experiences to address their emotional involvement (e.g., Creese, Takhi & Blackledge 2017).

Needless to say, engaging with a topic in context is different from working on it at a distant desk. Or, as Blommaert & Jie (2010) put it:

Fieldwork itself is humanly demanding, as a fieldworker will need to give proof of all the good qualities in life: patience, endurance, stamina, perseverance, flexibility, adaptability, empathy, tolerance, the willingness to lose a battle in order to win a war, creativity, humour and wit, diplomacy, and being happy about very small achievements. Put that in a job advertisement and you will never find a suitable candidate. (Blommaert & Jie 2010: 24)

After several weeks, I had already met with some clients and gleaned a little insight into the problems they struggled with. Needless to say, there was a lot to digest for someone like me. Simultaneously, I felt how, bit by bit, I was torn by the local discourse and the feelings it transported, which I knew were also (or mainly) related to Roma residents. On 21 August 2018, I noted several experiences in my field notebook. Once, I encountered a shop assistant in the local grocery store in Brno who disinfected his hands after a customer left the shop. I found that peculiar and asked him why he did so. He responded that he is a medical student and that he knows very well why he does so. He further advised me to pay attention to yellow eyes, which are a sign of Hepatitis C. Another person told me not to sit down in the tram as somebody may have infected the area with bedbugs, while an acquaintance of my family told me that the neighbourhood I was living in was very dangerous and I should take care to not get raped. I started to feel that alien voices were ensnaring me in the most innocent, everyday interactions as they entered into conflict with my own knowledge, feelings, convictions, and experiences.

I lived near Cejl Street in Brno next to a so-called hostel where mainly Roma people were said to live. I was staying in the house of a friend of a colleague while they were on holiday. I enjoyed staying there very much. It was a little house with a little yard and garden where I was allowed to pick vegetables for my meals. The garden was surrounded by a rather high concrete wall. Behind the back wall of this little yard was the "hostel" property. In the evening, I sometimes heard people playing instruments and singing behind that wall, which I enjoyed very much. Aside from that, there were only few moments in which I was reminded of the hostel itself. One was a rather

unpleasant experience as someone began a bonfire started to burn waste behind the wall. There was an open skylight in the house that I had not previously noticed as it was located at the very top of the roof, above the stairway that led to the second floor. Consequently, the acrid smell of smoke entered the house and there was no way to escape it. I was very relieved when I discovered that the problem could be circumvented by closing the window with the help of a long wooden stick.

As already mentioned, I was working for a rehousing project in the city of Brno. The aim of the project was to reinclude mostly single Roma mothers into society by providing decent housing and social assistance. Conflict resolution between neighbours played an important role in this regard, so my duty was to deal with conflicts between neighbours to support the process of inclusion. In parallel to that, I contacted local researchers in the field to assess the relevance of my research interest as well as various professionals working in the area of Roma inclusion. I also visited several places and organisations (e.g., the Museum of Romani Culture) and attended a discussion about a future memorial at a former concentration camp in Lety u Písku. Finally, I began to collect my first data. Soon, I was able to compile a list of three possible case studies:

- conflicts and their (non)resolution between our clients and the long-term residents I encountered during my work for the rehousing project;
- the neighbourhood of Bedřiška, where Roma and/or non-Roma residents came together to defend their right to housing against the municipal district government; and
- a participatory planning process for the Memorial of the Holocaust of the Roma and Sinti in Lety u Písku led by the Museum for Romani Culture in Brno and supported by state authorities.

It was the experiences I had and the questions I asked myself during my work for the rehousing project in Brno that greatly influenced my decision to select one of these possible case studies. Indeed, what I saw and heard during my work filled me with shame and anger. I had not expected such an intense degree of discriminatory and uncooperative behaviour between neighbours, but it was there, and it pushed me to profoundly question the efficacy of every inclusion project that I had encountered. I felt powerless in the face of the adversarial and uncooperative behaviour of what I perceived as too many people. Reflecting on these feelings, I realised that the reason why I felt this way was my assumption that a pre-disposition or willingness to communicate in conflict was natural. However, reality was different.

The effort to include impoverished Roma people into ‘normal’ neighbourhoods was met by long-term residents with a great deal of resistance, even though these measures were supported by the municipal government. Protests by neighbours seemed to go beyond the famous NIMBY (‘not in my back yard’) syndrome. Rather, they seemed driven by a self-evident and shared aversion

deeply embedded in structural racism; too many residents actively resisted the inclusion of socially disadvantaged people identifiable as Roma people. In other words, the residents would mobilise and organise against Roma newcomers (cf. Svobodová 2018).

In my experience, members of the majority in society often perceived themselves as victims of political measures and inclusion policies. They seemed to fear losing their own social status and hence falling to the lowest social strata themselves. Needless to say, such a situation creates a major opportunity for an opposing political party to raise its own profile and gain political support. All in all, this symbiosis seemed to lead to a general unwillingness among residents to even speak to their new neighbours (cf. Ulrich 2020). As a Roma woman explained me during one of my visits, it was *Jako kdybych nebyla člověkem, mě se nikdo nezeptá, jako negramotný děčko*, ‘As if I were not a human. Nobody talks to me; [it’s] as though I were an illiterate child’ (Field, Bedřiška, notes, 21 August 2018).

After a while, I had to admit that I was not really able to assess situations accurately. Regarding my work, I began to perceive a need to enter into a more comprehensive dialogue with the clients themselves to better evaluate the dangers of escalation in a situation of open conflict. I also started to doubt whether an understanding between Roma and their non-Roma neighbours was actually possible to achieve in these contexts of social exclusion and/or poverty.

Given the general unwillingness among majority members of society to communicate with our Roma clients, I began to search for a case study that was different and would therefore enable me to glean new insights into the problem. That case study was the neighbourhood of Bedřiška. In this diverse neighbourhood, people seemed to get along with each other quite peacefully. This does not mean that relations were harmonious and were, in fact, far from it: racial slurs and feelings of anger, deception, or distrust were present there as well. Still, neighbours engaged with one another, which made it possible to identify common interests and opportunities for action. Residents did not seem to direct their anger against another group of locals, and instead mostly focused on active resistance to the municipal district government’s plans to demolish their homes. Consequently, this case study promised to provide new insights into my research subject. At the same time, what I learnt through engaging with the other possible case studies informed my work as well.

The person who decisively helped me gain access to the empirical case I finally

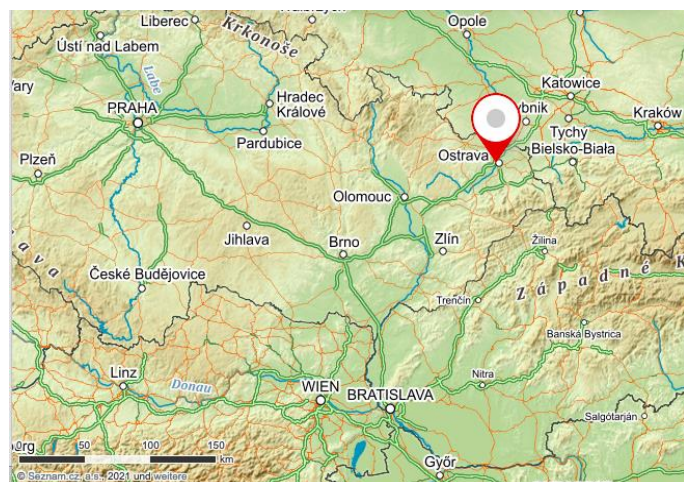


Figure 2.1: Map including the city of Ostrava, source: *mapy.cz*, n.d.

selected was Avyaan (this is a pseudonym), a social worker dedicated to community work in the city of Ostrava where he manages his own non-governmental organisation (NGO). I was fortunate to get Avyaan's contact information from a person whom I had interviewed for my Master's thesis. I subsequently contacted him and he invited me into his pink managerial office in the city of Ostrava on Wednesday, 22 August 2018. The city of Ostrava is a major city in the Czech Republic and the capital of the Moravian-Silesian Region (*Moravskosleský Kraj*) in the northeastern part of the Czech Republic, close to the Polish border (see Figure 2.1).

Avyaan was very kind and lent an ear to my concerns from the beginning. He asked me questions about my research interests and narrated the history and housing conditions of Roma people in Ostrava. I felt a bit like I was back in school and later, I learnt that Avyaan had actually been a teacher in an English school before he decided to devote himself to community work. From the first time we met, he was teaching me a great deal about the situation of Roma people in Europe as well as community work.

As it happened, one day he invited me to an event in Bedřiška. It was a planning workshop with architects held from 28 to 31 August. As I noted in my notebook on 22 August, the aim of the workshop was to elaborate an alternative vision to the official plans to evict inhabitants and demolish the locality to build new houses for young, more affluent families. And so it came that I found myself on the train from Brno to Ostrava at the end of August 2018.

Torn between fear and disgust towards everyone and attempting to somehow distance myself from what I had experienced during my stay in Brno, I was sitting on the train to Ostrava on 27 August. As I noted in my field notebook for that day, a man identifiable as Roma was sitting behind me and drinking a beer. There was actually nothing special about this or worth mentioning, but the scene suddenly became relevant when I noticed the woman next to me throw an angry look behind her before standing up to leave the train compartment. A bit later, the man provocatively placed his empty beer can on the table right next to me. A bit surprised, I wondered what this action could mean; I glanced back. The man looked at me in a vaguely aggressive, cold manner and for a second, I felt fear. I turned my head back to face forward but then, not wanting to believe what had happened, I turned back again and said, 'Would you like me to throw your beer can in the bin?' A smile appeared on the man's face. A bit embarrassed, he said, 'Yes, thank you'. I laughed and threw the can away, happy and relieved that the world was still as I knew it. Upon my arrival in Ostrava, I took a taxi to the hostel I had booked for several days. In keeping with the events of the day, the taxi driver warned me to be alert because many Roma people lived on the street behind the hostel. I asked him whether something specific had happened there; he replied no, and assured me that the situation was much better today than before.

But what kind of neighbourhood was it where this workshop was scheduled for the day after my arrival? Bedřiška is a former mining settlement and a so-called socially excluded locality' (cf. GAC spol. s.r.o. 2015) in the city of Ostrava. More specifically, the neighbourhood is part of the municipal district Mariánské Hory Hulváky (see Figure 2.2). As one can read on the city's



Figure 2.2: Map of the municipal district Mariánské Hory a Hulváky, source: mapy.cz n.d.

Each municipal district has its own mayor (called a *starosta*) who is elected by an assembly; the city itself has its own mayor called a *primátor* (cf. City of Ostrava 2019). When I first visited Bedřiška, the district mayor of Mariánské Hory a Hulváky was Ing. Arch. Liana Janáčková. She had been the district mayor since 1990, with a brief interruption to her post. The mayor of the city of Ostrava was Tomáš Macura, MBA.

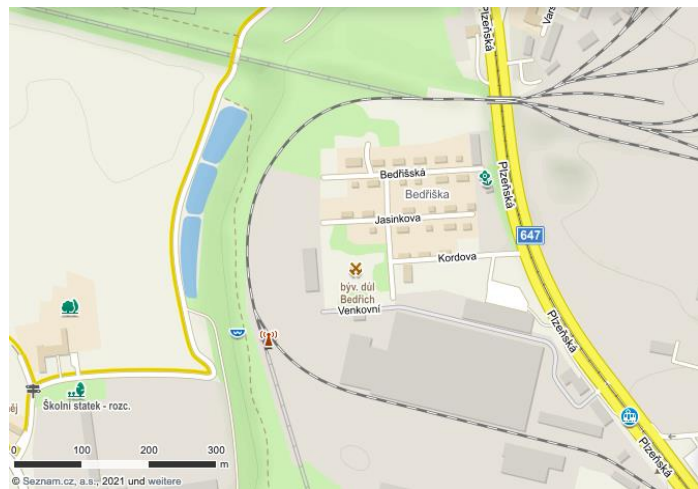


Figure 2.3: Map of the locality of Bedřiška, source: mapy.cz n.d.

The locality is separated from the street by a metal fence (see Figure 2.4) that makes one feel rather uncomfortable. To access Bedřiška from the tram station, one has to pass in front of the Ferona warehouse to reach Kordova Street (see Figure 2.5). To the left, one first sees wooden houses and, at the end of the street, a red brick house (see Figure 2.6). After turning right, one enters a tree-lined street that passes through the whole locality (see Figure 2.7). Each of the little Finnish houses is surrounded by a garden and some sort of fence (see Figure 2.8). On the fence of most houses, there is a sign saying *Zůstanu* 'I stay' and *Zde je můj domov* 'Here is my home', indexing the residents' struggle to retain their homes (see Figure 2.9 and 2.10).

At the end of this street, there was an intersection with a bench where people (mainly Roma woman) would meet to discuss everything and anything (see Figure 2.11). One did not need to sit for long before Roma children would appear, ask questions, and make jokes.



Figure 2.4: Metal fence and the Plzeňská highway, 14 October 2018



Figure 2.8: Houses on the main street, 14 October 2018

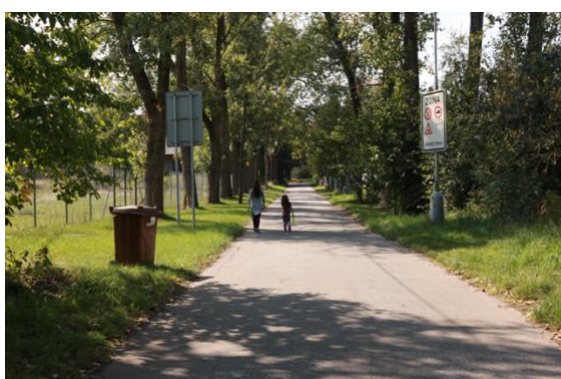


Figure 2.5: Kordova street, 14 October 2018



Figure 2.9: Fence with protest sign, 14 October 2018



Figure 2.6: Kordova street and brick house, 14 October 2018



Figure 2.10: House and garden, 14 October 2018

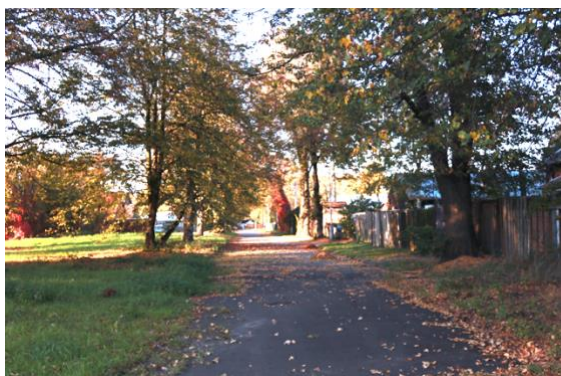


Figure 2.7: The tree-lined main street, 14 October 2018



Figure 2.11: Bench at an intersection, 14 October 2018

Despite the quite ‘peaceful’ relations between neighbours, the words ‘*cikáni*’ and ‘*gadje*’ and the stereotypes that these terms entail were also present. But despite the existence of some racial slurs and minor conflicts, distrust, or misunderstandings, people seemed to get along – even beyond their group membership. The residents shared interest in retaining their homes played a major role in this regard.

Residents held community meetings to exchange information and plan next steps (see Figure 2.12) and also organised different community gatherings. Roma children used to meet at the community centre for activities organised by social workers working for the organisation *Bílý Nosorožec*. Aside from these organised encounters, residents shared quite normal neighbourhood relations – that is, everybody somehow knew everybody, and some liked each other while others did not get along. Yet again, descriptions of those with whom one got along (or not) encompassed members of both groups, Roma and non-Roma.

Still, the non-Roma residents spent their free time mostly with others identifiable as such and the same was true for people who identified as Roma. During the participatory planning workshop with architects on 29 August 2018, I observed that groups sometimes formed along gender lines – but not always. Religion played a role as well, but was important only for some: During a deliberative focus group discussion I had organised for the youth on 27 April 2019, some teenagers told me they would attend events organised by the religious centre *Don Bosco* that was active in the neighbourhood and I accompanied a Roma family to a religious ceremony on 9 May 2019. Still, others are not included in the present description of my observations as they simply were not visible. They either did not participate in neighbourhood activities, or at least not actively.



Figure 2.12: Community meeting in Bedřiška, 24 September 2018



Figure 2.13: Event ‘Rebellious Prague’, 29 September 2018

As I got to know this socially excluded locality, it was clear that the economic situation of residents was also very diverse. I was told some had a job that paid sufficiently well or even their own little business. Others worked for a minimal salary of around 10'000 to 12'000 CZK and/or even had two jobs. Still others depended on social benefits. Many former residents had left the neighbourhood already.

In general, I came to know the residents as hospitable and kind. People were always willing to offer a helping hand, provided they could. Residents who identified as non-Roma stood out in their way of constantly making fun of everything, including themselves, despite the troubles some had faced in terms of accessing jobs and work conditions. The Roma people seemed a bit calmer and more reserved to me, but certainly not all of them or not on all occasions.

Listening to Bedřiška's story

To give an intersubjective account of ordinary practices and the ways they are connected, it is indispensable for speakers and researchers alike to listen to find access to common sense knowledge (e.g., Garfinkel 1972: 321, 323). Before entering into detailed analysis of sub case-studies in the following chapters, I therefore attempt to retell the history of Bedřiška as I learned or experienced it conveyed by the voices of residents that I was able to talk to (see, e.g., Ellard-Gray et al. 2015) – and especially, their representatives.

As Frida explained to me during an interview, Ada and Avyaan were chosen to represent the community, because residents trusted them.

On [Avyaan] byl jako důležitý, protože ty rodiny k němu měly jako velkou důvěru, takže to jako bylo hodně důležité. My jsme vlastně i trochu jo jako by řešili i to, že jako do teďka to vnímám, že třeba i [Ada] je vlastně jako silná komunitní lídryně, ale je prostě Neromka, a že vlastně jako by ta Romská část té Bedřišky je prostě, kdo by jako byl ten lídr pro ně. Tak je tam třeba pan [Pokorný], je tam určitě, určitě je tam ten pan [Hanáč], jo, to stoprocentně. Ale ještě vlastně jako někdo prostě měl právě tu důvěru, co jsme si říkali, jakoby že ten [Avyaan] má k nim nejbliž. (Field, Ostrava, interview with Frida, 4 September 2019)

'He was really important because families actually trusted him a lot, and this was actually very important. We were also dealing with the fact a bit, and I still think about it now, that [Ada], for example, is a strong community leader but...she's a non-Roma – and that, in fact, the Roma part of Bedřiška is simply...who could be the leader for them? So, for example, there is Mr [Pokorný], of course, of course, there is Mr [Hanáč], yeah, one hundred percent. But in fact, as I already mentioned, many just trusted [...] Avyaan; he is closest to them.'

I decided to align with what was presented by Ada, Avyaan, and Frida (who positioned herself as an external supporter) at an event I attended at the Plato Museum in Ostrava on 24 November 2018. I chose this presentation, because all the participants were simultaneously present there, which I interpreted to have a sort of triangulation effect (see Figure 2.15). I shall, however, complete this picture with voices that seemed to be missing in these accounts. To give more weights to individual voices, I cite the original texts. I shall begin by giving an insight into the children's perspective.

Transformation of the neighbourhood: Bedřiška as home

Roma children were always around, playing outside, asking questions and making fun. It is very easy to form a bond with them. Accordingly, they often acted as a point of connection between non-Roma and/or Roma people. They seemed untouched by the structural injustices that impeded typical human interactions, and thus communicated a sense of what actually was possible.

As part of the planning workshop with architects, I organised a drawing event for children. They were assigned the task of drawing the neighbourhood as it was in the past and as it is today. Figure 2.16 and 2.17 below show two such pictures painted by two girls. It is easy to see how the two girls illustrated their experience of the neighbourhood as evolving for the better over time, for instance, by means of colour.

A former workers settlement: Něco za něco 'Quid pro quo'

I got to know Ada as the representative of Bedřiška residents. However, she is not an official resident. Her official address is within a smaller block of flats a few streets away from the neighbourhood. This, however, did not prevent her from spending most of her time in the neighbourhood where she had once lived. Now, her daughter and two granddaughters live there.

As she told me during an investigative trip to Slovakia in June 2019, she had spent a great deal of time at a youth centre growing up. Life had not always been easy for her, but she had maintained a positive energy and willingness to change things that impressed me. Few people are able to summon up such perseverance and strength, and this was despite a chronic disease that impeded her mobility.

Ironically, and always with a great smile in her face, she used to call the many difficulties that she and the other residents faced *perličky* 'little pearls' – almost as if she would actually enjoy fighting politicians (*Field, Bedřiška, notes*, 23 September 2018). I experienced her as a very generous yet also critical person with a strong opinion. She loved to talk to people and offer a helping hand but, as she used to say, she also expected something in return.

Ada was not only relatively independent and motivated, but also very competent in speech and writing. These are most probably the reasons why she became so powerful in the neighbourhood in 2018. As she recalled, she had done her own research on the neighbourhood, written the website content on the place, maintained the neighbourhood Facebook profile, and held presentations in Ostrava and elsewhere. Usually, several residents would accompany her to these events and respond to questions as well. Ada used to narrate the history of Bedřiška in great detail, focusing on its past as a mining colony. I shall refrain from such detailed description here to focus on what is most relevant for the present purposes.

As Ada recounted during an event at the Plato Museum on 24 November 2018 in Ostrava, the history of Bedřiška began in the year 1900 when the company *Hornoslezské koksovény a chemické továrny* ‘Upper Silesian Coke Plant and Chemical Factory’ started to operate the Bedřich mine in the locality (see Figure 2.18). In the years that followed, the mine was expanded and its activities increased. An accident caused by flooding occurred on 9 April 1902 and three workers died; yet another worker died shortly afterward on 5 May. In 1910, all attempts to secure the mine were abandoned and the property was sold. In 1958, part of the mining field was integrated into the area of operations of the Ján Šverma mine. In 1971, the activity of the mine came to a final conclusion. Two streets in the neighbourhood, Jasinkova and Kordova, were named after the deceased mine workers.

The neighbourhood contains both brick and wooden houses. Close to the entrance of the locality, in Kordova Street, the former boiler house still remains; the brick building was built in 1902 and later transformed in a residential building. At the time of Ada’s presentation, there were three housing units – one was inhabitable, and there were attempts to initiate the demolition of this building. Another brick building, built between 1900 to 1902 to serve as a residential house for miners, was located at the end of the neighbourhood. In 2018, four families were living there; however, all had to leave that same year. The wooden Finnish houses were built after the Second World War and were conceived as temporary housing, with a lifespan of an estimated 30 to 40 years, for mine workers. However, Ada maintained that the lifespan of these wooden houses could be extended by several decades if adequately maintained.



Figure 2.14: Ada, Frida, and Aryaan presenting at the Plato Museum in Ostrava, 24 November 2018



Figure 2.18: Bedřichka 1997–2010, source: presentation, Lehotská 2018



Figure 2.15: Bedřichka, before and after 2010, 30 August 2018



Figure 2.19: Cleaning up in 2010, source: presentation, Lehotská 2018



Figure 2.16: Bedřichka, before and after 2010, 30 August 2018



Figure 2.20: A "bostel" before demolition, 14 October 2018



Figure 2.17: The Bedřich mine on a postcard from 1905, source: presentation, Lehotská 2018



Figure 2.21: Vacant house, 8 May 2018

As Ada narrated, in 1997, the municipal district mayor of Mariánské Hory a Hulváký, Ing. Arch. Liana Janáčková, signed a purchase contract with the company OKD. The houses – but not the land – thus became the property of the City of Ostrava. Ada explains what happened afterward as follows:

[Z]ačala tam odstěhovat ty nejnepřízpůsobivější rodiny. Je jedno jestli romské nebo neromské, prostě nepřizpůsobivé. A takhle to dopadalo [see Figure 2.19]. To znamená, že Bedřicha v roce 1999 až 2010 eh prostě obyvatelé si prošli peklem. Takhle v tomhle prostředí žily naše děti, takhle v tomhle prostředí jsme museli žít my. (Field, Ostrava, presentation at the Plato Museum, 24 November 2018)

‘[Janáčková] began to move the most inadaptible families there. It didn’t matter if they were Roma or non-Roma, [they were just] simply inadaptible. And this is how it turned out [see Figure 2.19]. This means that from 1999 to 2010, eh, the inhabitants simply went through hell. This is how our children lived in this environment; this is how we had to live.’

According to Ada, there was chaos and rubbish piled up everywhere. Politicians did not care about the situation. They either gave up on addressing it or actually found the condition of the neighbourhood quite convenient from a political point of view, as Janáčková had other plans with it. Because nobody cared, the neighbourhood began to be associated with social problems, such as drugs, violence; thefts and conflict between residents were common.

Conflict definitely escalated in 2010, when non-Roma tenants threw a Molotov cocktail into their Roma neighbour’s house. According to Ada, there had been conflict between the two families for some time already although *[n]aštěstí teda se nic nestalo* ‘fortunately, nothing terrible happened’. Ironically, the incident caused residents to desire to actively change the situation. This was when the community worker Avyaan arrived in the neighbourhood and organised what Ada called a centralised neighbourhood meeting.

Ryba smrdí od hlavy a síla přichází z dola ‘The fish stinks from the head and strength comes from the bottom’

Avyaan was born in India. Rebelling against the caste system, he left India to study physics in Moscow. In 1989, he engaged in student revolts in Czechoslovakia and maintained contact with students in East Germany. Later, he worked as a teacher at an English school but, after a great flood in 1997, he joined with residents who had lost their homes to help them organise. His involvement resulted in the construction of the *Vesnička Soužití* ‘Village of Coexistence’, where Roma and/or non-Roma tenants have lived together in relative peace up to the present day.

I came to know Avyaan as an attentive and thoughtful person, a dreamer and a visionary. The hopeful tone of his speeches caught the attention of Roma youth, and he was highly respected by Roma residents for what he had done and continued to do for the Roma community. During a conversation in the neighbourhood on 22 September 2018, one resident told me that he believed Avyaan had shared certain experiences with them owing to the colour of his skin, even if he did not identify as Roma.

During the presentation of the neighbourhood's history at the Plato Museum in Ostrava on 24 November 2018, Avyaan framed the housing policy as a political leadership problem and as proof of strength on the part of the neighbourhood's residents. He narrated how in 1997, Janáčková had tried to get rid of Roma residents and planned to demolish Bedřiška in order to build new houses. She therefore sought out suitable investors. Throughout the whole country, relations between Roma and non-Roma inhabitants were tense at that time; racially motivated incidents of arson had occurred repeatedly in the region over the preceding 10 years. In 2009, an attack on a Roma family living nearby the city of Ostrava alarmed the whole country, mainly because a little child named Natálka had been severely burnt.

Celá zem byla šokovaná, že Natálku malou holčičku spálili, 80% jejího těla spálili nějaký neofašisti na narozeniny Hitlera, v půlnoci. A my jsme všichni žili v tom strachu, 2009. A 2010, jak říká paní [Ada], na Bedřišce byl žhářský útok, a mi jsme nevěděli co to je, jestli to bude další neofašistický útok, lidi všichni měli strach. (Field, Ostrava, interview with Frída, 4 September 2019)

'The whole country was shocked that Natálka, a little girl, was burnt; 80% of her body was burnt by some neo-fascists on Hitler's birthday, at midnight. And we all lived in fear [in] 2009. And in 2010, as Ms [Ada] says, there was an arson attack on Bedřiška, and we didn't know what it was – if it would be another neo-fascist attack – [and everyone] was afraid.'

In the case of Bedřiška, a little girl was sleeping in the room into which the Molotov cocktail was thrown. Luckily, the bottle did not break, and the girl was able to extinguish the fire. Nonetheless, Avyaan emphasised, the girl suffered from this traumatic experience for a long time. Unlike with Natálka, what happened in Bedřiška was a neighbourhood conflict:

A já jsem byl za panem [Hanáčem], protože se to stalo jím, a mě bylo během půl hodiny jasný, byl to sousedský spor. Z toho svědectví lidí, které byly tam, to bylo jasné, že to byl sousedský spor. (Field, Ostrava, presentation at Plato Museum, 24 November 2018)

‘And I went to see Mr [Hanáč] because it happened to them, and it was clear to me within a half an hour, it was a neighbourhood dispute. [According to] the testimony of the people who were there, it was clear that it was a neighbourhood conflict’.

According to Avyaan, this was the reason why he chose to hold a neighbourhood meeting to organise the community. During this meeting, a group of residents decided on the slogan of *[A]ť Bedřiška žije!* ‘let Bedřiška live!’, which remains the neighbourhood’s slogan today, and elected a neighbourhood council of four representatives.

At’ Bedřiška žije! ‘Let Bedřiška live!’

As I noted in my fieldnotes on 23 September 2018, Ada tried to mediate between the two families directly involved in the failed arson attack. She knew them very well as they lived on her street. She hoped that the neighbours would find an extrajudicial solution, but this was not to be as the belief that the act had been racistly motivated prevailed among Roma residents. In the end, the perpetrators – a woman and her son – were convicted.

After the community meeting, the newly elected neighbourhood council initiated several activities. First, they negotiated with the municipal district mayor for permission to run a community centre. Then, they organised a clean-up of the neighbourhood (see Figure 2.20) as well as various community activities, such as a summer carnival, a day for children, events with the city police, a visit to the zoo, or neighbourhood barbecues. As Ada put it,

Ty lidi celých osm roků tvrdě pracují na tom, aby ta Bedřiška byla místo, pěkné místo klidné místo k životu. Takhle ty lidi spolu dokážou mluvit, dokážou se spolu bavit, a dokážou spolu i pracovat. Abychom, můžeme dál, abychom jenom nepracovali, protože ne jenom práci je člověk živí, jsme si řekli, že to, že naše děti nemají kde trávit čas, tak jsme začali dělat akce pro ně i dospělé. (Field, Ostrava, presentation at the Plato Museum, 24 November 2018)

‘Those people have been working hard for eight years to make Bedřiška a [...] nice place, a quiet place to live. Now, these people are able to talk to each other, they can have fun together, and they can also work together. So that we [...] don’t just work – work is not the only thing in life [and] we agreed that our children have nowhere to spend their time – we started doing events for them as well as adults.’

However, political support from the municipal district was limited. After a long period of twisting and turning, Janáčková finally agreed to make a space available for community activities on the

condition that it would be operated by the organisation Bílý nosorožec, which had just begun to provide social services in the locality. Residents accepted the offer half-heartedly.

Nonetheless, initially, the adult residents took an active part in organising activities. As I wrote in my fieldnotes on 23 September 2018, Ada believed that Janáčková intentionally complicated their efforts. Residents had to ask for a permission to assemble for every event, for instance, and the operating hours of the community centre were strictly regulated. Moreover, resident initiatives were often misrepresented. On 8 May 2019, a resident talking to me outside in his garden told me that after some time, he and others started to feel crowded out bit by bit and ceased their activities altogether. From that time on, only the social workers organised educational and leisure activities for Roma children.

Generally speaking, Ada took a critical stance towards NGOs (as well as political authorities). Still, she acknowledged during her presentation that in 2018, as it became known that residents should leave their homes, the director of the organisation sided with residents. But shortly thereafter, the director lost her job and the organisation was taken over by another one called Centrum Sociálních Služeb.

A struggle for housing

2018 was also the year when political activists entered the community to help residents retain their homes. I mainly engaged with Frida, a young academic in the field of social work and a political activist engaged in homelessness. I got to know her as a critical, engaged, and professional woman. As she recounted during an interview in a café in Ostrava on 4 September 2019, she had been engaged in various activities to combat homelessness in Ostrava in 2017. One day, a resident from Bedřiška who had participated in one of her activities, namely the *Divadlo utlačovaných* 'Theatre of the oppressed', asked her for help. He knew she was engaged in the initiative *Probud' domy* 'Wake up houses' that was advocating for a right to housing and the city at the time.

As Frida narrated during her presentation at the Plato Museum on 24 November 2018, rumours began to circulate in 2018 that the neighbourhood would be demolished and residents would have to leave their homes. Residents had no idea where they could go and municipal district authorities did not seem to care. Frida and other agents thus joined the community to help residents retain their homes. They built up a network of supporters that included various organisations and activist groups, cultural and educational institutions, architects, advocates, and more who were able to provide help at different phases of the struggle against the official plans. Individuals belonging to the network helped, for instance, by creating an official website, *bedriskaprejije.cz*, as well as a

Facebook profile for the neighbourhood in order to strengthen its presence in public discourse. As the network started to take form, various actors defined the problems that needed to be faced.

[S]hodli jsme se na tom, že to co je vlastně problémem tak je eh spekulace s veřejným bydlením a vůbec jako celá snaha privatizovat eh veřejné bydlení a prodat ho prodat ho postupně asi zřejmě nějakým developerům, eh vlastně zdemolovat a následně prodat pozemek, takže spekulace s bydlením spekulace s pozemky, a zároveň eh nerovný vztah nebo nerovný přístup k tomu bydlení, protože to co se děje eh nájemníkům na Bedřišce se vůbec neděje eh dalším nájemníkům třeba v jiné části Mariánských Hor a Hulváky. (Field, Ostrava, presentation at the Plato Museum, 24 November 2018)

‘[W]e agreed that the problem was the speculation with public housing and generally, the efforts to privatise public housing and eventually probably sell it to some developers – actually to demolish and then sell the land, hence the speculation with housing, speculation with land – and, at the same time, an unequal relationship or unequal access to housing. Because what happens to residents of Bedřiška does not happen at all to other residents, such as in other parts of Mariánské Hory and Hulváky.’

Aside from the speculation and privatisation of public housing and land as well as inequitable access to the housing market, Bedřiška residents and supporters identified the public representation of the locality as a major issue that needed to be dealt with.

[C]o jsme na začátku viděli zhruba před tím rokem, bylo to že, eh ten problém, že Bedřiška má hodně negativní obraz, že vlastně když se řekne Bedřiška tak veřejnosti, jednak buď většinou někdo neví kde vůbec eh ta osada leží a nebo nebo si ji spojí s nějakými články, které mluvili o tom eh, že tam žijou eh nepříznivě lidi a, eh že vlastně je nebezpečné tam vůbec se vydávat do těch končin. Ehm takže, a celý ten problém toho co se tam opravdu děje a za co ty obyvatelé opravdu chtějí bojovat a kdo jsou, tak vlastně zůstávalo takové jako pod pokličkou a vlastně nedostávalo se to dostatečně ven. (Field, Ostrava, presentation at the Plato Museum, 24 November 2018)

‘[W]hat we saw at the beginning, about a year ago, was the problem that Bedřiška has a very negative image. In fact, when people say Bedřiška, the public usually doesn’t know where the settlement lies at all or associates it with some articles talking about unadaptable people living there, and [thinks] that it’s actually dangerous to go there in this area. The whole problem of what’s really going on there and what residents really want to fight for and who they actually are remained below the surface, so to speak, and [wasn’t publicised] sufficiently.’

Based on their definition of the problem, the group then defined the strategies they wanted to follow: (1) Conducting activities in the public space; (2) networking and informing; and (3) providing legal help for neighbourhood residents. The supporters of Bedřiška began their activities in April 2018 and ever since, '*Bedřiška žila hodně*' 'Bedřiška has been very alive', as Frida said during her presentation.

Jak kočka a miš 'As the cat and the mouse'

While talking to residents of the neighbourhood, I encountered voices or positions that I have not yet mentioned. Some residents gave up on the struggle to retain their home, for instance, and found another solution. Others did not participate in protest activities.

On 30 June 2019, some residents I talked to in Bedřiška compared the never-ending back and forth in the struggle over decent housing or maybe even a decent life to the struggle between *kočka a miš* 'cat and mouse'. The cat, they said, would never stop chasing the mouse no matter what the latter did; in other words, there was a quasi-natural relation between the two. These Roma residents left the neighbourhood some months later. In contrast to the others, they were rather well off and had found a house for themselves and their children as well as an opportunity to secure a loan. But they were hardly the only ones who believed that the locality was unlikely to exist in a few years. Many could not withstand the insecurity of the situation created by the municipal district governor (e.g., short-term lease contracts, abandoned houses that left vacant by authorities without securing them; see Figure 2.22).

On 22 October 2019, a resident joined me as I walked through the neighbourhood and narrated, with a nostalgic regret, who used to live where and what they did in life; he knew them all, he said. Many had moved away or died. He pointed to one house and said that it used to be the most beautiful house. The people who had lived there had everything, including a garage and swings. In another house, an older man had lived there who was very sick. One day, he had gone to the hospital and died before even receiving treatment. He had left his car in the garden, but someone had taken it. The resident did not seem angry at anyone, but rather sad and accepting of the circumstances. Nonetheless, he was happy the "hostel" in the area had closed and was being demolished (see Figure 2.21). Moving and hauling away furniture costs money and not everybody can afford to relocate.

In contrast to this depoliticised account, on 8 May 2019, I paraphrased in my fieldnotes the voice of a Roma resident comparing the present to the communist era. Taking a critical stance, he narrated how people under the communist regime used to denounce others for not being good communists – even going so far as to denounce their own brothers and sisters. Still, he maintained

that ‘race’ was not such an issue back then and there were good jobs for everyone. What seemed to trouble him was not just the prejudice that he encountered in everyday life, but a deep insecurity and fear that what had happened under national socialism could happen again at any time.

Collecting and organising data

The day after my arrival in Ostrava on 27 August 2018, I visited Bedřiška to attend the planning workshop with the architects to which I had been invited. I expected that the workshop was for architects only, but figured I could attend as an observer. However, this status was quickly revealed as insufficient as I felt that I would not really be accepted by others if I did not participate. I was thus channelled into one of four groups in which I thought that I could contribute a little something with my knowledge. In other words, I became ‘part of the context being observed’ (Schwartz & Schwartz 1955: 344). After the workshop, the residents and their supporters allowed me to spend several days with them participating in various activities and organising my own research activities.

Despite gaining access to the field with relative ease, feelings of distrust were always very present in the neighbourhood and hindered carefree communication. When I entered the neighbourhood, it was never very long before somebody would arrive to welcome me; residents were monitoring their neighbourhood and were suspicious of outsiders; as such, any unusual activity created mistrust. So as I was walking through the neighbourhood with my camera on 14 October 2018, my phone soon rang. It was Ada, asking whether it was me walking through the locality with a camera as a neighbour had called her. Another time, a resident told me that someone had walked down the streets looking at the trees. She worried that the municipal district might plan to cut down the beautiful green trees that embellished the area.

The residents whom I came to know as most distrustful were adult Roma men. They were the only social group of residents who did not attend the focus group discussion that I organised with the help of Ada on 22 September 2018. However, their lack of attendance was not an explicit sign of distrust. On the contrary, after the discussion, they invited me to a little neighbourhood gathering with beer and snacks to which I added the remaining refreshments that I had brought with me in return for participation in my focus group discussion. That day, I noted the following in my notebook:

‘The men did not come to the discussion. They were busy with the beer... Ms P and Ms B want to bring them the remaining rolls and add homemade sausages and meatloaf. I join later; [I] am invited to sit down and get a beer. [Ada] is with me; she is asked first [and] gets a beer. Mr B is a bit distrustful. At the beginning, he asks me why my supervisor supervises my work and draws my attention to the fact that I could get in trouble. We discuss racism,

humans, the mood in the Czech Republic, the Holocaust, and how quickly people forget that this could happen again.’ (*Field, Bedřiška, notes*, 22 September 2018)¹⁷

The person whom I call ‘Mr B’ in my fieldnotes did not express distrust directly towards me as an individual, but mainly towards the people who may be influencing me – or rather, towards a system that works against them and the people who represent this system, of which I was somehow part. All this distrust went far beyond the local context and testified to the latent conflict within which the neighbourhood was embedded.

For my fieldwork, I participated more or less actively in various (public) events and activities in the neighbourhood. My fieldwork also involved attending (public) events in other parts of Ostrava, such as in the city of Prague (see Figure 2.13) or during an explorative trip to Slovakia. I further organised my own research activities. While attending, I attempted to follow principles of conflict sensitivity (SAAS 2017) to prevent my behaviour from negatively influencing relations between neighbours. This meant that I declined to talk to people when I felt that doing so might become a source of conflict, and I generally waited for them to show an interest in talking to me. I further organised and carried out my own activities in close collaboration with resident representatives, the so-called *leadři* ‘leaders’. These included Ada (a pseudonym), a former non-Roma resident whose daughter continued to live in the neighbourhood, and Avyaan, the community worker. Other residents – Roma and non-Roma, women and men, adults and teenagers – also helped me set up for events, and children were always around as well.

Inspired by a sociographic study by Jahoda, Lazarsfeld and Zeisler’s (1975 [1933]) on the effects of unemployment in the worker settlement of Marienthal, I further tried to give something back to people in return for the data I gathered from them. For instance, I helped out with the organisation of a community gathering, gave a lesson on photography, and offered a helping hand or other things if possible. I used these occasions as moments for data collection but also as a means to build trust in the hope that people might later tell me more about themselves at their own initiative. At the same time, I tried to preserve a certain distance as a researcher so as not to lose myself in political activism for the neighbourhood cause. This often required a difficult practice of balancing. A text that I found especially useful in understanding and handling my shifting stances

¹⁷ ‘Die Männer kamen nicht zu der Diskussion. Sie waren mit dem Bier... beschäftigt. Frau P und Frau B wollen ihnen die restlichen Brötchen bringen und selbst gemachte Wurst und Sekaná hinzufügen. Ich komme später hinzu, werde eingeladen mich zu setzen, bekomme ein Bier. [Ada] ist bei mir, sie wird zuerst gebeten und bekommt ein Bier. Herr B ist etwas misstrauisch. Zu Beginn fragt er mich, warum mich mein Betreuer betreut, macht mich darauf aufmerksam, dass ich Probleme kriegen könnte. Wir diskutieren über Rassismus, Menschen, die Stimmung in Tschechien, den Holocaust, und wie schnell Menschen vergessen, dass so etwas erneut passieren könnte’ (*Field, Bedřiška, notes*, 22 September 2018).

as a participant observer in relation to the observed was an article by Schwartz & Schwartz (1955) about problems in participant observation.

I followed the community closely during several periods across several months (between 28 August 2018 and 29 February 2020). This means that I did not follow the community during a lengthy, uninterrupted timespan as is traditionally the case in ethnographic work (cf. Heller, Pietikäinen & Pujolar 2018: 73). Table 2.1 below lists the most important events and activities along with the number of days that I spent in field. When I was not present on the ground, I followed the community on Facebook and stayed in contact with individuals (mainly community leaders) on the ground. I also decided to maintain contact with the neighbourhood community even after the end of my fieldwork (see Eriksen 2001: 24–29) but gave up on that plan once relationships between residents became more conflicted. Nonetheless, I maintained contact with some key actors up until the end of my work.

Table 2.1: Days and events spent with residents

Date	Event	Primary research activities
28–31 Aug. 2018	Workshop in Bedřiška with architects	Participating in workshop activities as a member of the group working on social and architectural participation
22–23 Sept. 2018	(Deliberative) focus group discussion with residents at the community centre in Bedřiška	- Organising and recording the audio of a focus group discussion - Sitting, eating, drinking, and talking to residents at the intersection in Bedřiška
24 Sept. 2018	Neighbourhood meeting at the community centre in Bedřiška	Listening to Ada, Avyaan, and social workers as they inform residents about City Council decisions concerning the demolition of the neighbourhood
27 Sept. 2018	Residents talk publicly about their activities during the political event <i>Vzpourná Praha: Dny práva na město</i> 'Rebellious Prague: Days of the right to the City' in Prague	- Listening to and recording the audio of a moderated talk - Spending time with and talking to residents engaged in the neighbourhood's protest activities
14–15 Oct. 2018	Visit to Bedřiška to take photographs	- Talking to a group of Roma residents about the results of local elections that had taken place one week prior - Talking to Ada about the election results, the current demolition of a former "hostel", and rumours of municipal district plans to demolish a vacant house in the neighbourhood following the demolition of the former "hostel" - Spontaneous photo session with children from Bedřiška

24 Nov. 2018	Event <i>Minority? Majorita? Komunita? Bedřiška!</i> 'Minority? Majority? Community? Bedřiška!' at the Plato Museum in Ostrava	- Participating in workshops offered by residents and listening to concerts - Listening to and recording the audio of a presentation titled <i>Co se stalo a co bude s osadou Bedřiška</i> 'What happened and what will happen to the settlement of Bedřiška'
15–16 Dec. 2018	Christmas event at the community centre in Bedřiška	- Organising and preparing a Christmas event with Ada - Playing with children, sitting and talking to residents - Lengthy conversations with Ada about the history of Bedřiška
28 Feb. 2019	Meeting between social workers and youth from Bedřiška or other socially excluded neighbourhoods at the <i>Pant</i> centre (Ostrava) in view of the empowering youth	Talking with youth in view of the organisation of another focus group discussion in Bedřiška
23 March 2019	Residents talk publicly about their activities during the festival <i>Žižkovská noc</i> 'The night of Žižkov' in Prague	- Listening to and recording the audio of a presentation - Sitting with and talking to residents
25–29 April 2019	(Deliberative) focus group discussion with youth in the community centre in Bedřiška	- Organising and preparing a focus group discussion with youth - Asking seven teenagers from Bedřiška what needed to be done so that Roma and non-Roma people could live with each other in relative peace, with a focus on their neighbourhood and youth - A lengthy talk about the history of Bedřiška with social worker Avyaan
7–9 May 2019	<i>Majáles</i> 'Rag day' celebration in Bedřiška	- Helping a group of residents prepare for the celebration - Talking to residents, social workers, and other supporters - A lengthy talk with a Roma resident and later with his family - Visiting the religious centre <i>Don Bosco</i> and talking to a religious worker and resident of Bedřiška; accompanying her and her children to the religious ceremony
30 June – 3 July 2019	Trip to Slovakia to meet and find inspiration from people working for the non-profit organisation <i>ETP Slovakia</i> , which had set up a housing project that won the Civil Society Prize awarded by the	- Attending a neighbourhood meeting in the community centre - Talking to residents - Driving to places close to the city of Košice (e.g., Rankovce, Kojatice, Lenartov) with Ada, Avyaan, and various residents to see different

	European Economic and Social Committee	places where houses are being built by Roma families
30 August 2019	Interview	- Listening and talking to people involved in the building project - Interviewing architect Tomáš in a restaurant in Ostrava - Briefly visiting Bedřiška and talking to residents (who worried about vacant houses)
4 September 2019	Interview	Interviewing academic and activist Frida at a café in Ostrava
22 October 2019	Neighbourhood meeting at the community centre in Bedřiška	Observing a community meeting with residents, social workers, academics and activists in response to a 2 October 2020 article in the newspaper <i>Moravskoslezský deník</i> 'Moravian-Silesian Daily' titled <i>Ghette Ostravy: Bedřiška, fekální exkurze v brlohu nejhorší spodiny</i> 'Ghettos of Ostrava: Bedřiška, fecal excursion in the den of the worst scum'
23–24 October 2019	Protest activities in Bedřiška	- Observing students as they creatively paste houses with protest messages - Helping Ada prepare snacks for participants - Observing and listening to a press conference organised at the community centre - Talking to residents - Delivering a course on photography
23 December 2019	Christmas party in Bedřiška	- Talking to residents, Ada, Frida, and other visitors
9 February 2020	Interview	Interviewing a key resident, Dan, in Bedřiška

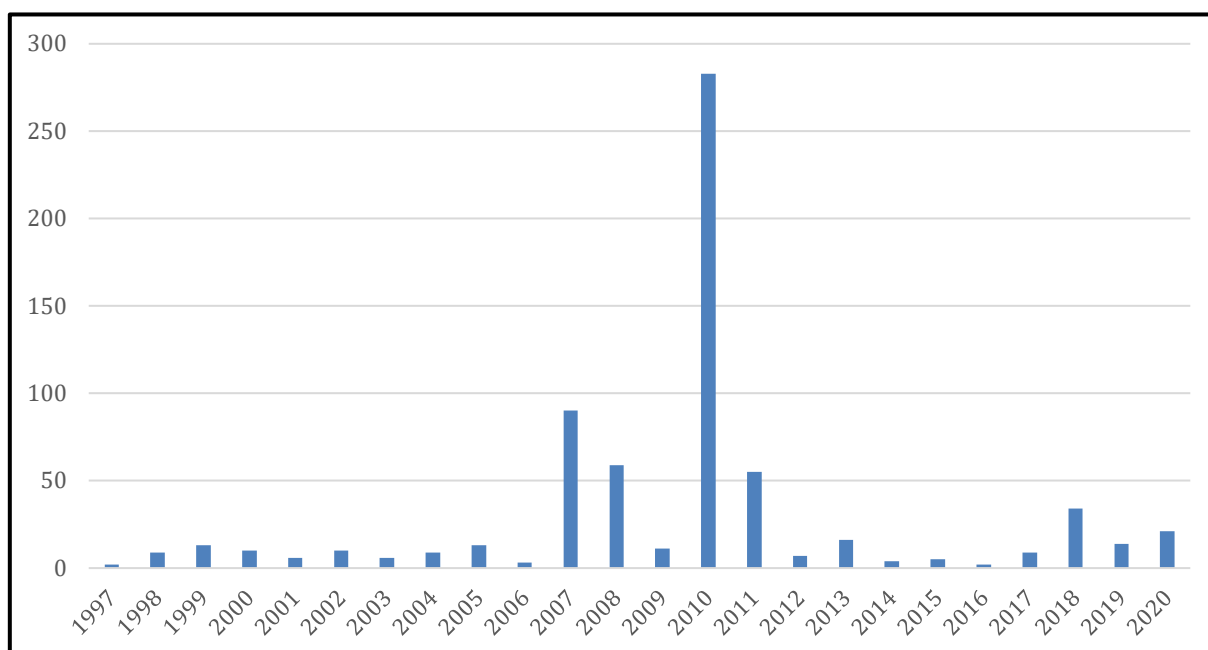
During the occasions listed in Table 2.1, I collected various data by observing participant activities, eliciting their accounts, and gathering material traces (e.g., Heller, Pietikäinen & Pujolar 2018). I wrote fieldnotes, and carried out and recorded unstructured interviews (cf. Briggs 1995; see also Bertaux 2005) along with (deliberative) focus group discussions (cf. Lamnek 1995; Smithson 2009; Steiner et al. 2017). I also collected materials related to events, such as videos, presentations, pictures, leaflets, Facebook posts, e-mails, news releases, etc. Finally, I extracted print and online news reports and radio/television broadcasts from the Newton Media Database, which contains text from all major news media published in the Czech Republic at local, regional, and national levels since 1996. To make the quantity of news media reports manageable, I decided to focus on print news media texts only. In return, I did not make any further selection of print media. The following table gives an overview of all the collected data.

Table 2.2: Data collected in the field

Type of data	Description	Tokens
Fieldnotes	Notes of personal experiences, observations, and conversations with different actors (August 2018–July 2021)	193 p.
Focus group discussions	Recorded discussions between 8 and 10 participants starting with the question: What needs to be done so that Roma and/or non-Roma people can live together peacefully? Participants were further asked to focus on their own experience. The first discussion was organised with adults and the second with youth	2
Interviews	Unstructured interviews with key actors	4
(Video-)recordings of discussions and presentations (primary and secondary data)	A community meeting, city council meetings, public discussions, and presentations with residents in the neighbourhood or during external events	7
Posters, pictures, and presentations (primary and secondary data)	Posters and drawing created by students and children during the planning workshop with architects, photographs, PowerPoint presentations	95
Institutional documents	Minutes of City Council meetings	6
Print news articles	Texts taken from the Newton Media archive, which contains all major newspapers written in Czech	656
Other collected data	E-mails, texts, Facebook posts, leaflets, etc.	–

In line with the principle of triangulation, my analysis is not based simply on different methods and theories; I also collected a range of data and types of background information. As Reisigl & Wodak (2016: 35) note, the juxtaposition of different sources of data minimises the risk of being too subjective. Nonetheless, Heller, Pietikäinen & Pujolar (2018: 73) observe that data collection is always a process of data production.

In a first step, I decided to focus mainly but not only on print news media texts as they enabled me to map the history of the neighbourhood, which – as I realised pretty quickly – played a central role in the residents' arguments for their cause (see section above). To find out the most relevant discursive events in this regard, I counted the numbers of contributions that mentioned the neighbourhood from 1997 to 2020, as 1998 marked the year that the local government's housing policy first began to be implemented. The following Figure illustrates the number of print news media articles per year in which the neighbourhood was mentioned.

Figure 2.22: Number of print news articles per year mentioning Bedřiška

The Figure and a subsequent review of the articles and headings (cf. van Dijk 1977) allowed me to identify four major dialogic-affective events. The following table lists these discursive events.

Table 2.3: Main dialogic-affective events

Time/period	Discursive event	Tokens
1998–1999	Housing policy: announcement of plans and start of implementation	9
2007–2008	Liana Janáčková’s racist comments: during a semi-public meeting with residents, the then-senator and municipal district mayor uttered racist statements that were recorded and made public	124
2010	An arson attack on a Roma family in Bedřiška	216
2018	A planning workshop with architects in Bedřiška	6

I thus identified four major discursive events whereby a higher number of tokens indicates a reach and relevance of the event far beyond the local and regional scale (see Janáčková’s racist comments in 2007–2008 and the arson attack of 2010). In 2018, print news reporting focused on various protests related to resident struggles for housing while the planning workshop with architects earned the most attention in print news media discourse.

In a second step, I decided that my analysis should focus on different genres (e.g., print news media texts and public discussions) in order to integrate, combine, and contrast different – yet interdependent – levels of context and social dialogue. The data collected for the third and fourth events comprised (video)recordings of a discussion; I thus decided to place the focus of my analysis

on such interactional data, which I transcribed with the help of programs such as EXMARaLDA Partitur Editor or F5transkript. For the other recordings, I created a *précis* for each, listening to them and making notes about the content and issues I considered relevant (cf. Blommaert & Jie 2010: 68).

In a third step, I analysed each dialogic-affective event as a relatively separate unit. To analyse these semiotic events, I employed strategies of mapping (and categorising), tracing, connecting, and claiming (cf. Heller, Pietikäinen & Pujolar 2018: 103–126). As Heller, Pietikäinen & Pujolar (2018) explain, mapping consists of describing data; tracing means to offer possible explanations; and connecting refers to linking observations to a bigger picture. All of these analytical activities involve interpretation and are therefore deeply embedded in society and dialogic-affective discourse.

3 Legitimising segregation

The ethnicisation of poverty and/or 'uncivil' behaviour

In 1997, the neighbourhood and former miners' settlement of Bedřiška appeared in print news media discourse cast only in a positive or ordinary light of leisure activities. The regional daily newspaper *Svoboda* 'Liberty' informed its readers about yearly fishing competitions that took place 'under Bedřiška' on 4 April; on 21 July, it also lists the result of the neighbourhood's mini football team. In 1998, the neighbourhood must have looked very similar to today. The textual voice of an article in the national newspaper *Mladá fronta DNES* 'Young front TODAY' (4 November 1998), for instance, somewhat romanticises the neighbourhood of little Finnish houses as *odlehl[á] vesnice* 'a remote village' wherein *se zastavil čas* 'time stays still'. The article further quotes a young resident saying that his home is a much better alternative to living in 'slab block estates' as *Děti mohou kdykoliv vyběhnout na zahradu, je tu klid, všichni se tady znají, myslím, že by o takové bydlení měla zájem spousta mladých rodin* 'children can run out in the garden at any time, it's quiet, [and] everyone knows each other here; I think a lot of young families would be interested in this kind of housing' (*Mladá fronta DNES* 4 November 1998).

Many senior citizens and young people, and both Roma and/or non-Roma residents, lived together in Bedřiška well before the municipal district mayor decided to initiate a new housing policy. Even today, many residents repair the old wooden houses at their own expense, regardless of ownership (cf. *Mladá fronta DNES* 4 November 1998; *Opavský a hlavičský deník* 10 August 2007). It is thus hardly a surprise that many residents would refuse to promptly leave their homes when asked to do so.

Finnish houses

An article in the 10 August 2007 edition of the local newspaper *Opavský a hlavičský deník* 'Opava and Hlučín Daily' describes the appearance of the Finnish houses, explaining why one finds them in the city of Ostrava and its environs. Finnish houses are small wooden housing units with a yard and a garden. In Ostrava, one mainly finds single storey houses containing one or two housing units. What is particularly practical about these houses is that they can be built on a prepared foundation in several days, which is why they were used in response to the housing crisis that debilitated Europe after World War II. At that time, the humanitarian organisation United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation and Administration (UNRRA) built Finnish houses all over Europe. Other European countries that were largely spared from bombing campaigns during the war, such as Poland and the Czech Republic, largely avoided the crisis. Nonetheless, the new communist government considered the city of Ostrava to be an industrial stronghold. This resulted in an increase in mining activities there and, in turn, the migration of workers and the construction of worker settlements. For this reason, several hundred Finnish houses were built in the city of Ostrava after World War II. The settlement of Bedřiška includes several streets of such houses (*Opavský a hlavičský deník* 10 August 2007).

In 1998, the municipal district government of Mariánské Hory a Hulváky (one of 23 municipal districts in the city of Ostrava) initiated a new housing policy. In an interview that appeared in the local daily newspaper *Ostravský den* ‘Ostravian day’ on 18 December, the then-municipal district mayor referred to the policy as a *plán* ‘plan’ that could be called *kulový blesk* ‘ball lightning’. She further characterised it as an effort *na stěhování* ‘to relocate’ residents within a timeframe of ‘four to eight years’ (cf. *Ostravský den*, 18 December 1998). This housing policy involved the relocation of mainly Roma residents from the municipal district centre to its margins and the former working-class neighbourhood of Bedřiška was one such marginal place. The policy targeted primarily those struck by poverty, that is, people lacking the capability to meet their own basic needs (cf. Kvasnička 2010: 6; Paugam 2008: 7–16). But even more affluent Roma citizens were affected by the policy, which resulted in a deterioration of their social status. During one of my stays in the neighbourhood, a resident named Dan (I use pseudonyms) stated that he had to move with his wife and children from an apartment with four rooms and a kitchen located in the district centre to one with a single room and a kitchen located in Bedřiška:

Ona nás tady přestěbovala [...] vedle radnice tam jsme měli 4+1, no a prostě odkoupil to jakýsi majitel [...], oni se zřnali společně tak prostě to odkoupili, a nás chtěli odstěbovat, buďto na Červený Kříž a nebo na do Vítkovic na Siročí a nebo Palackého do Přívoza. No a tady to bylo už poslední. Kdybych to nebral tak už jsem na Palackého nebo ve Vítkovicích. No a nastěbovali jsme se do 1+1 na šest lidí. (Field, Bedřiška, interview with Dan, 9 February 2020)

‘She moved us here [...] Next to the town hall, we had a 4 + 1 and [...] some kind of landlord of [...] bought it. They knew each other, so [the landlord] just bought it, and they wanted to move us either to Červený Kříž or to Vítkovice to Siročí or to Palackého in Přívoz. This here was the last thing: If I didn’t take it, I would be at Palackého or in Vítkovice. [So,] we moved [six people] into a 1 + 1.’

Dan and his family thus had to move into a much smaller apartment, leading to a concrete decline in their quality of life.

Why were district residents willing to accept to a housing policy that intervened in such a fundamental way in their own (or their fellow citizens’) personal lives and liberties, especially when it deprived them of a need as elementary as decent housing? How was it possible that a democratically elected government – whose prospects for re-election depend upon its *legitimacy* (i.e., upon the belief of citizens that its decisions are reasonable and in alignment with their social values; (cf. Benhabib 1994; Weber 2013 [1920-1921]) – could implement a segregated housing policy so

confidently? Balibar (1991 [1988]) observes that the act of making someone tolerate or even become complicit in violent practices against another group of citizens always involves discursive *misrecognition*. This everyday theory offers a language (and interpretative keys) to members of a sociocultural group, enabling the group to evaluate and relate to members of another sociocultural group in discriminatory ways. At the same time, there also needs to be a ‘violent desire’ to apprehend (and apply) this language (cf. Balibar 1991a [1988]: 19). In any case, the municipal district government of Mariánské Hory a Hulváky had to legitimise its policy in a way that ensured support from a majority of district residents. News media texts play a key role in this respect as they enable politicians to mediate theories, emotions, or ideas.

In a democratic system, the news media should ideally take the position of ‘a mandatory of and enlightened public whose willingness to learn and capacity for criticism they at once presuppose, demand, and reinforce’ (Habermas 1998: 378). Yet Habermas (1998: 377) also observed that the media frequently depoliticises the public sphere by focusing on entertainment and simplifying complex issues rather than adequately informing citizens. This tension inevitably arises from the fact that news media are embedded in an economic market as well as a political system. Fairclough (1995) therefore writes that ‘media discourse should be regarded as the site of complex and often contradictory processes’ (47). Media texts are cultural commodities, but they also convey important political and social information; they are cultural artefacts with a particular aesthetics that reflect on, reproduce, and shift socio-cultural values and positions (cf. Fairclough 1995: 47–48). It could be argued that these contradictory processes contribute to the inherently multivocal nature of news media texts.

This chapter traces the *trajectory of news media coverage* between 1998 and 2002 in response to the municipal district’s new housing policy. How was the district government’s housing policy legitimated and challenged by the news media? To answer this question, I categorise news media discourse into different phases. I am particularly interested in what I call *stance acts of social exclusion* taken by participants in this media discourse. These acts misidentified groups of citizens to legitimise the political violence directed against them in the present case of segregation. At the same time, social exclusion also makes citizens complicit in the violent practices carried out against this group. Next, the chapter discusses my conception of a stance of social exclusion. Then, I present my analysis of the different phases of news media reporting. Finally, the chapter concludes with a discussion of the findings.

Dialogic-affective stances of exclusion

Burchardt et al. (2002) detail how in order to understand the concept of *social exclusion*, one can go as far back as Max Weber. As Parkin (1979: 44–45) explains, Weber argued that exclusion is a form of social closure brought about by one social group to secure a privileged position for itself; this is achieved through a process of subordinating another social group (see also Burchardt, Le Grand & Piachaud 2002: 2). Similarly, Jordan (1996, after Burchardt, Le Grand & Piachaud 2002: 2) argues that social exclusion is actively caused by one group against another. Burchardt et al. (2002: 6) further describe social exclusion as a concept that goes beyond related ideas (such as poverty or deprivation) because it not only enables the inclusion of different dimensions (such as non-material forms of deprivation), but also outcomes that are unrelated to low levels of income.

The breadth of the concept of social exclusion nonetheless gave rise to various critiques, especially once the concept became widely used and promoted by international, regional, and national political bodies in the 1990s (e.g., Levitas 2005 [1998]; Fairclough 1999; Fairclough 2000). For instance, Levitas (1996: 7) argued that it obscures questions of material inequality. Touraine (1991) noted a shift from a vertical to a horizontal perception of society. In a vertical society, people consider themselves to be either ‘up or down’ in society (and accordingly pursue more equal political alternatives). But in a horizontal society, it is all about being ‘in’ or ‘out’ of the majority group. This shift in perspective is closely related to the marginalisation, segregation, and appearance of urban ghettos as they exist in the United States (cf. Touraine 1991: 9).

From a perspective that is more analytical than critical, Barry (2002) questioned what social exclusion actually means and distinguished it from terms such as ‘social isolation’ and ‘poverty’. His discussion is especially interesting for the present purpose as it provides the ground to situate the role of discourse within the broader idea of social exclusion. Barry (2002) observed that social exclusion has two thresholds: a lower and an upper one. Where the former points to the existence of a minority being deprived of participation in majority institutions (e.g., unequal access to decent housing), the latter differentiates between those who participate in common institutions and those in an elite minority group who decided to deliberately disconnect from them. Disconnection can be carried out through, for instance, the creation of elite schools, gated communities, or exclusive clubs. Whether caused by isolation due to discriminatory practices or by voluntary isolation that occurs without major external constraints, both divides inevitably infringe upon the values of social justice and social solidarity – and are thus closely related to social exclusion (cf. Barry 2002: 16–26).

According to Barry (2002: 16–26), social justice implies the relative equality of opportunity (e.g., access to education, transportation, political participation). In contrast, social solidarity refers to a feeling of fellowship that reaches beyond personal contacts to include strangers as equal human

beings – or what Anderson (1999 [1983]) calls ‘imagined community’(6). Barry (2002) concludes that social exclusion is a phenomenon distinct from poverty or economic inequality, but nonetheless closely related to both. After all, if decent and affordable housing were a human right, then individual levels of income would become much less important. And if everyone attended publicly funded schools, their inclusion would presumably contribute to an overall better quality of education and greater chances of securing a relatively well-paid job in the future (cf. Barry 2002: 26–29).

It can be deduced from the discussion above that the ideas inherent to social exclusion – social justice and social solidarity – are closely associated with one another. The subject of analysis studied here is participation in discourse and society, which in this case occurs through access to decent housing. That is also the overall topic of the discourse under investigation. Within housing discourse, access to housing can, to a certain extent, be denied to some groups of people. As discussed above, the legitimization of violence implies a *misidentification* of the group being excluded that infringes on the value of justice or equality as well as solidarity. Consequently, the act of misidentification relocates them from an ‘ingroup’ to an ‘outgroup’ (Touraine 1991), or from the city center to the ghetto. From a horizontal perspective, it positions some as superior and others as inferior, or it allows some to access decent housing and deprives others of it.

To continue the discussion from the chapter on methodology, it is worth pointing out that social exclusion is closely related to affect. As such, Wetherell et al. (2015) write that, ‘[a]ffective-discursive practices construct relations of proximity and distance, affiliation and detachment, and inclusion and exclusion’ (58). From this, it follows that ‘exclusion’ is an act involving both affect and discourse. The act further constructs relations of either proximity/distance or affiliation/detachment; whereas the former pair concerns a spatial and/or bodily relation, the second refers to an ideological relation. But as argued above, an act of *social exclusion* does not simply imply a relation of affiliation/detachment and proximity/distance (in and/or out). It also implicates inequality and/or hierarchy (up and/or down), and thus power, dominance, and/or injustice. Whereas relationships of affiliation/detachment and proximity/distance can be grasped alongside ideas of (dis)alignment, power or dominance is grasped with the idea of positioning oneself and/or others as either superior or inferior. A *stance act of social exclusion* thus implies misidentification, disalignment, and the positioning of another as inferior or the self as superior respectively. This act affects space in the sense that it may materialise as injustice (e.g., denied access to decent housing and subsequent ghettoization).

Over the years, various perspectives have identified different discriminatory discourses, including, classism (Barone 2007), ethnicism (van Dijk 1991), racism (Essed 1991; Reisigl & Wodak

2001), Orientalism (Said 1979), or elitism (Thurlow & Jaworski 2006; Mapes 2021). As discussed in the introduction to this study, the process of civilisation or the creation of the ‘modern’ self by elites is, to a certain extent, related to these discursive phenomena. In this regard, Norbert Elias (1973) presented a socio- and psycho-historical account of the social formation of people’s or selves by elites through the social regulation of affect (see also Foucault 1984). In this way, so-called civilised manners, conventions, and power relations imagined by elites become more or less embodied by members of different sociocultural groups. Hygiene, manners, and etiquette often play a particularly central role. As I argued in chapter 1, antigypsyism – yet another discriminatory discourse – is closely entangled with the construction of a ‘modern’ self as well as a capitalist economic order.

In what follows, I show how the municipal district government of Mariánské Hory a Hulváky misrecognised residents in order to legitimise social exclusion. To do this I trace the *trajectory of news media coverage* between 1998 and 2002. How was the district government’s housing policy legitimated and challenged by the news media? The categorisation of news media discourse into different phases enables me to answer this question.

Phase 1: News media voice the municipal district government’s authoritarian-paternalistic stance

On 16 May 1998, the daily regional newspaper *Svoboda* informed its readers about the role of the Bedřiška neighbourhood in the housing plans of the municipal district government of Mariánské Hory a Hulváky for the first time. A longer article, titled *Chťejí poskytnout pozemek na stavbu: Osada Bedřiška je určena hlavně Romům* ‘They want to provide land for construction: The Bedřiška settlement is intended mainly for Roma’, appeared in the local section for North-Moravia. A shortened version of the same article, titled *Osada pro Romy: Poskytnou pozemek na stavbu kolonie* ‘A settlement for Roma: They provide land for the construction of a colony’, appeared in the local section for Silesia and retextualised key points from the former. As the titles suggest, the articles introduce readers to the district government’s plans to build a new settlement for Roma people in Bedřiška. They thus align rather uncritically with the voice of the government, although they include a response from a Roma actor.

As van Dijk (1977: 27, 29) explains, titles are ‘macro-propositions’ that summarise, frame, and indicate to the reader what will be said in the main text. When it comes to the press treatment of an ‘ethnic event’, van Dijk (1991: 245) observes that the structure and style of titles do not simply communicate the topic of a news report. Rather, they often foreground the negative role that the ethnic minority plays in the story. Within the title of the lengthier article that appeared in the

newspaper *Svoboda* (16 May 1998), the textual voice positions and evaluates the government as a generous donor vis-à-vis the Roma community, which it constructs as the recipient of this opportunity. The main text then elaborates on the claim expressed subtly in the title.

Excerpt 3.1: *Svoboda*, 16 May 1998 (my English translation below)

01 *Chtějí poskytnout pozemek na stavbu:*

- 02 *Osada Bedřiška je určena hlavně Romům*
 03 *OSTRAVA. Radnice městského obvodu Ostrava Mariánské Hory a Hulváky*
 04 *nabízí zdejší romské komunitě pozemek k výstavbě nové kolonie Bedřiška.*
 05 *„Naši romští spoluobčané po nás chtějí kromě sociálních dávek hlavně bydlení“ řekl Svobodě místostarosta*
 06 *ostravského obvodu Mariánské Hory a Hulváky Jiří Jezerský. S bydlením pro Romy má však obvodní radnice*
 07 *trvalé problémy, protože v obecních bytech žije mnoho nepříznivých rodin,*
 08 *kteří je devastují a navíc velmi často neplatí nájemné.*

01 They want to provide land for construction:

- 02 The Bedřiška settlement is mainly intended for Roma
 03 OSTRAVA. The town hall of the district Ostrava Mariánské Hory a Hulváky offers ground to the
 04 local Roma community for the construction of a new settlement Bedřiška.
 05 ‘Aside from social benefits, our fellow Roma citizens mainly want housing from us’, Jiří Jezerský, deputy
 06 mayor of the Ostravian municipal district Mariánské Hory and Hulváky, told *Svoboda*. But the district town
 07 hall has long-term problems with housing for Roma as many unadaptable families living
 08 in municipal flats devastate them. In addition, [the families] very often do not pay their rent.

The textual voice continues to either construct the government as a generous donor or to entextualise the latter’s voice – or both. As one can read in line 4, the local authority *nabízí* ‘offers ground’ for the *zdejší romská komunita* ‘local Roma community’. The deputy mayor’s objectified voice then refers to this community using the inclusive nomination *[n]aši romští spoluobčané* ‘our fellow Roma citizens’ (line 5), emphasising their belonging to the locality and political community of citizens.

Still, there is a certain ambiguity inherent to the government’s objectified voice. For instance, the article quotes deputy district mayor Jiří Jezerský stating in line 5 that *Naši romští spoluobčané po nás chtějí kromě sociálních dávek hlavně bydlení* ‘Aside from social benefits, our fellow Roma citizens mainly want housing from us’. The deputy mayor’s utterance, which can also be read sarcastically, reveals a certain ambiguity in his voice: he first constructs a specific group of people as Roma, thereby positions them as distinct from the non-Roma (probably meaning ethnic Czech) community of *spoluobčané* ‘citizens’. Interestingly, the meaning of the utterance changes completely

when one substitutes ‘wanting’ with ‘needing’ – that is, when one reads the quotation as ‘aside from social benefits, our fellow Roma citizens mainly [need] housing from us’. The choice of the verb *chtít* ‘to want’ implies that the Roma actually do not need it. And it goes without saying that the need for ‘social assistance’ is a clear indication of vulnerability indexical of poverty in this context. In lines 8 and 9, the textual voice further refers to Roma residents as ‘many unadaptable families’ that *devastují* ‘devastate’ flats and *velmi často neplatí nájemné* ‘very often do not pay the rent’. These evaluations further index poverty.

What can thus be observed here is a sort of poverty classism that misidentifies the poor from an ethnic and superior (albeit ambiguously inclusive) moral position. How can this ambiguity inherent to the government’s stance be explained? In her analysis of persuasion in relations of inequality on the basis of class, ‘race’, or gender, Jackman (1994) argues that the justification for such a relation is especially effective when based on subtle persuasive techniques rather than blatant and hostile force. *Paternalism* situates affection and discrimination next to each other, but without hostility; it is characterised by a positive feeling for a group that is nonetheless combined with an intention to discriminate (cf. Jackman 1994: 9–11). In this sense, it can be argued that the government takes a *paternalistic stance*. However, the local authorities’ voice involves hostility as it combines a somehow caring, inclusive style with a sort of *authoritarianism* that emphasises moral superiority and dominance. This dominance is perhaps what Jackman (1994: 15) calls ‘that other element’ associated with ‘love’ that comprises an ‘intricate and complex emotional bond’. Such bonds can make a person believe that love is overrated because it does not provide protection in a relationship; on the contrary, love can make a person accept a relation of dominance.

The textual voice takes an *uncritical stance* aligning with the government’s ‘double-voiced’ (cf. Bakhtin 1984 [1929]: 184–198; Androutsopoulos 2011: 283) discourse. This is marked by the ‘endorsement’ of the latter’s words through use of the reporting word *řekl* ‘told’, in line 6 (cf. White 2003: 270). The contradiction inherent to the government’s stance is marked by the counter-expectational *vsak* ‘but’. In the same line, the article quotes the deputy mayor explaining that the *nová vesnička* ‘the new village’ is meant for a specific segment of Roma residents.

Excerpt 3.2: Svoboda, 16 May 1998 (my English translation below)

- 01 „Nejlepším řešením stávající situace by mohla být výstavba nové kolonie domků, na niž
 02 jsme ochotni poskytnout pozemek,“ uvedl místostarosta Jezerský. Nová vesnička má být určena „pro
 03 romskou komunitu, zejména pro tu její část, která odmítá přijmout životní styl, na nějž je zvyklá drtivá většina
 04 obyvatel v České republice, a který je v městském prostoru obvyklý.“

01 ‘The best solution to the current situation could be the construction of a new settlement of houses, for
 02 which we are willing to provide land’, said Deputy Mayor Jezerský. The new village is meant ‘for the
 03 Roma community, especially for the part of it that refuses to accept the lifestyle to which the vast majority
 04 of the population in the Czech Republic is accustomed, and which is common in the urban space’.

Note how Roma residents are constructed as a *komunita* ‘community’ divided into different *části* ‘parts’ (line 3). The deputy mayor further constructs the ostensible target of the plan as the group of Roma people who *odmítá přijmout životní styl* ‘refuse to accept the lifestyle’ of the majority of residents (line 3). This lifestyle is then constructed as specifically urban.

The ‘village of coexistence’

Alternatively, the expression *nová vesnička* ‘new village’ (line 2) might allude to another Ostravian project called *Vesnička soužití* ‘village of coexistence’ under construction at the time. As I was told, and as recounted in the 16 April 2007 edition of the journal *Romano bangos*, the idea was to build houses for Roma, non-Roma, and mixed families who had lost their homes to floods in 1997. In response to the flooding, Avyaan decided to join the (mainly poor) Roma families who had lost their homes and were living in provisional housing. Working with them and another colleague, he came up with the idea of constructing the village (cf. Žurovcová & Vishwanathan 2015: 15–16). This led to the foundation of the organisation *Vzájemné soužití* ‘Mutual coexistence’. The project was realised by the association of Avyaan, the Roma families, and his colleague in cooperation with the *Diecézní charita ostravsko-opavsko* ‘Diocesan Charity of Ostrava-Opava’ and through both local and external funding. Officially opened on 17 September 2002, the village is comprised of 30 houses and a community centre (cf. Charita Česká Republika 2022: n.d.).

As Bogdal (2011: 133–140) explains, the dichotomy between urban and rural spaces occupies a prominent role in the history of the construction of “gypsies”. It mirrors the dichotomy between the ‘civilised’ and ‘wild’ forest dwellers, a divide that aligned with ethnic and social boundaries prevalent in the eighteenth century. At the time, “gypsies” were misrecognised as forest people who lived in an ‘uncivilized’ and foreign territory together with ‘witches’ and ‘thieves’ or other marginalised and impoverished people; it was commonly believed that they pursued an ‘uncivilized’ and irreligious lifestyle that needed to be avoided or eliminated (cf. Bogdal 2011: 133–140). Similarly, the deputy mayor constructs a dichotomy between *městský prostor* ‘an urban space’ and a rural space in which *vesničky* ‘villages’ are more common (lines 2 and 4). The Roma people and *zejména*, ‘especially’ the ones with a lifestyle different from that of the majority in society, are positioned outside of the ‘civilised’ urban space. Instead, they belong to the rural space – or more specifically, to the margins of the district. The lifestyle of a segment of the Roma community

and/or poverty thus becomes the reason that justifies the relocation of Roma residents to the outskirts.

Why does the municipal district government choose to take such an *authoritarian-paternalistic stance*? According to Jackman (1994: 11), the function of such a seemingly amicable relationship is to prevent or subvert a possible conflict. This seems especially true in case of a local politician seeking re-election in the future, as a politician’s victory could depend on electoral support from Roma citizens. An alternative reason could be that at this point in the plan, the district government still counted on Roma foundations for financial support. As such, the reader of the same *Svoboda* article would learn that the project should *v žádném případě* ‘by no means’ be financed by the district, but by *nejrůznějších romských nadací* ‘various Roma foundations’. In line with Bell (1984), it can be argued that the government aimed to balance contradictory voices in order to meet the expectations of different audiences (electoral groups, in this case).

One might question the efficiency of such a strategy of persuasion. The textual voice quotes the objectified voice of Josef Facuna, who is characterised as the *[p]ředseda Romské občanské iniciativy a romský podnikatel* ‘the Chairman of the Roma Citizen Initiative and a Roma businessman’. Facuna approves of the government’s plans and aligns with its stance.

Excerpt 3.3: *Svoboda*, 16 May 1998 (my English translation below)

01 *Předseda Romské občanské iniciativy a romský podnikatel Josef Facuna projekt osady Bedřiška hodnotí jako*
 02 *velmi dobrý. „Neměli by tam ale jít ti naši nejhorší lidé, chtěli bychom naopak v této osadě ukázat, že umíme*
 03 *něco vytvořit a dovedeme žít stejně slušně jako bílí,“ řekl Svobodě Facuna.*

01 Chairman of the Roma Citizen Initiative and Roma businessmen Josef Facuna evaluated the project Bedřiška
 02 as very good. ‘But our worst people should not go there. On the contrary, we would like to show that in
 03 this settlement, we can build something and we can live as decently as whites’, Facuna said to *Svoboda*.

Josef Facuna’s objectified voice evaluates the district’s plan as *velmi dobrý* ‘very good’ (line 2). He then characterises it as an opportunity for the Roma to show that they are able to live *stejně slušně jako bílí* ‘as decently as whites’ (line 3). He further adds a qualifying clause, saying that *naši nejhorší lidé* ‘our worst people’ (line 2) should not be the ones to live in the new settlement (whereby he implies that they are not capable of doing so). Consequently, the objectified voice of ‘the Chairman of the Roma Citizen Initiative’ aligns not only with the differentiation between the better and *nejhorší* ‘worst’ (line 2) Roma, but also with the positioning of his Roma self as inferior to *bílí* ‘whites’ (line 3); as his use of the pronoun *naši* ‘our’ (line 2) reveals, he identifies as Roma. In this context,

the ‘better’ life of “white” people appears inherently *slušný* ‘decent’ (line 3) and therefore worth aspiring to achieve.

In line with Fanon (2015), it can be said that Facuna’s objectified voice assumes a ‘white mask’ provided to him by the government’s stance; his entextualised voice then communicates that he has internalised his alleged inferiority by trying to achieve the ‘white’ way of life. What is further striking is that the Roma Chairman of the Citizens’ Initiative uses the term *bílí* ‘whites’ (line 3) instead of the Romani word *Gadje*, which means ‘non-Roma’. It is an open question whether he identifies himself as black in contrast to ‘white’, or simply adapts his voice to suit the audience he imagines. Many Roma had fled or migrated to North America at that time, so it is also possible that this fact in a way influenced his word choice.

At this point, I would like to clarify my translation of the term *slušný* and its antonym *neslušný*, which typically mean ‘polite’ and ‘impolite’. Here, I suggest the term clearly refers to a social order to which a group of people are said to not adapt. I therefore translated the term *slušný* as the English word ‘decent’. But because the English word ‘indecent’ is not necessarily the antonym of ‘decent’, I opted to use the word ‘uncivil’ instead. This translation is misleading to the extent that the word ‘uncivil’ in Czech is *necivilizovaný*. Yet in this specific discursive context, ‘uncivil’ seems to be exactly what the deputy municipal district governor actually means – that is, the term *slušný* indexes an antigypsyist discursive history. It can be assumed that the historically much less loaded terms *slušný/neslušný* are rhetorically much more effective as they can potentially catch the attention of a larger variety of audiences.

To sum up, I have argued that in phase one, print news media texts uncritically entextualised the district government’s voice as taking an authoritarian-paternalistic stance. This stance is characterised by two contradictory voices: a generous and somehow caring voice entangled with a sort of authoritarian classism oriented towards (poor) Roma people. This latter voice disregards their difficulties to instead project prejudice and engage in stereotyping. Poverty is framed as a moral problem – a problem in which most Roma people allegedly do not want to adapt to the lifestyle of the social majority. This language carries certain parallels to contemporary discourse on poverty (see above) as well as the modern discourses that constructed Roma and/or impoverished people as “gypsies”. Elites portrayed them as deficient and harmful creatures opposing the progress of civilisation; they were imagined as the ‘uncivilised’ Other and confronted with revulsion, exclusion, and persecution (cf. Bogdal 2011: 13; 44–46).

Phase 2: News media discourse turns into a hidden polemic

One week later, on 22 May 1998, the regional newspapers *Moravský den* ‘Moravian day’ and *Moravskoslezský den* ‘Moravian and Silesian day’ featured the following titles on their front pages: *Zvláštní osada pro Romy* ‘A special settlement for Roma’ and *Zvláštní osada blízko centra* ‘A special settlement near the centre’. The adjective *zvláštní* ‘special’ creates an interdiscursive link to a discourse about what were then called *zvláštní školy* ‘special schools’ intended for children with cognitive disabilities. A majority of Roma children were segregated from the population into these schools. The function of the articles is to evaluate and give further information about the planned settlement for ‘Roma’ in Bedřiška. Again, a re-entextualisation process unfolds behind the creation of the articles and, aside from subheads and a brief concluding paragraph, the articles are identical.

‘Special’ schools

A 1998 European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC) report details how special schools were established in the Czech Republic after World War I. The schools were originally meant for children with cognitive disabilities but, faced with the difficulties of assimilating Roma citizens into ‘regular working citizens’, authorities soon started to promote the segregation of Roma children by admitting them to such schools. A 1970 document by the dissident group *Charta 77* recounts how ‘the failure of Romani pupils in Czech and Slovak schools is often solved by their transfer to remedial special schools for children with below-average intelligence’ (Nečas 1995, after ERRC 1998: 17). The group further documented how the failure of Roma children in school was the consequence of the inability of the Czech state to respect their needs and cultural identity. From the pictures in their spelling primers to the entirety of the curriculum, the children continually encountered the idea that they were a foreign, inferior race without a language, without a past, and without a face (cf. Nečas 1995; after ERRC 1998: 18). For instance, they were punished for speaking Romani in school (cf. ERRC 1998: 16–18). The state thus not only prevented Roma children from establishing contact with non-Roma children, but suppressed their cultural identity.

In 1999, the ERRC reported in 1999 that 56 per cent of the children in special schools in the city of Ostrava were identifiable as Roma; Roma were 27 times more likely than non-Roma people to attend a special school (25). In April 2000, a case was brought to the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) involving 18 Roma children from Ostrava who had undergone psychological testing and were subsequently placed in special schools by head teachers. After lengthy discussions, the ECHR finally banned the practice in 2007 and called it racial discrimination in an effort to compel the Czech state to act preventatively. Still, surveys continue to report a lack of opportunities for Roma children (cf. CRIN 2017).

What differentiates this reporting phase from the previous one is a polemic embedded in the media coverage. Whereas the previous news reports took an uncritical stance towards the voice of local

authorities (with which the reports aligned), this phase saw the textual voice respond by bringing to light a certain contradiction inherent to the government's stance. Bakhtin (1984) refers to this phenomenon as a *hidden polemic* – that is, a form of discourse 'directed toward an ordinary referential object, naming it, portraying, expressing, and only indirectly striking a blow at the other's discourse, clashing with it, as it were, within the object itself' (Bakhtin 1984 [1929]: 196). This hidden polemic is already apparent in the titles of the articles, wherein the characterisation *zvláštní* 'special' implicitly strikes a blow at the local authority's allegedly caring and generous stance. The textual voice further alludes to the common practice of authorities placing (all) Roma children in special schools, connecting it to the housing project as a sort of a practice that segregates so-called cognitively disabled people from those who are 'normal'. In this line of thought, the evaluation of the target group as *nepřizpůsobivé* 'unadaptable' – a term that appears in these texts as well – draws an interesting parallel to this discourse.

Excerpt 3.4: *Moravskoslezský deník*, 22 May 1998 (my English translation below)

01 OSTRAVA – Osada pro nepřizpůsobivé, zejména romské občany má podle studie, kterou si nechala vypracovat
 02 radnice ostravského obvodu Mariánské Hory a Hulváky, vzniknout na jednom
 03 z pozemků nedaleko centra města. Zástupci městského obvodu tvrdí, že takový projekt by těmto lidem mohl
 04 pomoci žít tak, jak si představují. Předběžná studie nabízí podle jejich tvůrců možnost velmi
 05 slušného bydlení určité skupině občanů v rámci jejich finančních možností a nároků na způsob života.
 06 „Studie bere v úvahu odlišný způsob bydlení Romů a zachovává jejich etnická specifika. Snaží se
 07 respektovat jejich hodnotový a společenský řád, nevnučovat jim způsob bydlení, který je jim historický (sic) cizí,“
 08 tvrdí mariánskoborský starosta Jiří Jezerský.

01 OSTRAVA – According to a study commissioned by the town hall of the Ostravian district Mariánské
 02 Hory a Hulváky, a settlement for the unadaptable, especially Roma citizens, will be built on one of the plots
 03 of land close to the city centre. Local authority representatives claim that such a project could help these
 04 people live as they imagine. According to its creators, the preliminary study offers the possibility of a very
 05 decent living for a certain group of citizens within their financial possibilities and lifestyle requirements.
 06 “The study takes into account the different way of living of Roma and preserves their ethnic specifics. It tries
 07 to respect their values and social order, not impose on them a way of living that is historically foreign to
 08 them”, claims the mayor of Mariánské Hory Jiří Jezerský.

The shift in alignment of the textual voice towards the discourse of district authorities is not just apparent in the titles of the two articles, but also in the use of reporting verbs. For instance, the verb *tvrdí* 'claim' in lines 3 and 8 is used to introduce or attribute the paraphrased or quoted voice of the local authority. As White (2003: 273) suggests, the verb 'claim' opens up the 'dialogic space'

to other possible points of view; here, the textual voice emphasises the subjectivity of the perspective of local authorities. In this way, it exists at a critical distance from the claim. Put differently, it positions itself at a certain distance rather than aligning or merging with the textual voice (in contrast to the first phase of reporting).

But in keeping with previous articles, the textual voice evaluates Roma people as *nepřizpůsobivé* ‘the unadaptable’ in line 2, specifying that this term *zejména* ‘especially/namely’ refers to Roma residents. As with former texts, there remains a certain ambiguity regarding who the actual target of the project is (see line 5). In this sense, anyone could theoretically become a “gypsy” and find themselves at the bottom of the social or civilisational hierarchy (cf. Bogdal 2011: 26). But at the same time, the following lines reveal the plan is clearly directed towards Roma residents. It is also interesting to note that whereas the target group of the project is positioned as inferior, it is simultaneously positioned as belonging *nedaleko centra města* ‘close to the city centre’. The textual voice’s evaluation of the policy thus obscures the process of social exclusion, which involves marginalisation or segregation ‘out’ of what is imagined to be the social majority.

But what strikes the reader even more is how blatantly the signs of poverty observed in the first phase of media coverage are ethnicised. In other words, they appear to describe a Romani way of life or culture – or both. In lines 6 to 8, the quoted voice of the deputy mayor constructs the Roma as having an *odlišný způsob bydlení* ‘different way of living’, with *etnická specifika* ‘ethnic specifics’, *jejich hodnotový* ‘their [own] values’ and *společenský řád* ‘social order’, and hence a way of life *historický (sic) cizí* ‘historically foreign’ to the way of life of the majority. The deputy mayor’s objectified voice ethnicises Roma people by attributing poverty to them before further characterising it as a lifestyle. At the same time, it positions the government once again as a tolerant and caring ruler that *zachovává* ‘preserves’ and *[s]naží se respektovat* ‘tries to respect’ cultural differences, and does not want *navrhnout* ‘to impose’ another way of life on (poor) Roma residents. The ethnicisation of the Roma as poor allows the government to bypass or obscure its responsibility or failure to address the economic needs of district residents.

To sum up, this phase of media coverage sees news reports once again entextualise the government’s authoritarian-paternalistic stance. At this point, the stance is very explicitly intertwined with *ethnicism* – a discourse that maintains a stated belief of ethnic equality, but an implicit belief in a hierarchy of cultures and/or ethnicities (Mulard 1986; after Essed 1991: 6). In this view, some ethnicities are ‘better’ or more ‘civilized’ than others. Unlike in phase one, the news media discourse of phase two constructs a hidden polemic within the objectified voice of the government.

Phase 3: News media entextualise the dialogic struggle for space

So far, media coverage reported on the municipal plan to turn Bedřiška into a settlement for mainly Roma people. The reports primarily entextualised the government's stance by loosely (dis)aligning with it, while the contradiction inherent to its authoritarian-paternalistic stance gave rise to a hidden polemic within reporting. News reports also entextualised the voice of a Roma representative evaluating the plan. But what has been ignored so far are reactions to the new housing policy from the residents of the former worker's settlement. In the next phase, print news coverage entextualises their voices as well. In doing so, they mediate the broader conflict over housing.

Two texts represent this phase. First, the 1 June 1998 edition of the daily regional newspaper *Svoboda* features a report titled “*Bedřiška*” *straší i bílé: “Vesničku soužití” Romové chtějí, ghetto odmítanou* “‘Bedřiška’ also haunts (scares) whites: Roma want “a village of coexistence”, they refuse a ghetto’. A second article appeared in the 4 November 1998 edition of the daily national newspaper *Mladá fronta DNES* ‘Young front TODAY’, titled *Chceme tady žít, nic víc, říkají lidé z osady Bedřiška, kterou úředníci odsoudili k zániku* ‘We want to live here, nothing more, say people from the settlement Bedřiška, which officials condemned to extinction’. As indicated by their respective titles, the first article focuses on the reaction of what it refers to as *bílé* ‘whites’ as well as *Romové* ‘Roma’, while the second focuses on the reactions of *lidé z osady Bedřiška* ‘people from the settlement Bedřiška’.

The report that appeared in the *Svoboda* newspaper details and evaluates the response to official plans from long-established residents. Such residents are identified as *bílé* ‘whites’ in an evaluation that obscures the existence of long-established Roma residents, and the former clearly take a negative stance towards the new housing policy.

Excerpt 3.5: *Svoboda*, 1 June 1998 (my English translation below)

- 01 *Nápad doslova vyděsil obyvatelé tří desítek finských domků, kteří na Bedřišce žijí. Třiasedmdesát*
- 02 *z nich podepsalo petici, v níž zbourání starých domků odmítá a tvrdě kritizuje*
- 03 *záměr výstavby romské osady. „Téměř v centru Ostravy se má vybudovat lokalita pro nepřizpůsobivé*
- 04 *občany,“ zlobí se lidé z Bedřišky, kterým už prý „naskakuje husí kůže“.*

- 01 The idea literally scared the residents who live in the three dozen Finnish houses in Bedřiška. Seventy-
- 02 three of them signed a petition in which they rejected the demolition of old houses and harshly criticised the
- 03 plan to build a Roma settlement. ‘Almost in the centre of Ostrava, a site will be built for unadaptable
- 04 citizens’, people from Bedřiška said angrily. Apparently, they ‘have goosebumps’.

The textual voice entextualises the residents’ voice as taking a *protest stance* which is entangled with *fear* and *anger*. According to Heinemann (1983: 110) and Kreß (2010: 259–360), *protest* constitutes

an act of countering a statement that is nonetheless reinforced by different means.¹⁸ In the excerpt above, emphasis is placed on the affective layer of the residents’ stance through the explicit marking of emotions of fear and anger. In line 1, the plan *vyděsil* ‘scare[s]’ residents; in line 4, they are said to “*naskakuje husí kůže*” ‘have goosebumps’. These emotions are oriented towards what the objectified voice of long-established residents calls *nepřizpůsobivé občany* ‘unadaptable citizens’ (lines 3 to 4).

Evaluations in the form of the actions attributed to residents further index protest. In line 2, they *podepsal[i] petici* ‘signed a petition’ that *tvrdě kritizují* ‘harshly criticised’ official plans; residents are described as *zlobí se* ‘are angry’ that the Roma settlement will be built in what they perceive as *[i]éměř v centru* ‘almost the centre’ of the city. In contrast to the afore mentioned feelings of anger, their fear seems to be oriented towards the new residents. As Bogdal (2011) notes, different groups of Roma people were associated with danger and fear early on in modern history. Also, because the Roma were thought to be spies of Mongol-Tartar invaders in the Middle Ages, the latter’s proximity triggers emotions of fear in many people even today (cf. Bogdal 2011: 10-11).

In addition to expressing the protest stance of long-term residents, the article informs readers that the *Romové* ‘Roma’ have adjusted their stance towards the project (see phase one).

Excerpt 3.6: *Svoboda*, 1 June 1998 (my English translation below)

01 *Romští aktivisté nápad původně chválili. „Je to příležitost ukázat, že umíme něco vytvořit a dokážeme*
 02 *žít jako bílí“ řekl tehdy Svobodě předseda Romské občanské iniciativy v Ostravě Josef*
 03 *Facuna. Dnes projekt odmítá: „Původně jsme nepochopili, že jde o ghetto pro nepřizpůsobivé,“*
 04 *vysvětluje, „bral bych soužití slušných Romů s bílými. Ale když tam vystěhují jen neplatiče,*
 05 *budou tam problémy,“ řekl.*

01 Roma activists initially praised the idea. ‘It’s an opportunity to show that we can create something and can
 02 live like whites’, Josef Facuna, the Chairman of the Roma Citizens’ Initiative in Ostrava, told Svoboda at the
 03 time. Today he rejects the project: ‘Initially, we did not understand that it is a ghetto for the unadaptable’, he
 04 explains. ‘I would accept the coexistence of decent Roma with whites. But if they move only defaulters out
 05 there, there will be problems’, he said.

Note that the textual voice creates an explicit intertextual link to the 16 April 1998 *Svoboda* article in which the quoted voice of *Romští aktivisté* ‘Roma activists’ (line 1) approved the project. In a next step, the article informs readers that *předseda Romské občanské iniciativy v Ostravě* ‘the Chairman of the

¹⁸ Heinemann (1983: 110) considers negation and denial from a pragmatic perspective, protest is characterised by an intensification of ‘contradiction’ (e.g. by means of negation particles), which marks protest as the most intense form of disapproval.

Roma Citizens' Initiative in Ostrava' (line 2) has altered his opinion. The objectified voice of Josef Facuna assumes an opposing stance towards the plan of local authorities, which he evaluates as *ghetto pro nepřizpůsobivé* 'a ghetto for the unadaptable' (line 3). The pejorative term 'ghetto' confers a special intensity to his dissension. Interestingly, however, he still aligns with the names and pejorative categorisations presented in former articles: The target group of the project is again called *nepřizpůsobivé* 'the unadaptables' (line 3) and contrasted with what are called *slušný Rom* 'decent Roma' (line 4). This distinction between 'decent' and 'uncivil' people is not applied by him to what he calls the *bílý* 'white' people (line 4); consequently, the latter appear to be inherently 'decent'. Moreover, the target group of the project gets yet another name – that of *neplatiče* 'defaulters' (line 4), and the action of failing to pay rent is thus attributed to the people targeted by the project. Through a process of nominalisation, they acquire yet another term positioning them as 'inferior' while disguising issues related to socio-material deprivation, or poverty.

A second article focused on the conflict between different agents, titled *Chceme tady žít, nic víc, říkají lidé z osady Bedřiška, kterou úředníci odsoudili k zániku* 'We want to live here, nothing more, say people from the settlement Bedřiška, which officials condemned to extinction', appears in the 4 November 1998 edition of the daily national newspaper *Mladá fronta DNES* 'Young front TODAY'. In contrast to the *Svoboda* article, this one mainly entextualises the voice of long-established residents. It centres partly on the long-established residents' stance towards the government's plan, and partly on their reaction to its implementation – that is, their response to the residential displacement from the city centre to Bedřiška. The article is structured as a dialogue between long-established residents and the voices of district representatives.

According to the national newspaper, the social problem behind the clash of voices is the local authorities' plan to transform the settlement into a village for *sociálně slabé občany* 'socially disadvantaged citizens' and those who *neplatí nájem nebo zdevastovali obecní byt* 'do not pay the rent or devastate a municipal apartment'. Although it aligns with previous descriptions of the project's target group, it adds a new distinction to the discourse: the differentiation between *sociálně slabé občany* 'socially disadvantaged citizens' and others who behave in an undesirable way. However, these evaluations are not oriented towards the same group of people. On the one hand, then, the textual voice introduces the possibility that some of the new residents might be socially disadvantaged. But on the other, it denies the possibility that deviant behaviour can be a consequence of poverty and social exclusion as well as the inability or reluctance of local authorities to tackle social problems.

As with the *Svoboda* article from 1 June, the entextualised stance of long-term residents is characterised by an affective layer made more explicit through the use of various verbs and

adjectives that index emotions. Aside from anger and fear, the article also implicates a language of sadness.

Excerpt 3.7: *Mladá fronta DNES*, 4 November 1998 (my English translation below)

01 Ostrava – V bývalé hornické osadě Bedřiška je smutno. V asi třiceti přízemních domcích
 02 se zahrádkami v Ostravě Hulvákách, v místě, kde do konce minulého století fungoval důl Bedřich,
 03 bývalo příjemné bydlení pro rodiny havířů. Teď se domky pomalu rozpadají. Lidé
 04 v nich jsou nervózní a rozčuleni. Bojí se, že se kolonie buďto změní v romské gheto [sic] nebo
 05 navždy zmizí z mapy Ostravy. „Vždycky, když umře některá z místních babiček, radnice
 06 do domku nastěhuje romskou rodinu, která už někde zničila byt. Romové, kteří tu bydlí
 07 dlouho, jsou moc slušní. Oni sami podepisovali petici proti tomu, aby z tobo vznikla cikánská kolonie.
 08 K ničemu to ale nebylo,“ říká smutně Anna Palaková, která v kolonii žije čtyřicet let.

01 Ostrava – Things are sad in the former mining settlement of Bedřiška. In about thirty single-story houses
 02 with gardens in Ostrava Hulváky, in the place where the Bedřich mine operated until the end of the last
 03 century, there used to be pleasant housing for families of miners. Now the houses are slowly falling apart.
 04 People in them are nervous and angry. They are afraid that the settlement will either turn into a Roma ghetto
 05 or disappear from the map of Ostrava forever. ‘Every time one of the local grandmothers dies, the town hall
 06 moves in a Roma family who has already destroyed an apartment somewhere. Roma who have lived here
 07 for a long time are very decent. They themselves signed a petition against the creation of a gypsy settlement.
 08 But it was useless’, Anna Palaková says sadly. She has lived in the settlement for forty years.

As with the *Svoboda* report, the textual voice objectifies the voice of long-term residents expressing feelings of anger and fear – but also includes sadness. Accordingly, Bedřiška is shrouded in *je smutno* ‘a sad atmosphere’ (line 1); residents *jsou nervózní a rozčuleni* ‘are nervous and angry’ and *bojí se* ‘afraid’ (line 4). These evaluations are oriented towards the idea that the place *zmizí z mapy Ostravy* could be ‘disappear[ing] from the map of Ostrava’ or becoming a *romské gheto* ‘Roma ghetto’ due to the government practice of moving in Roma families who have *už někde zničila byt* ‘already destroyed an apartment somewhere’ else (line 6).

The relevance of the categories of ‘decent’ and/or ‘uncivil’ stands out in this excerpt. Much like the Roma activist mentioned in the *Svoboda* articles, the quoted voice of Anna Palaková differentiates between *slušní* ‘decent’ (line 7) and ‘uncivil’ Roma people; the former are equal to established residents in the sense that they *podepisovali petici* ‘signed a petition’ against the project, which she evaluates as a creation of *cikánská kolonie* ‘a gypsy settlement’ (line 7). The textual voice thus refers to ‘decent’ Roma people with the name ‘Roma’, whereas the seemingly ‘uncivil’ ones are called “gypsies”. The example shows how closely this stigma is related to values or practices of so-called civility or uncivility.

The textual voice objectifies the stance of long-term residents in a way that invokes feelings of disorientation and uncertainty alongside those of protest. Naturally, these evaluations may affect readers in different ways.

Excerpt 3.8: *Mladá fronta DNES*, 4 November 1998 (my English translation below)

01 *O to víc ho rozčíljuje pomyslení, že je kolonie odsouzena k zániku „Platíme radnici řádně*
 02 *nájem, krom toho si tady všechno opravujeme na vlastní náklady a teď nevíme,*
 03 *co nás čeká“ říká. Stejně jako další obyvatelé kolonie se však odstěhovat nechce.*
 04 *„Kam? Do paneláků? To ne,“ probírají svorně všichni z osady Bedříšska.*

01 The thought of the settlement being doomed to decay made him all the more angry. ‘We properly pay
 02 the rent to the town hall. We also repair everything here at our own expense and now, we don’t know
 03 what awaits us’, he says. But like other residents of the settlement, he does not want to move away.
 04 ‘Where? To a slab block estate? No’, everyone from the Bedříška neighbourhood unanimously declares.

Here, the objectified voice of a resident expresses his disorientation when confronted with the official housing policy, questioning why residents are being punished despite doing everything right. At the heart of the discourse in this excerpt is the notion of ‘civility’, yet its link to a person’s material well-being is also apparent. Accordingly, the textual voice quotes residents defending themselves, saying that *[p]latí radnici řádně nájem* ‘[they] pay the rent properly’ and *opravují* ‘repair’ the houses at their *vlastní náklady* ‘own expense’ (lines 1–2). Still, they are faced with uncertainty not knowing *co nás čeká* ‘what awaits them’ (line 3). As in the *Svoboda* article, the textual voice imagines the voice of long-term residents as assuming a protest stance, saying they *svorně probírají* ‘unanimously declare’ (line 4) that they will not leave the neighbourhood. They thus seem to align in solidarity, evaluating official plans as a *ne* ‘[n]o’-go (line 4).

Excerpt 3.9: *Mladá fronta DNES*, 4 November 1998 (my English translation below)

01 *„My víme, že to je pro tamní nájemníky kruté, ale nemohou nic dělat. Ty domy se prostě*
 02 *opravovat nebudou. Starým obyvatelům z osady proto nabízíme místa v domech s pečovatelskou službou,“*
 03 *tlumočí místostarosta obvodu Mariánské Hory a Hulváky Jiří Ježerský stanovisko obvodního*
 04 *zastupitelstva, které už před časem rozhodlo, že jakékoliv investice do oprav, rekonstrukcí*
 05 *či modernizací v osadě Bedříšska jsou nerentabilní.*

01 ‘We know it’s cruel for the long-term tenants, but they can’t do anything. Those houses will simply
 02 not be repaired. This is why we offer old residents of the settlement places in nursing homes’,

03 interprets Jiří Jezerský, Deputy Mayor of the Mariánské Hory and Hulváky. The standpoint of the District
 04 Council, which was decided some time ago, is that any investment in repairs, reconstruction or
 05 modernisation of the settlement in Bedřiška is unprofitable.

Note that the authoritarian stance of the district government is assessed by the textual voice as inflexible. In fact, the government representative shuts down dialogue with utterances about how ‘[residents] *nemohou nic dělat* “can’t do anything” or that ‘[houses] *se prostě opravovat nebudou* ‘will simply not be repaired” (lines 1–2). He thereby positions himself as the only authority, denying agency and participation to municipal district citizens.

To sum up, this third reporting phase is characterised by the representation of open dialogic struggle. New reports entextualise the voices and stances of different agents in response to the official housing policy in Bedřiška. Most importantly, these voices vehemently counter the government’s discourse. Textual voices mediate the discourse of Roma agents and especially the voices of long-term residents assuming a protest stance that is entangled with a language of fear, uncertainty, sadness, and anger oriented towards the government’s authoritarian stance and its practice of moving Roma residents into the neighbourhood. The emotive language of the news reports positions readers as emphatic subjects, inviting them to identify, feel for, or align with long-term residents. What is striking is that the objectified voices of the different agents align with the categories and evaluations of Roma residents used by district representatives: they are evaluated as either ‘decent’ or ‘uncivil’, as ‘Roma’ or “gypsies”, and as ‘civilised’ or ‘uncivilised’.

Phase 4: A Western critique and pressure from experts on local discourse

By 1999, the problems surrounding Bedřiška seem almost forgotten. Once again, news reports primarily mention the neighbourhood in the context of leisure activities; examples include *Pod Bedřiškou bude zase “fajně”* ‘Under Bedřiška it will be “fine” again’ (*Svoboda* 7 April 1999), *Rybáři zvládli v Nové Vsi rekordní počet návštěvníků* ‘Fishermen managed a record number of visitors in Nová Ves’ (*Svoboda* 12 April 1999) and *výsledky, tabulky, události* ‘Results, tables, events’ (Region – Havířovsko 4 May 1999). Still, a pair of articles published on 5 June in the newspapers *Ostravský den* and *Moravskoslezský den* mention the neighbourhood in the context of the district’s housing policy. Specifically, they respond to recent incidents that took place in the city of Ústí nad Labem, where the local government had decided to construct a wall four metres tall in order to segregate Roma from non-Roma residents. This effort was subject to criticism in the international press.

The local authorities’ plan to build a wall also provoked protest from various state officials as well as international human rights organisations. The critical-liberal magazine *Respect* recounted

how EU envoy to the Czech Republic Ramiro Cibrian made the Czech EU membership contingent to the prevention of this wall. Consequently, the Czech Commissioner for Human Rights, Petr Uhl, tried to block the construction of the wall (cf. Bureš 2019).

The Ústí nad Labem wall

An article in the 18 September 2017 edition of *Respect* news magazine extensively details how city authorities in Ústí nad Labem decided to construct a wall to segregate Roma from non-Roma residents. It recounts how the authorities had started to displace Roma residents in 1993, arguing that they were *neplatiče* ‘defaulters’. It was later revealed that the city had displaced not just people who owed rent, but also other Roma. It turned out many were unable to pay their rent as loan sharks used to confiscate their income before it could be used to pay rent or ancillary costs. Surprisingly, the city made no use of a legal measure involving the deduction of rents directly from the housing benefits that many residents received through the social safety net.

The municipal authorities thus segregated Roma people away from the city centre and into a poor neighbourhood called *Matiční Ulice* ‘Matiční Street’. More specifically, they were relocated to two abandoned apartment buildings. But in 1996, their neighbours began to write petitions complaining about noise and rubbish in the neighbourhood. The city responded by interrupting the supply of electricity and warm water to punish the ‘defaulters’. As this measure did not address the issues in question, the city promised the residents who had complained that it would build a wall four metres high to segregate Roma from non-Roma residents. Despite opposition on the part of the Chairman of the Committee for Affairs of the Romani Community, Vladimír Mlynář, the city went ahead with their plan.

This is why the Czech city of Ústí nad Labem became subject to international concern. On 2 July 1998, for instance, an article titled ‘Usti nad labem journal; A wall not yet built casts the shadow of racism’ (Perlez 1998) appeared in the *New York Times*. The city’s plan was further protested by various state officials as well as international human rights organisations (cf. Bureš 2019).

Community worker Aveyaan got involved in the conflict around Matiční Street. As he told me during one of our talks on 13 April 2019, the conflict started as a reaction to an incident involving children who were playing in a square. Trucks began to park there and as a result, the children had to move elsewhere to play. Non-Roma residents in the area where children moved their play soon started to complain, and the municipality solved the problem by building a wall – without even attempting to initiate dialogue.

It is in this context that the two above-mentioned articles appeared. Accordingly, the subject of the articles is the housing policy of the district government of Mariánské Hory a Hulváky. More specifically, the articles focus on the government’s reaction to the state authority’s response to the events in Ústí nad Labem. The first article, titled *Sociálně slabé lidi vystěhují mariánskoborští radní na okraj obvodu* ‘Socially disadvantaged people are being evicted to the outskirts of the district by councillors of Mariánské Hory’, appears in the 3 June 1999 edition of the newspaper *Ostravský den*.

The second appears in the same-day edition of the newspaper *Moravskoslezský den* with a similar – but slightly shorter – title of *Sociálně slabé lidi radní vystěhují na kraj obvodu* ‘Councillors evict socially disadvantaged people to the outskirts of the district’. The latter further contains a subtitle: *Úřad se neobává odporu státu* ‘The authorities are not afraid of opposition from the state’. Aside from slight differences in the titles and the additional subtitle, the articles are identical. In other words, they featured retextualisation with practically no dialogue.

As already noted, the texts are oriented towards the critical stance taken by *zmocněnce pro lidská práva* ‘the Commissioner for Human Rights’ Petr Uhl towards the plans for segregation in Ústí nad Labem. The latter stance, however, is not stated in the articles. Instead, the textual voice focuses on the deputy municipal district mayor’s reaction to the reproach or accusation that what is happening in Bedřiška is comparable to what is happening to Ústí nad Labem.

Excerpt 3.10: *Ostravský den*, 3 June 1999 (my English translation below)

01 *Místostarosta Ostravy-Mariáských Hor a Hulvák Jiří Jezerský se neobává, že by záměr postavit*
 02 *na okraji obvodu několik nových domků pro Romy a přestěhovat je do nich narážil na odpor*
 03 *státních úředníků. Úmysl radnice umožnit sociálně slabé skupině*
 04 *obyvatel levnější bydlení mimo centrum obvodu podle něj není stavěním zdi mezi lidskými*
 05 *komunitami. „Je příšerné, když se nikým nezvolený státní úředník domnívá, že má patent na rozum a mluví do*
 06 *záležitostí samosprávy. To je začátek konce demokracie v Čechách,“ řekl Jezerský v narážce*
 07 *na reakci zmocněnce pro lidská práva Petra Uhla na úmysl radních v*
 08 *Ústí nad Labem oddělit Romy od ostatních obyvatel zdi.*

01 The deputy mayor of Ostrava-Mariáské Hor and Hulvák, Jiří Jezerský, is not afraid that the plan to build
 02 several new houses on the edge of the district and move Roma into them could provoke resistance from
 03 state officials. According to him, the town hall’s plan to enable a socially disadvantaged group of people to
 04 have cheaper housing outside the centre of the district does not equate to building a wall between human
 05 communities. ‘It is terrible when an unelected civil servant thinks he has a patent on reason and speaks to
 06 matters of self-government. This is the beginning of the end of democracy in Bohemia’, said Jezerský,
 07 alluding to the reaction of Commissioner for Human Rights Petr Uhl to the intention of councillors in
 08 Ústí nad Labem to separate the Roma from other inhabitants by means of a wall.

The municipal deputy mayor’s objectified voice ‘accounts’ for the action in question; as the quoted voice explains what the housing policy is seemingly about (cf. Goffman 1971: 113), it can be said to take a *defensive stance*. The policy is evaluated positively so as *umožnit sociálně slabé skupině obyvatel levnější bydlení* ‘to enable a socially disadvantaged group of people to have cheaper housing’ (lines 3–4). The deputy mayor’s quoted voice further castigates Petr Uhl indexing the positively connotated

idea of democracy (cf. Tracy 2010: 53) in support of his account, arguing that Uhl's critique represents *začátek konce demokracie* 'the beginning of the end of democracy' (line 6). He further delegitimises Uhl's critical stance by evaluating it as *příšern[y]* 'terrible' and insinuating that the latter lays claim to *patent na rozum* 'a patent on reason' (line 5). The government's objectified voice thus not only reframes the residential displacement as a welfare policy directed towards what it newly calls *sociálně slabé lidi* 'socially disadvantaged people' (lines 3-4), but also devalues and silences voices that criticise segregation as undemocratic.

Later in the same text, the textual voice quotes district mayor Liana Janáčková's voice mitigating the statement that the Roma are the target of the policy, thereby admitting that it is in fact directed towards people affected by poverty in general:

Excerpt 3.11: *Ostravský den*, 3 June 1999 (my English translation below)

- 01 „Nechci kategoricky tvrdit, že Bedříšku připravujeme pouze pro Romy. Chceme, aby v této lokalitě bydleli lidé,
02 kteří si nemohou dovolit platit dražší bydlení,“ řekla starostka
03 Mariánských Hor Liana Janáčková. Přiznala však, že právě s Romy má stále velké potíže.

- 01 'I do not want to categorically claim that we are preparing Bedříška only for the Roma. We want people to
02 live in this locality who cannot afford to pay for more expensive housing', said the mayor of
03 Mariánské Hory Liana Janáčková. However, she admitted that she has big problems with Roma especially.

In this context, the mayor mitigates the evaluation of the policy's target group as *Romy* 'Roma', saying that she *[n]echce kategoricky tvrdit* 'does not want to categorically [make this] claim' (line 1). She further refers to the target group as *lidé, kteří si nemohou dovolit* 'people [...] who cannot afford' (lines 1-2) other housing, thereby indexing poverty. Yet at the same time, she adds that she has problems *právě s Romy* 'with Roma especially' (line 3). This enables her to align her words with the government's earlier discourse.

To conclude, the fourth phase of media coverage is marked by an external (discursive) event that shapes the local housing discourse regarding Bedříška. Residential displacement is reframed as a welfare policy, while (external) voices criticising segregation are devalued and silenced. Needless to say, the local practice did not change in parallel to this new discourse.

Between June 2000 and April 2004, only a few articles appear on the topic; after 2004, reporting ceases completely for several years. The news reports that appeared in this period generally follow the phase three pattern of expressing the protest stance of long-term residents towards the creation of a 'ghetto', and affecting or inviting readers to align with the latter's worries and fears.

Conclusion: Legitimising segregation through antigypsyism – a polyphonic hegemony?

This chapter has taken a closer look at discourse in print news media coverage between 1997 and 1999 that addressed the new housing policy of the municipal district government of Mariánské Hory a Hulváky in relation to Bedřiška. It focused primarily on the process of policy legitimisation that unfolded in the print news media through an examination of how it mediated and responded to the voices of agents involved in the conflict; whose voices were included or excluded; and how the discourse evolved over time. I was especially interested in what I call *stances of social exclusion*, which I have defined as acts of misrecognition (cf. Balibar 1991a [1988]) that position the speaker and some other group as superior and inferior and as insiders and outsiders of an in-group or imagined community. Such acts translate into a specific relation of (dis)alignment (cf. Balibar 1991a [1988]; Touraine 1991; Wetherell et al. 2015). They affect reality in the sense that they legitimate further violence and injustice – e.g., misidentification and segregation, as in the case here. I further discussed the various forms that such (discursive) social practices may take.

The analysis revealed four phases to print news media coverage. In the first phase, the media aligns with and reproduces the municipal district government’s voice uncritically. In the second phase, however, the ambiguity inherent to the government’s discourse leads to a hidden polemic that then culminates with the entextualisation of open conflict in a third phase. In this third phase, the media expresses the *fear* and the *protest stance* of long-term tenants towards the creation of what is called *gheto* ‘a ghetto’, affecting or inviting readers to align with the long-term resident’s anger and fear. News reports also mediate the voices of some Roma citizens and representatives. In the fourth phase, the municipal district government is critically asked to account for its practice; the government’s objectified voice then does so by silencing (external) critical voices while evaluating them as undemocratic.

This trajectory of media coverage towards more dialogue, criticism, and the inclusion of the voices of different agents appears to support a certain exercise of democratic control of political power. What’s striking is how all of the mediated voices – of long-term residents, for instance, but also Roma residents – align with the government’s categories and evaluations of the policy’s target group as *neslušní* ‘uncivil’ and *nepřispůsobiví* ‘inadaptable’. This means that even if there were a polyphony of voices, there appears to be only a single evaluative position oriented towards the policy’s target group. Given this, there seems to be a powerful centralising force organising social relations across sociocultural groups (cf. Bakhtin 1981 [1975]: 182; 270–271) in the pattern demonstrated above. To put it in Gramsci’s (1971) terms, there is cultural hegemony.

One might wonder why even the objectified voices of Roma residents align with pejorative evaluations excluding them from a group. It could be argued that the media purposely chose to

entextualise the voices of Roma agents whose evaluations confirmed common prejudices. But to entextualised the voice of the Chairman of the Roma Citizen Initiative (a political party representing Roma citizens at the time) seem to be a professional choice. Another explanation for general alignment with the exclusionary evaluation is the power inherent to the municipal district government's stance and, hence, the power inherent to the antigypsyist language that it indexes.

As I have argued, the government's objectified voice assumes an *authoritarian-paternalistic stance* that intertwines ethnicism and classism with an authoritarian yet seemingly caring and tolerant voice. Such misrecognising discourse combines domination and affection in a way that ensures citizens will tolerate or even become complicit in violent practices against another group of citizens (cf. Balibar 1991a [1988]: 19). But even further, it ensures that the offended group will become complicit in its own exclusion. In contrast to Jackman (1994), I argue that paternalism indeed involves hostility; it is precisely this domination that, when coupled with 'love', creates an 'intricate and complex emotional bond' (Jackman 1994: 15). It is this bond that makes members of a target group complicit in their own social exclusion (see also Deumert 2022). Through such a bond, Roma residents – especially impoverished ones – are positioned as inferior and distant Others who do not meet the expectations of a specific moral community and therefore can or should be marginalised.

Inevitably, the distinctions between different groups of Roma people (between so-called decent and uncivil ones, Roma and “gypsies”) give rise to a conflict among the Roma residents struggling for recognition and housing. As I was doing my fieldwork, one Roma resident expressed this experience as follows:

[...] jsou různé lidi, jsou dobří a špatní, a většinou ty špatní zakrývají ty dobré Romy, což je na tom to špatné, protože ti dobří Romové potom z toho mají ty problémy, ti špatní jsou, jako se mají, jak kdyby, ne že by líp, ale prostě je to to, všichni hned vidí Roma, který je na sociálních dávkách a tak, a přitom tomu tak není. (Field, Bedřiška, focus group discussion, 22 September 2018)

'[...] there are different people, [...] good and bad ones, and mostly the bad ones render the good Roma invisible. This is the bad thing, because the good Roma have problems then. The bad ones are, [...] they have it like, not better, but it's just that everyone immediately thinks a Roma is on social benefits and so on and yet it is not true.'

The hegemonic emotions or ideology evoked by the government's divisive, poverty-based, and racist strategy of ethnicisation seem to recall the concept of *aporophobia*, meaning 'un sentimiento

de miedo y [...] una actitud de rechazo al pobre, al sin medios, al desamparado’ (Martínez Navarro 2002: 17), that is, ‘the contempt for the poor, the rejection of the person who takes but cannot give back, or at least seems unable to give back’ (Cortina Orts 2022: 16). Originally coined by the philosopher Cortina Orts (2017; see also Hellgren & Gabrielli 2021), the term sheds light on the fear-based rejection of the poor and helpless. It is intertwined with racism, which Essed (1991) defines as an ‘ideology, structure and process in which inequalities inherent in the wider social structure are related, in a deterministic way, to biological and cultural factors attributed to those who are seen as a different ‘race’ or ‘ethnic group’ (43). Consequently, it can be argued that the Roma resident’s voice quoted above expresses feelings of fear of being evaluated as a ‘bad’ Roma. At the same time, the objectified voices of non-Roma residents express fear of a transformation of their neighbourhood into a Roma (or rather “gypsy”) ghetto.

Moreover, antigypsyism appears to take the form of economic inequality that translates into poverty, which is then discursively evaluated as an immoral and ‘uncivil’ condition (see also Marston 2008; Gunders 2012; Erler 2012; Paugam et al. 2017; Kleut & Drašković 2021). Yet it remains an open question how, exactly, morality and poverty relate to one another. An ‘uncivil’ lifestyle and/or poverty is then ethnicised as specific to Roma. This racist gaze detracts attention from the situation of poor non-Roma people and instead draws attention to people who can be identified as Roma irrespective of their social status or lifestyle.

This is how, at the municipal level, the government legitimises its practices of social exclusion that culminated in the segregation of (poor) Roma to the formerly working-class neighbourhood of Bedřiška. Needless to say, this situation led to conflicts between long-term tenants and new ones. It also led to many complaints; non-Roma residents, in particular, complained to the local authorities. As the next chapter will recount, one particular meeting between long-established residents and the municipal district mayor became a topic of national debate.

4 Defending hate and a non-Roma nation

And how to face the loss of an imagined political language and home

As with other European countries deeply marked by the experience of World War II, Czech law penalises hate speech. Paragraph 355 of the Czech penal code punishes the defamation of a nation and racial, ethnic, or other group of persons, while paragraph 356 punishes the incitement to hatred against a group of persons or the restriction of their rights and freedoms. Yet what happens when it is neither the law nor the judiciary who are evaluating the legitimacy of an act, but political agents seeking approval from the electorate by responding to their emotional appeals in the language of the day?

In 2007, a recording of a semi-public meeting held between long-term residents of Bedřiška and senator and municipal district mayor Liana Janáčková was released to the public. It soon became a topic of national discussion as the recording revealed the stance of the elected official, who uttered explicitly racist statements about Roma residents. Once the recording was leaked to the general public, several civic actors accused Janáčková of defaming a ‘nation, race, ethnicity, or other group of persons’. The Senate was asked to waive immunity and extradite her for criminal prosecution.

As events unfolded, politicians became crucial actors in holding Janáčková accountable for her actions because they had the power to decide whether she should answer for her actions in court. The discourse became all the more serious as politicians depend on support from the electorate, and there emerged a risk of elected officials bowing to public opinion as opposed to upholding the rule of law. News media played a crucial role in this regard as a large portion of the public – the national news media audience – forms and voices its opinion on the basis of what it reads. But the role of the news media was not confined to merely influencing reader opinions on daily issues; instead, it was central to what Anderson (1999) conceived as the imagination of nations.

This chapter offers a textual analysis of two print news media texts with a primary focus on acts of stancetaking within dialogic-affective contexts. First, I am interested in Janáčková’s response to public criticism. After examining Janáčková’s racist comments, I shed light on how she accounts for her words through analysis of an interview mediated by the news magazine *Týden* ‘Week’ on 6 August 2007. Second, I am interested in how people who identify themselves and/or are identified as Roma experienced (Busch 2017) this public controversy. I thus looked at a response to Janáčková’s ideas formulated by journalist and Romani activist Jarmila Balážová. More specifically, I analyse acts of stancetaking in an editorial published in the 21 August 2007 edition of the bilingual magazine *Romano Vodi* ‘Romani soul’, which is affiliated with the website *Roma.cz*.

To introduce these two print news media texts, the chapter begins by taking a closer look at Janáčková's racist words and embedding them within a larger (historical) context. It then briefly discusses how terms such as nation, nationalism, populism, hate, and love all relate to one another. Finally, it presents the findings from my analysis.

Political rivalries and the mayor's hateful voice

The event analysed in this chapter takes place in the political social field. It unfolded in the national public sphere and at the intersection of national, municipal, and perhaps European political practices as well as civic activism. In what follows, I discuss the historical background of the event. Then, I analyse the racist words uttered by Janáčková during a semi-public meeting with non-Roma residents living in Bedřiška.

Despite the Czech Republic's difficulty with including Roma citizens into Czech society, the country entered the European Union on 1 May 2004. That same year, Janáčková became a senator and Vice-Chairwoman of the Committee on Education, Science, Culture, Human Rights and Petitions. Two and a half years later, the municipal district of Mariánské Hory a Hulváky in the City of Ostrava elected a new municipal district mayor. The electoral upset concluded the 16-year-long rule of Janáčková who, at that time, was a member of the political party *Nezávislí* 'Independents'. The new district mayor, Radomír Michniak, was a member of the 'Civic Democratic Party' (ODS) while the new municipal district council comprised a coalition from various parties that included *Občanská demokratická strana* (ODS), *Česká strana sociálně demokratická* 'Czech Social Democratic Party' (ČSSD), and the *Křesťanská a demokratická unie – Československá strana lidová* 'Christian and Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party' (KDU-ČSL). However, the new council existed for only a few months before the preceding political order was restored through a *převrat*, or 'coup' (*Mladá fronta DNES* 8 June 2007). Although the council existed for only a brief period, the local authority under Radomír Michniak had implemented a range of measures to resolve issues with socially excluded localities, as in Bedřiška. These measures not only received news coverage, but also created an opportunity for the former mayor to legitimise her irregular seizure of political power.

The activities of young mayor Radomír Michniak

In 2007, the housing situation in Bedřiška was getting out of control. Given limited access to housing for Roma and the Romani cultural value of solidarity, the neighbourhood had grown increasingly overpopulated as many Roma residents housed relatives and friends without registering them. Accordingly, the 30 April 2007 edition of national newspaper *Lidové noviny* 'the People's Newspaper' quoted the municipal district leader stating how

waste was piling up all over the neighbourhood owing to the large number of illegal residents in Bedřiška. This meant that only the (much smaller number of) registered residents were paying waste collection fees, and existing containers did not suffice to collect the waste produced by all of the residents. The local authority under Radomír Michniak organised a collective clean-up intended to normalise the situation (cf. *Lidové noviny* 30 April 2007). The mayor initiated other activities, such as police control over metal collection (cf. *Blesk* 30 April 2007), and the surveillance of neighbourhoods at greater risk of criminal activity by a patrolman (cf. *Moravskoslezský deník* 7 June 2007). However, the organisation of the collective neighbourhood clean-up in the socially excluded neighbourhood of Bedřiška provoked the most discomfort. National, local, and regional newspapers reported on the event as *jarní úklid* ‘spring cleaning’ (e.g., *Moravskoslezský deník* 30 April 2007; *Právo* 30 April 2007), or *Akce Z* ‘Action Z’ (*Lidové noviny* 30 April 2007). The term constitutes an interdiscursive link evoking the language or frame of communist ideology. Under the old communist regime, the term *Akce Z* referred to work done by citizens that was not quite voluntary and often gave rise to negative consequences for non-participants (e.g., *Radiožurnál* 22 April 2014). For instance, participants helped with the construction and maintenance of houses and gardens. Alternatively, people living in a specific neighbourhood would gather to clean it up while those who failed to participate would risk a negative entry in their personal file (among other consequences). The memory of these former measures likely stirred some discomfort in the public.

Other activities may have stirred a sense of discomfort among political elites. One such activity was the initiation of an audit enquiry into Liana Janáčková’s management over the past few years (cf. *Frýdecko-místecký a třinecký deník* 7 June 2007; *Listy moravskoslezské* 11 June 2007). So it happened that the young district mayor, Radomír Michniak, was dismissed from office after only 7 months and during an assembly meant to discuss the conflict in Bedřiška. Not so surprisingly, it was former mayor Janáčková who initiated this process of dismissal. After he left his post, she succeeded him in the position of mayor with support from the party *Nezávislí* ‘Independents’ (NEZ) in coalition with *Komunistická strana Čech a Moravy* ‘the Communist Party of Czechia and Moravia’ (KSČM) (cf. *Mladá fronta DNES* 8 June 2007).

The meeting during which the young mayor was dismissed from his post was meant to be about Bedřiška. As can be read in the *Mladá fronta DNES* wrote on 8 June 2007, the political ‘coup’ provoked *bouřlivé emoce* ‘stormy emotions’ – anger and/or outrage – among both the residents and politicians in attendance. Residents insulted Janáčková but she remained calm, saying, *‘[a]ni jsem to nevnímala, za ty roky už jsem od Romů vyslechla leccos’* (*Mladá fronta DNES* 8 June 2007) ‘I didn’t even noticed them; over the years, I’ve heard a lot from Roma’. Once again, the non-negotiability of her decisions exemplified her authoritarian stance (see Chapter 3).

But Janáčková was not always unfazed by resident complaints. On 10 July 2007, various online news outlets and TV or radio broadcasts reported on the appearance of a year-old audio recording containing racist statements uttered by Janáčková. For instance, the news outlet *deník.cz* reported that *Liga proti antisemitismu* ‘the League against antisemitism’ had accused her of racist statements against Roma and urged politicians to take action (cf. *deník.cz* 10 July 2007); the civic association

Romea had reportedly made the recording available to the public (cf. *deník.cz* 10 July 2007). The website *aktuálně.cz* informed readers that an activist had brought the recording to the Senate after acquiring it from Rodomír Michniak, who had himself received it from a Bedřiška resident (cf. *aktuálně.cz* 10 July 2007).

As stated above, the recording was made during a semi-public meeting with Bedřiška residents at the municipal district Department for Housing meeting on 15 August 2006. On the recording, Janáčková's voice can be heard as she responds to residents' accusations about the relocation of mainly Roma people to the neighbourhood. As the recording is no longer available, what I quote here is a rather extensive excerpt of Janáčková's voice sourced from the news website *Aktuálně.cz* 'Latest.cz'. However, it is neither complete nor representative of media coverage.

Excerpt 4.1: *Aktuálně.cz*, 10 July 2007 (my English translation below)

01 „... ‘O cigány se bobužel starat musím. Kdyby to tehdy s těmi letenkami vyšlo, oni by se
02 domnožili zase. Takže jste diskriminováni, všichni jsme diskriminováni, já s vámi naprosto
03 souhlasím. Ale bobužel je to tak. A musím se snažit, abych vás někam vystěhovala. Nesouhlasím s jakoukoli
04 integrací, bobužel jsem rasistka, nesouhlasím s integrací cigánů, aby
05 plošně byli po obvodu. Bobužel, vybrali jsme Bedřišku, takže tam budou. S vysokým plotem, s elektrickou,
06 mně je to jedno, já to klidně budu křičet do celého světa ... ‘“

01 ‘... Unfortunately, I have to take care of the gypsies. If those air tickets had worked out at the time, then they
02 would multiply again. So, you are discriminated against, we are all discriminated against – I completely agree
03 with you. But unfortunately, it is so. And I have to try to move you somewhere. I do not agree with any
04 integration [as] unfortunately, I'm a racist [so] I do not agree with the integration of gypsies or having them
05 all over the district. Unfortunately, we chose Bedřiška, so they will be there. With a high fence, with electricity,
06 I don't care, I have no problems with shouting it all over the world...’.

The municipal district mayor's first speech act can be read as an interdiscursive link, at least in the sense that it aligns with the local government's paternalistic stance (see Chapter 3). That stance, in turn, indexes a dialogic-affective position characterised by displays of caring entwined with authoritarian language. The actual meaninglessness of the word becomes evident in line 6, where Janáčková negates her displays of caring by clarifying that she does not actually 'care' (*mně je to jedno*). In fact, the word 'care' recalls an older language of paternalist care for “‘gypsies’” in the context of communist assimilatory policy (see Chapter 1). Alternatively, the duty of care mentioned by her entextualised voice could be related to European policy or requirements. In this case, Janáčková alludes to the existence of external forces or an associated national elite demanding that she accept a duty of care.

Janáčková positions herself as a defendant accounting for her actions. Her entextualised voice is oriented towards Roma residents, to whom she confers the pejorative term “*gigány*” “gypsy” in line 1. In line 2, she further attributes to them the activity of *se domnožují* ‘multiplying again’; this evokes a hateful image of the Roma as libidinous creatures that was typical of Nazi discourse (cf. Bogdal 2011: 307–337; see also Walter 2014: 94). These words thus represent interdiscursive links in that they index a national-socialist language or ideological frame. Janáčková speaks within the context of her former Roma policy, which consisted of offering Roma residents a ticket to Canada if they agreed to give up their municipal apartments (cf. Tóth 2010). In the same spirit, she says in line 5 that she does not agree with having Roma residents *plošně po obvodu* ‘all over the district’ and that she wants them behind a *vyšoký plot* ‘high fence’ and *elektrikou* ‘electricity’. She makes no effort to hide her racist stance, explicitly remarking that she is a *racistka* ‘racist’ in line 4.

Another interesting observation can be found in line 2, where Janáčková’s objectified voice declares that long-term residents are ‘discriminated against’ and that a collective ‘we’ *jsme diskriminováni* is ‘discriminated against’. This ‘we’, which excludes what it calls “gypsies”, indexes an ethnic Czech nation. Her strategy constitutes a reversal of victim and perpetrator, which is typical of discriminating discourse and the discursive construction of scapegoats (cf. Reisigl & Wodak 2001: 12, 74). It is this mechanism of reinterpretation that Ahmed (2014) refers to as the workings of hate. Hate constructs objects as a means of creating a defence against an injury committed by an imagined Other against a loved community or order (cf. Ahmed 2014: 42–44). In the present example, the Other are the “gypsies”.

It is thus not surprising that the leaked recording of Janáčková’s voice was widely discussed in the media. Both regional and national newspapers took up her statements to report on this event – not least because at the time, Janáčková was a senator and member of the Committee on Education, Science, Culture, Human Rights and Petitions. In 2007 alone, over 20 television and radio news broadcasts and around 170 print and online news reports mentioned her comments. A similar number of references occurred in 2008 and the coverage literally enabled Janáčková to air her racist words all over the nation. But, on the whole, she was obligated to account for her utterances – to explain why she said these words and what she meant. The next section details how Janáčková accounts for her (discursive) acts.

Imagined nations, nationals, and nationalism

In what follows, I shall refrain from focusing on the way the news media mediated the incident. Instead, I intend to investigate how the senator publicly accounts for her (discursive) acts. To do this, it is necessary to take a brief excursion into the political field of the nation state.

As Anderson (1999) noted, from an anthropological perspective, a nation is ‘an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign’ (6). A nation is *imagined* in that it exists only in the minds of people who will never know each other personally; it is further *limited* as it includes some people, but excludes others; and it is *sovereign* in the sense that its founders desire it to be free of a divinely legitimated emperor (cf. Anderson 1999: 37–65). Newspapers play an essential role in the imagination of the nation as they can reach thousands of readers and communicate a certain interpretation of reality to them. It is in this way that ‘fiction seeps quietly and continuously into reality, creating that remarkable confidence of community in anonymity, which is the hallmark of ‘modern’ nations’ (Anderson 1999: 36). Sociolinguists, such as Reisigl (2003), have convincingly argued that the construction of nations and national identity can be observed in texts such as commemorative political addresses.

The question that arises in connection with the limited character of the ‘modern’ nation is whether it includes members of (linguistic) minorities who were not part of its historical construction. Balibar (1991 [1988]: 50) points out how racism and nationalism are closely entangled within a limited ‘modern’ (nationalist) nation state. Racism is both distinct from, but also necessary to, nationalism. It can take very different forms, as evidenced by the existence of a variety of terms related to it, including ‘civic spirit, patriotism, populism, ethnicism, ethnocentrism, xenophobia, chauvinism, imperialism, [and] jingoism [...]’ (Balibar & Wallerstein 1991 [1988]: 46). For my purposes, I believe that Rabinowitz’ (2022) theorisation of defensive nationalism, augmented with Ahmed’s (2014) thinking on hate, is particularly apt for understanding Janáčková’s stancetaking practice.

From a political science perspective, Rabinowitz (2022) bridges two seemingly distinct phenomena, populism and nationalism, to create categories that enable us to understand nationalism today. She does so by distinguishing between state-creating, state-consolidating, and state defensive nationalism. *State-creating nationalism* refers to movements engaged in the creation of a sovereign state for what they consider a national community, while *state-consolidating nationalism* refers to sometimes banal practices that reinforce a collective sense of belonging to a national community (see also Milani & Levon 2016). In contrast, *defensive nationalism* aims to preserve and protect an existing nation in response to a perceived threat to national sovereignty (cf. Rabinowitz 2022: 146–148). As she further explains, defensive nationalism fuses nationalism with populism in that it affirms an opposition between ‘the nation’ and a ‘globalizing enemy’. Ethnocentrism and racism are further characteristic of this form of nationalism (cf. Rabinowitz 2022: 148–149).

Ahmed (2014) explains that in the context of nationalism, hate and love are organised to construct a defence against an injury committed by an imagined Other:

The ordinary or normative subject is reproduced as the injured party; the one that is 'hurt' or even damaged by the 'invasion' of others. The bodies of others are hence transformed into 'the hated' through a discourse of pain. They are assumed to 'cause' injury to the ordinary white subject [...]. (Ahmed 2014: 43–44)

What can be observed is thus a sort of reversal of victim and perpetrator in which what is threatened is the imagined ordinary subject who is commonly loved and who stands for an ethnic community or nation. The loved subject is threatened by the proximity of the Other and therefore needs to be protected, whereas the imagined Other should be hated (cf. Ahmed 2014: 43–44). Hate is thus grounded in love or, put differently, the justification of hate is based on love.

Accounts as a strategy to reimagine the nation

A closer look at an interview in the 21 August 2007 edition of the news magazine *Týden* reveals how Janáčková accounts for her (discursive) acts in public. Here, I do not pay attention to the interaction between interviewer and interviewee per se. Instead, I take Janáčková's answers as revealing an overarching strategy that offers insights into the workings and reworkings of hate. Approaching the text in this way seems tenable to me partly because all of the strategic elements I observe here can be found in other interviews with her as well.

As Chovanec (2020) discusses in his analysis of the same event, news interviews – especially the accountability interview – represent a way to check the normative basis of political behaviour (cf. Chovanec 2020: 66). According to Scott and Lyman (1968) '[a]n account is a linguistic device employed whenever an action is subjected to valiative inquiry' (46). Accounts are crucial for the maintenance of social order. This is because they provide a means for evaluating and judging unexpected behaviour as well as restoring common sense behaviour in a specific cultural environment (cf. Scott & Lyman 1968: 46). Consequently, it can be said that a text written in a genre or style that enables participants to account for their action contributes to or fulfils the same function.

But what does it actually mean to restore common sense behaviour? It can mean restoration to the original situation, of course, but it can also lead to reconsideration and transformation of the hegemonic use of language or interpretations of reality. As I argue, the latter is what Janáčková attempts to do when she reimagines or reinterprets the nation through the reorientation of affect and/or emotions of hate and love. This strategy enables her to legitimise her racist words and housing policy.

The entextualised interview with the senator and municipal district mayor published in *Týden* is titled *Vím přesně, co na lidi zabírá* ‘I know precisely how to gain on people’. It reveals the critical stance of the interviewer when, at one point in the interview, the interviewer explicitly asks her what she understands by populism. The textual voice thus evaluates Janáčková as populist. The first part of the interview is about the racist statements she made during the semi-public meeting with long-term residents of Bedřiška. The second part of the interview reveals her opinion of government, political rivalries, and her relationship towards members of the ODS Party to which she had previously belonged. Here, I am interested in the first part of the interview where Janáčková is asked to account for her racist statements.

Upon interrogation of her intent, Janáčková is positioned as the accused.¹⁹ Consequently, she assumes a defensive stance. The interviewer asks a leading question about whether she thinks she went too far for a *demokratický politik* ‘democratic politician’, and her objectified voice answers as follows:

Excerpt 4.2: *Týden*, 6 August 2007 (my English translation below)

- 01 Int. *Nemyslíte, že jste i tak překročila hranice, za které demokratický politik nesmí?*
 02 Liana *Bylo to hloupé. Politik by se tak neměl vyjadřovat a měl by dbát na formu.*
 03 *Pomineme-li ale nevhodnou formu, za obsahem si stojím dodnes.*
 04 *Na mou podporu se teď sešlo pět set e-mailů. Čtu je se smíšenými pocity.*
 05 *Za podporu jsem vděčná, ale vadí mi, že tu po sedmnácti letech takové*
 06 *problémy vůbec máme. Je otázka, k čemu mi ta podpora bude, až přijdou kroky, které*
 07 *po trestním oznámení obvykle následují. Může se stát, že se z Janáčkové stane*
 08 *precedens; politik už se nebude smět otevřeně vyjádřit. Dále si budeme*
 09 *brát na pokrytce.*

- 01 Int. Don't you think you still crossed a line that a democratic politician is not allowed to cross?
 02 Liana It was silly. A politician should not express himself in such a way and should pay attention to form.
 03 But leaving aside the inappropriate form, I stand by the content to this day.
 04 Five hundred e-mails have now piled up in my support. I read them with mixed feelings.
 05 I am grateful for the support, but it bothers me that after seventeen years we still have such
 06 problems here. The question is what the support will be for when the steps that
 07 usually follow a criminal complaint occur. It may be that the Janáčková case becomes
 08 a precedent [and] a politician will no longer be allowed to express himself openly. We will continue
 09 to play hypocrites.

¹⁹ ‘Accusations’ typically occur on the basis of the supposed violation of a shared norm or rule and therefore imply a request to give an account (cf. Günthner 2000: 78–79).

The distinction Janáčková makes between what she calls *forma* ‘form’ and *obsah* ‘content’ (lines 2-3) seems fundamental to accounting²⁰ for her (discursive) practice. This strategy enables her to simultaneously admit that her behaviour was inappropriate, thereby acknowledging the language norms in question, as well as stand by what she said and assume responsibility for her actions. Following Scott & Lyman (1968), it can be argued that she excuses her utterance while simultaneously justifying it. An excuse is an account wherein ‘one admits that the act in question is bad, wrong, or inappropriate but denies full responsibility’, whereas justification occurs when ‘one accepts responsibility for the act in question, but denies the pejorative quality associated with it’ (Scott & Lyman 1968: 47). Her defence is thus double-voiced (cf. Bakhtin 1981 [1975]: 296). As such, it enables her to reach different audiences among which one might find liberal voices radically defending the right to freedom of speech. In reality, however, the differentiation between style and content is highly problematic here as in discourse, these two properties of speech are intertwined (cf. Bakhtin 1981 [1975]: 259). Consequently, there is no neat distinction between content and style; style contains meaning as well. One could therefore argue that public attention should focus instead on how her words materialise, that is, whether her policy towards Roma corresponds to her racist words or not.

She further supports her defensive stance in line 6, saying that *se teď sešlo pět set e-mailů* ‘[f]ive hundred e-mails have now piled up’ in her support. With this argumentum ad populum that she combines with a topos of numbers, she suggests that the actions following from her stance are legitimate as a certain number of people support her (cf. Reisigl & Wodak 2001: 79). In lines 4 and 5, she further explores her populist argument with the use of a language of care/love in that she thematises her experience of *smíšený[] pocity* ‘mixed feelings’ when reading these e-mails; it *vadí* ‘bothers’ her that after *sedmnácti letech* ‘seventeen years’ (since the end of the communist regime), *takové problémy* ‘such problems’ persist (lines 5–6). She worries that she will not be able to resolve these problems as there is a risk that a politician like her *už se nebude smět otevřeně vyjádřit* ‘will no longer be allowed to express [themselves] openly’ (line 8).

Janáčková’s way of justifying her words (and actions) can be explained as an *appeal to loyalties* (Scott & Lyman 1968). This is a technique through which ‘the actor asserts that his action was permissible or even right since it served the interest of another to whom he owes an unbreakable

²⁰ Scott and Lyman (1968) describe accounts as crucial to social order (see also Borovanská 2011; Sacks 1995: 428–434). Inspired by J.L. Austin (1979: 123–152), Scott and Lyman (1968) differentiate between two types of accounts: ‘Justifications are accounts in which one accepts responsibility for the act in question, but denies the pejorative quality associated with it [...] Excuses are accounts in which one admits that the act in question is bad, wrong, or inappropriate but denies full responsibility’ (47). The works of Goffman (1971), Rehbein (1972), Fritz and Hundsniischer (1975), Frankenberg (1976), Holly (1979) and Günthner (2000) are based on Scott & Lyman’s account (1968).

allegiance or affection’ (Scott & Lyman 1968: 51). This entanglement of feelings of care and love for a certain community with a defensive populism further becomes evident in lines 8 and 9, where Janáčková’s mediated voice insinuates that politicians upholding the status quo *brát na pokrytce* ‘play hypocrites’. The verb ‘to play’ implies that these politicians actually know what she declares to be ‘the truth’ and, hence, positions them as potential liars. It is in this way that a language of care/love oriented towards a certain group of people is enmeshed with a populist language oriented against the political status quo, revealing the kind of politicians they apparently are.

Earlier in the interview, Janáčková demonstrated what she meant by speaking in a more formal style. She did so when responding to the question and comments that the interviewer asks in lines 1 and 2, about whether she still considers herself to be a racist.

Excerpt 4.3: Týden, 6 August 2007 (my English translation below)

- 01 Int. *Pořád se považujete za rasistku? Prohlásila jste to o sobě na nedávno*
 02 *zveřejněné nahrávce.*
- 03 Liana *Je zvláštní, že se ta nahrávka objevila až po roce. Je za tím cítit politický boj.*
 04 *Samozeřejmě, že v normálním rozhovoru, který teď vedeme, bych nic takového neřekla.*
 05 *Mnozí, říkám záměrně mnozí, lidé z romského etnika se nechovají podle zákonů a*
 06 *dá se o nich prohlásit, že diskriminují své sousedy. To jsme řešili tehdy před rokem.*
 07 *Já nechci ustupovat Romům, kteří společnosti nevracejí, co do nich vkládá.*
 08 *Prostě neustoupím těm, kteří se odmítají přizpůsobit.*
- 01 Int. Do you still consider yourself a racist? You stated this about yourself in the recently
 02 released recording.
- 03 Liana It’s strange that the recording only appeared a year later. I sense a political struggle behind it.
 04 Of course, in a normal conversation, which we are having now, I would not say anything like that.
 05 Many, and I say many deliberately, people of Roma ethnicity do not behave according to the law
 06 and can be said to discriminate against their neighbours. We dealt with that a year ago.
 07 I don’t want to give in to the Roma who do not give back what society puts into them.
 08 I just won’t give in to those who refuse to adapt.

Janáčková’s objectified voice diverts attention from the question by means of a discursive link indexing the political rivalry she had with former mayor Radomír Michniak in line 3. She then further distances herself from her style of speech in the recording (line 4). Taking a populist stance, she once again positions herself as a victim of other politicians.

In a next step, she evaluates what she calls *lidé z romského etnika* ‘people of Roma ethnicity’, stressing the use of a mitigation device (*mnozí* ‘many’) in line 5. She further characterises those of

Roma ethnicity as *se nechovají podle zákonů* ‘not behav[ing] according to the law’, *diskriminují své sousedy* ‘discriminat[ing] against their neighbours’, *společnosti nevracejí, co do nich vkládá* ‘not giv[ing] back what society puts into them’, and *odmítají přizpůsobit* ‘refus[ing] to adapt’ (lines 5-8). In Scott and Lyman’s (1968) terms, Janáčková justifies her hateful words through the device of *condemnation of the condemner*, which refers to a situation wherein an ‘actor admits performing an untoward act but asserts its irrelevancy because others commit these and worse acts, and these others are either not caught, not punished, not condemned, unnoticed, or even praised’ (Scott & Lyman 1968: 51).

But what the senator and municipal district mayor does not mention is the devastating effect of her housing policy on functioning housing units and neighbourhood communities. She also overlooks the discrimination (and worse) that Roma people and Romani communities have encountered in Europe since the fifteenth century, including the conditions that continue to structure relations between a Roma minority and majority communities in the present day. Moreover, she does not mention the non-Roma people who face similar social problems and may adopt forms of behaviour that others may perceive as ‘uncivil’. Her evaluations of ‘many’ Roma index a nationalist language that ethnicises the majority of Roma as “gypsies” (i.e., she positions Roma residents as inferior, excluding them from an imagined Czech community or nation).

With her evaluation of ‘many’ Roma as ‘refus[ing] to adapt’ to a majoritarian order and ‘discriminat[ing] against their neighbours’, Janáčková further positions so-called decent or ‘ordinary’ (and mainly non-Roma) neighbours as the real social victims. In this way, she reframes her statements of hate as ones of care/love and thereby implicitly justifies hateful practices towards Roma residents to protect the beloved ‘modern’ ethnic Czech subject, which could potentially include the assimilated Roma who are better-off as well. But in reality, as I discovered during my ethnographic activities in Bedřiška, Janáčková’s segregationist practices affected the more integrated and/or wealthier Roma people as well.

A bit further on in the interview, the interviewer asks Janáčková when she thinks one should use the term “gypsy” and when one should say Roma (line 1 in Excerpt 4.4). Her answer provides additional insight into whom she includes and excludes from her nation as well as whom else she perceives to be her enemy – and as such, confirms her defensive-nationalist stance.

Excerpt 4.4: Týden, 6 August 2007 (my English translation below)

- 01 Int. *Kdy je podle vás vhodné použít výraz „cikán“ a kdy „Rom“?*
 02 Liana *Pozastavuji se nad pseudohumanisty, kteří mi vyčítají, že používám označení cikán. Jde o historicky*
 03 *dáný termín. Nedokážu si představit, že bychom nově zpívali písničky jako Romko ty krásná nebo*
 04 *Romský baron jsem já. Také Gipsy.cz, kteří mě pěkně osolili, ačkoli o nich říkám, že se mi líbí*
 05 *jejich hudba, o sobě říkají, že jsou cikánská kapela. Že bychom*

- 06 *od roku 1989 měli výhradně používat slovo Rom, mi nepřipadá úplně normální.*
 07 *Ostatně Romové jsou pro mě ti, kteří se chovají slušně.*
 08 *Ostatní si banlivější termín cikán zaslouží. Nechci tu ale slovíčkařit.*

- 01 Int. When do you think it is appropriate to use the term “gypsy” and when [should you use] ‘Rom’?
 02 Liana I object to the pseudo-humanists who blame me for using the term gypsy. It is a historically
 03 bestowed term. I can’t imagine us singing songs like ‘Roma girl, you are beautiful’ or
 04 ‘I’m the Roma Baron’. Gipsy.cz, who really pissed me off even though I say that I like
 05 their music, they themselves say that they are a gypsy band. [The notion] that we should
 06 exclusively use the word Roma, [which has existed] since 1989, does not seem very normal to me.
 07 After all, for me, the Roma are the ones who behave decently.
 08 Others deserve the more derogatory term gypsy. But I don’t want to quibble about words here.

In line 2, Janáčková evaluates agents who accuse her *že používám označení cikán* of ‘using the term gypsy’ by pejoratively calling them *pseudohumanisty* ‘pseudo-humanists’; they represent yet another enemy and possibly an educated elite. The ‘retrogressive’ character of her defensive-nationalist stance (cf. Rabinowitz 2022: 152) is further reaffirmed in line 6, where she once again alludes to a historical reality before 1989. Her words thus seem directed towards an audience that doubts the achievements of post-socialist politics.

Through use of the stigmatised term “gypsy”, Janáčková defends what she believes is her right to call Roma people what she wants in line 3 to 5. She defends her position by indexing a sort of topos of history, claiming that what one has done in the past is good in the present (cf. Reisigl & Wodak 2001: 80); she then alludes to a ‘modern’ discourse and evaluates it as a tradition that should continue. Consequently, it can be said that her defensive-nationalist stance cues a frame of ‘modernity’ within which her stance unfolds its meaning. Janáčková further supports her stance by arguing that Roma people call themselves “gypsies” without realising that when used as a self-identifying term, it usually has a different meaning that contradicts conventional use (cf. Butler 1997). What is especially interesting for the present purpose is her distinction between the term *Rom* ‘Roma’ and “*cikán*” “gypsies” in lines 7 and 8. Whereas the former term refers to Roma people who *se chovají slušně* ‘behave decently’, she claims that those who do not behave that way [*si*] *zaslouží* ‘deserve’ to be called “gypsy”.

The senator’s response to another question can be read in this same spirit. In line 1 (excerpt 4.5), the interviewer responds to Janáčková (excerpt 4.3) by asking who she means when she states ‘Roma who do not adapt’.

Excerpt 4.5: Týden, 6 August 2007 (my English translation below)

- 01 Int. *Kteří to jsou?*
- 02 Liana *Jsmo schopni individuálně posuzovat rodiny, které si zaslouží, abychom jim pomáhali. Chodíme totiž*
 03 *mezi ně, jsme schopni získat reference ze zaměstnání a posoudit, kolik stížností*
 04 *se na danou rodinu sešlo. O ty, kteří se nechtějí začlenit,*
 05 *at' se stát ani obec nestarají. Když stěhujeme rodiny z*
 06 *lokalit, kde se chystá demolice – jako například tady v okolí radnice –*
 07 *neváháme některé začlenit do sousedství čistotných a bezproblémových lidí.*
 08 *Ty rodiny se ale podle toho musejí chovat. Je nutno říct, že mezi Romy jich je menšina.*
 09 *Když uvažujeme o integraci, nikdy neposuzujeme lidi podle barvy pleti,*
 10 *nýbrž podle chování. Podívejte, kolik gaunerů je mezi bílými a kolik*
 11 *vysoce postavených lidí zneužívá zákony. O barvu pleti mi opravdu nejde.*
- 01 Int. Which ones are they?
- 02 Liana We are able to individually assess the families who deserve to be helped. Because we go
 03 among them, we are able to get employment references and assess how many complaints
 04 have been received about the given family. Concerning those who do not want to integrate,
 05 neither the state nor the municipality should take care of them. When we move families from
 06 locations that are marked for demolition – such as here around the town hall –
 07 we do not hesitate to integrate some into a neighbourhood of clean and trouble-free people. But
 08 those families have to behave accordingly. It must be said that there are a minority among the Roma.
 09 When we think about integration, we never judge people by the colour of their skin
 10 but by their behaviour. Look at how many crooks there are among the whites and how many
 11 high-ranking people are abusing the laws. I don't care about skin colour, really.

This excerpt mainly shows the kinds of policies that Janáčková's words are meant to legitimise, the effects they may have, or how they could affect people who are identifiable as Roma. As one learns in lines 4 to 5, the senator maintains that *at' se stát ani obec* 'neither the state nor the municipality' should *nestarají* 'take care' of "gypsies"; Janáčková suggests excluding them from a national solidarity community that takes care of its disadvantaged members. She thus disaligns not only with actual social democratic institutions, but also with a communist past that guaranteed all members of communist society access to education, health, housing, work, and the ability to have a decent living. Interestingly, however, she aligns with this past in other ways: In lines 3 and 4, she suggests that Roma residents and/or citizens should be surveilled to assess whether they behave in accordance with majoritarian norms. Needless to say, her ideas allude to surveillance practices common under the communist regime, wherein the behaviour of average citizens was regularly

assessed by various social actors. It is in this way that she imagines Roma citizens as a class enemy of the nationalist political system that she has in mind.

Excerpt 4.6: Týden, 6 August 2007 (my English translation below)

- 01 Int. *Jak jste to myslela s tím elektrickým plotem, který má obehnat romskou kolonii?*
 02 Liana *V tomto bodě ta nabrávka asi není původní. To by chtělo technika, který posoudí, jestli*
 03 *nabrávka není sestříhaná. Je docela zpláštěná, že po tomto výroku nabrávka končí.*
 04 *Docela často se nechávám strhnout k emocionálním výkřikům, ale toto je moc i na mě.*

- 01 Int. What did you mean by the electric fence that is supposed to surround the Roma settlement?
 02 Liana At this point, the recording is probably not original. It would require a technician to assess whether
 03 the recording has been edited. It is quite strange that the recording ends after this statement.
 04 I get tempted to scream emotionally quite often, but this is too much even for me.

At one point of the interview, the interviewer asks Janáčková what she meant when she said *elektrický plot, který má obehnat romskou kolonii* ‘the electric fence that is supposed to surround the Roma settlement’ (line 1). In lines 2 and 3, she denies having said this and thus distances herself from the disturbing images of a national-socialist concentration camp evoked by such words. Ironically, a barbed wire fence separated Bedřiška from the rest of the municipal district when I was undertaking my ethnographic exploration there in 2018.

To sum up, this section has argued that the senator and municipal district mayor, Liana Janáčková, accounts for her racist statements by assuming a defensive-nationalist stance. In so doing, she indexes a populist and nationalist language entangled with feelings of love oriented toward an ethnic Czech nation, and hate directed towards the racist ethnicisation of Roma people and/or a group of people whom she calls “gypsies”. Indexing this alternative ethnic-nationalist reality, she positions Roma citizens and/or residents as inferior and legitimises their exclusion from a solidarity community.

Struggling with defensive-nationalist hate

In this section, I explore how Janáčková’s hateful voice affects citizens who identify as Roma. I am interested in how such an experience can potentially translate into a written response to hate. For this reason, I examine an editorial in the 21 August 2007 edition of the national magazine *Romano Vodi* ‘Romani soul’; the magazine is affiliated with the website *Roma.cz*, which published parts of the recording and filed a criminal complaint against Janáčková (e.g., *Právo* 19 July 2007). The journalist Jarmila Balážová directly addresses the audience that she intends to introduce to the controversy, the editorial is titled *Milí čtenáři* ‘Dear readers’. The magazine issue itself responds to

Janáčková's hateful statements with a three-page article about the quality of life in Bedřiška titled *Bedřiška na rozcestí* 'Bedřiška at a crossroads'. It also includes a one-page article on the general political situation in Czechia titled *Jak se mění česká politická scéna?* 'How is the Czech political scene changing?'. The editorial certainly introduces readers to the content of the issue, but it mainly constitutes a very personal response to this event. As such, it is written in a very personal style, including the narration of vivid imagery reflective of the individual experience and imagination of a journalist who identifies as Roma and refers to herself through use of the first-person pronoun 'I'.

As Ahmed (2014) explains, an individual experience can neither claim to represent what a certain group of people affected by hate speech feels nor be taken as evidence of a hate crime. Obviously, not all people who identify or who are identifiable as Roma were affected by Janáčková's words in the same way; humans experience the world differently. Still, it is important to listen 'to the affects and effects of hate and hate crime as a way of calling into question' (Ahmed 2014: 59). The text analysed here thus represents a way to respond to hate and evaluate it as anything but ordinary.

As Busch (2017) writes, the relocation of one's body within a country or continent, or from one continent to another, always involves a change in life world and the norms and practices of the linguistic environment. This change may involve new opportunities and chances that, under difficult conditions, can also 'be experienced as a hardship or as a source of ongoing emotional stress – sometimes even leading to traumatization or to re-invoking earlier traumatic experience' (Busch 2017: 340). Although Busch (2017) posits this idea about human beings who migrate or flee from one space to another, the same argument can be made in relation to a person who experiences a shift in imagined space that is usually taken for granted – that is, an imagined nation, a political space. In light of this argument, I want to demonstrate how a shift in the national affective-dialogic frame, or from a civic-nationalist to an ethno-nationalist frame, can provoke an experience of the loss of a political home. I argue that as a result, the journalist assumes a distrustful stance towards the political order (on the level of the nation state) – one entangled with displays of fear and scepticism. But at the same time, this language of distrust entangles with and perhaps provokes a critical civic stance that affirms civic values intertwined with hope and initiative.

At the beginning of the editorial, the author describes her physical reaction upon first hearing Janáčková's voice. More specifically, she describes how it affected her body and entered her consciousness, evoking multiple sensory experiences, feelings, and/or imaginaries:

Excerpt 4.7: *Romano Vodři*, 21 August 2007 (my English translation below)

01 *Informace o zážnamu, na němž starostka a dnes i senátorka Liana Janáčková bovoří*
 02 *na setkání s občany o Romech tak děsivě, až vám opravdu běhá mráz po zádech,*
 03 *mě zastihla na dovolené ve slunném, pobostinném Řecku. Pokoušela jsem se nachytat ještě více bronzu, než*
 04 *mi příroda nadělila, když mi pípl mobil. Kolegova SMS zpráva mě informovala o*
 05 *dění v zemi tři hodiny vzdálené. Ostatný drát, za nímž dodnes vidím stovky*
 06 *lidí trýzněných v koncentračních táborech, a dynamit nalézající své uplatnění při hrůzných akcích mi na chvíli*
 07 *zkažily náladu, jejich ostrost a zápach se mi zabodávaly do těla a nozder*
 08 *opravdu dost věrohodně a tak jsem raději další zprávy již dostat nechtěla.*

01 Information about the recording, in which mayor and...Senator Liana Janáčková speaks
 02 about Roma at a meeting with citizens in such a terrifying way that it really sends chills down your spine,
 03 caught me on vacation in sunny, hospitable Greece. I was trying to get even more bronze than
 04 nature had given me when my cell phone beeped. A colleague's text message informed me about what was
 05 happening in the country located three hours away. [Images of] barbed wire behind which I can still see
 06 hundreds of people tortured in concentration camps, and dynamite finding its application in horrific activities
 07 spoiled my mood for a while; their sharpness and foul smell stabbed me in my body and nostrils
 08 really quite believably, so that I did not want to get any more messages.

In the excerpt above, the author of the editorial describes the experience of what, in the words of Ahmed (2014), can be called a moment of 'transformation of [her] body into the body of the hated' (57). As the author narrates this experience, she refers to a Roma history, images, and stories evoking horror; sensations of pain; and smells indexing disgust. Initially, the author describes how she felt during her vacation in Greece before learning about the recording. Her description can be read metaphorically as expressing an inner emotional state. In lines 3 to 4, she evaluates Greece as a *slunné* 'sunny' and *pobostinné* 'hospitable' place in which she wanted *nachytat ještě více bronzu, než mi příroda nadělila* 'to get even more bronze that nature had given' her; she feels accepted and safe in her own darker skin. Suddenly, however, the situation changes as she receives a message.

The *píp* 'beep' of her cell phone or the message that *zastihla* 'caught' her attention marks a turning point in the evaluation of her inner world (line 4). In lines 5 to 8, she expresses how Janáčková's voice elicited feelings of *děs* 'terror' as it *běhá mráz po zádech* '[sent] chills down your spine' (line 2). Janáčková's words evoked mental images of *[o]stnatý drát* '[b]arbed wire' behind which she *vidím* 'sees' *stovky lidí trýzněných v koncentračních táborech* 'hundreds of people tortured in concentration camps' (line 6) and the *hrůzných* 'horrific' events related to it. She further evaluates Janáčková's words as *ostr[y]* 'sharp' and having a *zápach* 'foul smell', *se zabodávaly* 'stabbing her' in

her body and nose (line 7). The words not only smelled bad, but injured her body in this process of negation they had initiated.

As Ahmed (2014) explains '[h]ate works to unmake the world of the [O]ther through pain' (58). Excerpt 4.7 illustrates this unmaking of the author's world as well as the one of the Roma community with which she identifies. Another passage illustrates this phenomenon as follows:

Excerpt 4.8: *Romano Vod'í*, 21 August 2007 (my English translation below)

01 *Toble dvojčíslo mělo mít původně naprosto jinou obálku, zásadní materiály se*
 02 *měly týkat školství a na titulu se měli usmívat školáci, student*
 03 *a budoucí pracovní síla téhle země. Janáčkové slova o ostnatém drátě nás vyprovokovala ke změně. Ke změně obálky,*
 04 *ke změně několika článků a komentářů. Adam Pospíšil se vypravil do Bedříšky,*
 05 *kteřá paní senátorku tak popuzuje. Zjistil zajímavé informace, zdaleka tam nežije tolik neplatičů,*
 06 *kolik se jich české veřejnosti snaží paní starostka předhazovat. Zdaleka ne všichni tam dělají a*
 07 *chtějí dělat jen „bordel“.*

01 This double issue was originally supposed to have a completely different envelope; essential materials were
 02 meant to be about education while schoolchildren, students, and the future workforce of this country were to
 03 smile on the title page. Janáčková's words about barbed wire provoked us to change – to change the cover,
 04 to change several articles and comments. Adam Pospíšil went to Bedříška,
 05 which irritated the senator so much. He found out interesting information: there are not nearly as many
 06 defaulters living there as [Janáčková] is trying to tell the Czech public. Not everyone there
 07 only wants to make a 'mess'.

In this excerpt, the textual voice tells readers how Janáčková's statements provoked a change in the magazine's content. Accordingly, the magazine changed the voice of its communication with the outer world. It was supposed to showcase positive (national) achievements, such as the *budoucí pracovní síla téhle země* 'future workforce of this country' (line 3); texts and photographs were meant to communicate hope and a positive Roma identity to readers. Janáčková's words, however, *nás vyprovokovala* 'provoked' them *ke změně* 'to change' (line 4). Rather than imagining a positive national Roma identity, people working on this issue of the magazine were compelled to combat misrepresentation (lines 5 to 7) and respond to defensive-nationalist hate to counter the exclusionary force of Janáčková's voice.

In this context, the author expresses a certain pride of the magazine's stance of civic critique. However, this pride is overshadowed by expressions of a sense of insecurity and distrust.

Excerpt 4.9: *Romano Vod'í*, 21 August 2007 (my English translation below)

01 *Kolegové odvedli vynikající práci, když po obdržení záznamu vše zveřejnili,*
 02 *dokázali díky médiím upřít na paní starostku kužel světla, o který*
 03 *právě v té chvíli a v těchto souvislostech asi nestála, dovedli vše až k trestnímu oznámení*
 04 *a teď už je na miskách spravedlnosti, kam se převáhnou. Pravda, člověk už si není*
 05 *jistý ani spravedlností v pravý okamžik, ale co jiného zbývá než doufat a maximálně odkrývat*
 06 *další a další stránky pozadí kauz, které stojí za Lianou Janáčkovou a dalšími.*

01 My colleagues did an excellent job when, after receiving the recording, they published everything.
 02 Thanks to the media, they were able to investigate Ms Mayor. What she
 03 probably did not appreciate, given the moment and circumstances, [is that] they filed a criminal complaint
 04 and now it depends on the side to which the scales of justice will tip. True, one can no longer
 05 even count on justice with confidence today. But what else can one do other than hope and fully expose
 06 each facet, one after another, behind cases involving Liana Janáčková and others?

In line 1, the textual voice praises her colleagues for *vynikající* their ‘excellent’ work for justice and details what they did in lines 1 to 3. In her position as a journalist, she assumes a stance of civic critique, emphasising the importance of *odkrývat* ‘reveal[ing]’ what is *pozadí kauz, které stojí za Lianou Janáčkovou a dalšími* ‘behind cases involving Liana Janáčková and others’ (lines 5 to 6). As one learns a bit further on in the text, the word ‘others’ refers to other politicians using right-wing extremist rhetoric to gain support from their audience. Given her civic nationalist stance full of pride, she further assumes a distrustful stance towards the constitutional state, saying that *člověk už si není jistý ani spravedlností* ‘one can no longer even count on justice with confidence today’ (lines 4 to 5). Yet between this language of civic pride and distrust, the only action that a person can take is *doufat* ‘to hope’ and continue to shed light on what is happening (lines 5 and 6). In the spirit of Luhmann (1979) and in relation to Lewicki, McAllister and Bies (1998: 445), it can be argued that the author oscillates between trust and distrust, using her words to indicate initiative and hope as well as scepticism (see Chapter 5).

Later on in the text, the author paraphrases the Roma people who expressed resignation in light of the hate to which they were subjected.

Excerpt 4.10: *Romano Vod'í*, 21 August 2007 (my English translation below)

01 *Některé tvrdí, že se nic jiného nedá dělat, holt budou muset ti slušnější Cikáni prostě tenhle život žít s tím,*
 02 *že jim to jiní Cikáni kazí, a prostě snášet paušalizace a urážky dokonce od vrcholných politiků.*
 03 *A to tu máme demokracii a u moci stranu, která staví svůj program na občanském principu.*

01 Some claim that nothing else can be done, the more decent Gypsies will simply have to live this life with
 02 other Gypsies spoiling it, and simply endure generalisations and insults from even top politicians. And
 03 this [is true] even if we have democracy and a party in power that bases its programme on civic principles.

In line 1, the objectified voice of *[n]ěkteré* '[s]ome' Roma aligns with the stigma attached to the term "*Cikáni*" "Gypsies". This latter term is not used in a new and empowering way, but instead communicates a sense of resignation to its social positioning and negation of the self. Franz Fanon extensively explained this phenomenon in his book with the telling title *Peau noire, masques blancs* (*Black skin, white masks*, 2015); he argues that in a context of the colonisation of territories and selves by colonial powers, the colonised takes up the face of his coloniser. In other words, the colonised assumes the coloniser's way of relating to the world, including his negative gaze on the colonised subject.

The author's voice distances itself from the voices of these Roma who *tvrdí* 'claim' that *slušnější* 'more decent' Roma (line 1) can do nothing but *prostě snášet pašalizace a urážky* 'simply endure generalisations and insults' (line 2). Nonetheless, in line 3, she again expresses her scepticism towards the idea of *demokracii* 'democracy' and *občanské[y] principy* 'civic principles', once again exemplifying her distrustful stance.

A bit further on in the text, her expression of a feeling of the loss of a dialogic-affective home becomes even more evident.

Excerpt 4.11: *Romano Vod'í*, 21 August 2007 (my English translation below)

01 *To že se takhle vyjadřuje Liana Janáčková, mě nepřekvapuje, [...]*
 02 *Mě nesmírně rozesmutili ti ostatní. Jak to, že tolik politiků, dle mého mínění*
 03 *slušných mlčelo? Jak to, že senátní výbor pro lidská práva paní Janáčkovou strpí ve*
 04 *svých řadách, jak to, že ostatní jsou ochotni přistoupit na prapodivný argument a kompromis tvrdící,*
 05 *že ona i Nepraš, předtím Čunek, jen a jen ukazují na to, co není v pořádku? V případě Janáčkové*
 06 *se zdůrazňuje politický rozměr kauzy. Jistě, ten zážnam byl poskytnut až po půl roce,*
 07 *navíc politickým rivalem. Znamená to ale, že Romea neměla zážnam zveřejnit a na paní senátorku podat*
 08 *trestní oznámení? Proč se tedy například Danielu Landovi má připomínat jeho minulost*
 09 *a Janáčkové ne poměrně nedávná kapitola jejího veřejného života? Máme*
 10 *dvojitý metr? Nejen na Romy, ale i na české občany? Jak se nám to hodí a kdy?*

01 The fact that Liana Janáčková expresses herself in such a way does not surprise me, '...'
 02 What made me desperately sad were the others. How is it that so many politicians, in my opinion
 03 decent ones, stayed silent? How is it that the Senate Committee on Human Rights tolerates Ms Janáčková in
 04 its ranks? How is it that the others are willing to accept a strange argument and compromise, claiming
 05 that she [...] only point to what is wrong? In the case of Janáčková, the

06 political dimension of the case is being emphasised. Yes, the recording was provided only half a year later,
 07 and by a political rival. But does this mean that *Romea.cz* should not have published the recording or filed a
 08 criminal complaint against the senator? So why, for example, should Daniel Landa be reminded of his past,
 09 but Janáčková [should not be reminded] of a relatively recent chapter in her public life? Do we have
 10 double standards not just for the Roma, but also for Czech citizens – as and when it suits us?

Within a ‘modern’ civic frame or ideological language, the author calls civic-national alignment (or solidarity) into question by interrogating the validity of common institutions, values, and norms. She simultaneously expresses insecurity, wariness, or fear concerning validity with respect to the Roma people as well as disillusionment with Czech liberal democracy. In lines 1 to 3, she discloses how it was not Janáčková’s behaviour that surprised her, but the reactions of *tolik politiků* ‘so many politicians’ she had considered *slušný* ‘decent’, who she thought would react differently when faced with Janáčková’s propagation of an ethno-nationalist order. She discloses that their behaviour had made her feel *nesmírně rozesmutněli* ‘desperately sad’, expressing the extent of her disillusionment.

The number of rhetorical questions, posed one after the other in lines 2 to 10, can further be read as expressions of a feeling of the loss of ground under one’s feet. Her questions speak to a sense of uncertainty or insecurity, as if asking for an affirmation of liberal civic values and institutions. She wonders how it was possible that so many liberal politicians *mlčelo* ‘stayed silent’ when members of *senátní výbor pro lidská práva* ‘the Senate Committee on Human Rights’ failed to expel Janáčková, foregrounding the fact that politicians *jsou ochotni přistoupit na prapodivný argument* ‘are willing to accept any strange argument’. Implicating the liberal principle of equality, she then wonders in line 9 whether there are *dvojí metr* ‘double standards’ and people (Roma as well as Czechs) are treated according to hidden principles *[j]ak se nám to hodí* ‘as and when it suits us’ (line 10). Here, the author nonetheless identifies with a civic ‘us’ (*nám*) (line 9) that reaches beyond ethnic groups.

In summary, I have argued that the editorial in the 21 August 2007 edition of *Romano Vodň* mediates a particular response to hate. The journalist Jarmila Balážová details her experience of hearing Janáčková’s voice in a language of insecurity or fear, referring to sensory perceptions of pain, foul-smelling odours, and images drawn from the fragments of the history of Roma exclusion and extermination. This dialogic-affective experience then entangles with a language of distrust oriented towards the Czech civic order or political home that seemingly crumbles beneath her feet. But in her position as a Roma journalist, the writer nonetheless affirms civic values (e.g., critical investigation and transparency) against the propagation of an ethno-nationalist order by politicians such as Liana Janáčková. Balážová’s response to Janáčková’s discourse can thus be read as the experience of an inner struggle with a hateful voice that intrudes on her consciousness and invades

her body with the intention of negating her and/or excluding her from a national civic community with which she aligns. The author's 'I' does not defer to this force but assumes a distrustful stance instead, expressing watchfulness and scepticism by means of rhetorical questions, simultaneously questioning and affirming her alignment with a 'modern' civic ideology. As a journalist, she still embraces these values and actively translates them into a discursive practice of critique entangled with hope.

Conclusion: Defending home through the reaffirmation of a 'modern' civic language

On and after 10 July 2007, Janáčková's racist statements were disseminated all over the 'Czech' nation. Publicly accused of infringing on the social order, she was obliged to account for her hateful words towards Roma people. This chapter explored how Janáčková *accounted* for her racist words through analysis of an interview mediated by a news media text that appeared in the magazine *Týden* 'Week' on 6 August 2007. I was also interested in how the Roma journalist Jarmila Balážová *experienced* (Busch 2016) and responded to the senator's hateful words in an editorial published in the *Romano Vodňi* magazine on 21 August 2007. The main focus of my analysis fell on acts of stancetaking within the dialogic-affective space, which I summarise and further explore in the following paragraphs.

I have argued that Janáčková's account is 'double-voiced' (Bakhtin 1981 [1975]: 296) – that is, she simultaneously 'excuses' and 'justifies' (Scott & Lyman 1968) her words, enabling her to appeal to a civic as well as an ethno-nationalist audience. She also constructs a contention between linguistic content and style that allows her to excuse racism while affirming the content of her words and, by extension, her policy towards the Roma people. Consequently, her account does not reveal a great insight or change. She does not 'apologise' (Goffman 1971: 117) for her comments;²¹ rather, she merely disaligns herself with the nationalist socialist history to which she had alluded to on the textual surface. However, she still aligns with an ethno-nationalist ideology.

I have further argued that Janáčková takes a *defensive-nationalist stance* that constitutes an entanglement of a populist and nationalist language of hate (cf. Rabinowitz 2022; Ahmed 2014) oriented against Roma people and/or a part of them (so-called "gypsies") as well as a civic-

²¹ Günthner (2000: 81) notices that the notion of *excuses* was transferred into German as 'Entschuldigung' without considering terms such as 'Ausrede' or 'Explanation', even when the idea of *excuses* did not fit the ordinary meaning of 'Entschuldigungen' in the sense of ritual forms such as *Es tut mir leid* 'I'm sorry'. Goffman (1971: 190) differentiates between account, apology, and request. The last of these is a preventive, not a responsive act, but they all enable a speaker to 'correct' the meaning of their behaviour. Günthner (2000: 80–82) uses the German translation *Erklärungen* for 'accounts' and introduces *Schuldeingeständnis* 'apology' to refer to ritual formulas such as 'I'm sorry'. She thereby still refers to the explanation of Goffman (1971: 112, 117) that by making an apology an individual can 'split himself in two, the better to allow one part to join the other members of an encounter in any attitude whatsoever to his other part' (Goffman 1971: 117).

democratic elite. This stance further exhibits a sense of love towards an ethnic Czech nation and it is in this way that Janáčková reimagines or reframes the ‘Czech’ civic nation as an ethnic one. By doing so, she excludes Roma residents and/or citizens from an imagined political community while also legitimising their exclusion from a solidarity community. According to Janáčková, municipalities and states should care about or care for only the Roma whom she perceives as ‘decent’. She thus disregards the European policy that calls for Roma inclusion.

In this regard, it is interesting to note that Janáčková does not mention non-Roma people who face social problems similar to those faced by many Roma people (e.g., poverty) and therefore may behave in ways that some might perceive as ‘uncivil’ as well. Defensive nationalism thus offers to citizens who identify as ethnically Czech a common community and the privilege of not being targeted by classist and/or ‘aporphobic’ (Cortina Orts 2017) political discourse (see Chapter 3). Defensive nationalism creates the illusion of equality among people who occupy very different social positions and thereby relegates real social contradictions to an imagined world (cf. Balibar 1991 [1988]: 58-84). As a consequence, her defensive-nationalist discourse frames social problems in ethnic categories. This finding is relevant for the present study, because (poor) non-Roma people also became targets of Janáčková’s housing policy – even if differently and/or to a much lesser extent.

My analysis has further shown that defensive-nationalist hate functions as a force for social exclusion; that is, it constitutes a force for division as well as a force for submission and even negation through misrecognition and the practices legitimised by such discourse. Defensive nationalism reimagines a civic-nationalist community in order to transform it into an ethnic-nationalist one. Janáčková constructs ‘decent’ Czechs as the group of people who should be loved and protected from *neslušný* ‘uncivil’ Roma (or “gypsies”). The former should also be protected from a Czech civic elite who do not speak the truth and protect ‘uncivil’ Roma to the detriment of ‘ethnic Czechs’ themselves. In this spirit, she legitimises hate against Roma people whose ‘proximity [...] is felt as a negation’ (Ahmed 2014: 51) of an ethnic-national self, which she loves as ‘decent’.

In this regard, it is interesting to note that in Janáčková’s discourse, the word *slušný* ‘decent’ indexes an ethno-national order to which people who identify and/or are identifiable as Roma are said to not conform. But as in her ethno-national order, ‘decent’ greatly overlaps with an imagined ethnic Czech identity and the only way for Roma people to become evaluated as ‘decent’ seems to be through assimilation. In other words, they have to become inconspicuous or invisible. But Roma people who are identifiable as such, given their skin colour, family name, or way of dressing and/or speaking, cannot become invisible. This is a problem because, as Ahmed (2014) states, the constructed figure of hate is always circulating between possible referents: the hated figure ‘could

be anywhere and anyone; a ghost-like figure in the present, who gives us nightmares about the future, as an anticipation of a future injury. We see “him” again and again’ (47).

People can never be sure whether someone identifiable as Roma corresponds to the hated figure or not. As a consequence, insecurity and precaution may become the preferred answer of many. Many choose to stereotype those identifiable as Roma by viewing them through a racist lens rather than seeing the human beings they are. This is an experience that the Roma journalist Patrick Banga (2022) extensively illustrates in his autobiographic account titled *skutečná cesta ven* ‘The real way out’.

In the context of French colonialism, Fanon (2015 [1952]) describes the experience of being negated as follows:

Et puis il nous fut donné d'affronter le regard blanc. Une lourdeur inaccoutumée nous oppressa. Le véritable monde nous disputait notre part. Dans le monde blanc, l'homme de couleur rencontre des difficultés dans l'élaboration de son schéma corporel. La connaissance du corps est une activité uniquement négatrice. C'est une connaissance à troisième personne. Tout autour du corps règne une atmosphère d'incertitude certaine. (Fanon 2015 [1952]: 108).

And then the occasion arose when I had to meet the white man's eyes. An unfamiliar weight burdened me. The real world challenged my claims. In the white world the man of color encounters difficulties in the development of his bodily schema. Consciousness of the body is solely a negating activity. It is a third-person consciousness. The body is surrounded by an atmosphere of certain uncertainty. (Fanon 1986: 110–111)

What Fanon (2015 [1952]) writes about in this excerpt is the experience of misrecognition faced by dark-skinned people in a ‘white’ world. Knowledge of the self necessarily takes place through third-person categories, in which a ‘white’ gaze feels like an atmosphere of uncertainty around one's body. Balážová's Roma journalist voice also seems to indicate that in Janáčková's discourse, skin colour becomes something relevant again – an external mark that involves insecurity.

Unlike Janáčková, Jarmila Balážová's editorial voice evaluates the word ‘decent’ within a civic frame. She points out that politicians should not indulge in ethnic-nationalist discourses but stay faithful to civic values that do not distinguish between people along ethnic lines. She thus defends the civic nation against hate by upholding civic values. The question that arises is whether a civic language can exist independent of nationalism: can the Czech Republic be imagined as civic only? And if yes, is it possible to include human beings upon whom the stigma “gypsy” is being projected into a civic order, given the ‘modern’ history of exclusion and extermination (see Chapter 1)?

My analysis of the editorial text shows that a defensive-nationalist language does not simply exclude Roma people from a national and democratic-socialist community. In reality, readers may also experience it as a negation of their (imagined) selves. Balážová expresses her experience of Janáčková's voice as a national-socialist voice from the past; the latter evokes in her the collective trauma of the Porajmos, the Roma genocide. She further describes how these forces of misrecognition forced the magazine's voice to change. Instead of imagining a positive Roma identity for a Czech-speaking audience, they were forced to counter misrecognition.

But what does the text tell us about how to respond to defensive-nationalist hate? It can be said that the editorial assumes a stance *oscillating* between distrust and trust – one that is characterised by scepticism, wariness, and vigilance, but also hope, confidence, and initiative (cf. Luhmann 1979; Lewicki, McAllister & Bies 1998: 445). Balážová talks back within a Czech public sphere by questioning the behaviour of political actors, thereby taking a *critical civic stance* that reaffirms a civic language and political field. As I shall show in the next chapter, this stance oscillating between distrust and trust – or rather hope – plays a central role in Bedřiška's dialogic-affective struggle for housing as well.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that the senator and district mayor, Liana Janáčková, was never convicted for defamation of a nation, race, ethnicity, or other group of persons. This is because the Senate refused to extradite her for criminal prosecution (e.g., *Hospodářské noviny* 10 March 2008; *Moravskoslezský deník* 26 April 2008).

5 Deliberation emerging within trust and/or distrust

Navigating the borders of a dialogic-affective genre

After Czechia entered the EU in 2004, several Czech politicians (re)discovered what political scientists have called *Rompolitika* ‘Rompolitics’, that is, right-wing extremist rhetoric and advocating for policies targeting the Roma minority to gain popular support (cf. Macková 2007). Interestingly, these politicians were members of mainstream political parties, such as *lidovci* ‘the populars’ (KDU-ČSL). The politician Jiří Čunek, for instance, claimed that a person must have a tan and behave uncivilly to deserve political support. This was how he justified his policy of segregating Roma people (cf. Macková 2007). The representative of Břeclav, Tomáš Nepraš, as well as the senator and municipal district mayor, Liana Janáčková (see Chapters 3 and 4), adopted a very similar strategy.

In 2004, racially motivated arson attacks against Roma citizens were a common phenomenon (cf. *Hospodářské noviny* 16 March 2010). On 19 April 2009, for instance, neo-Nazis attacked the house of a Roma family in Vítkov, near Ostrava. Molotov cocktails were thrown into the house, injuring three people and destroying the family’s home. Natálka, a two-year-old girl at the time, suffered second- and third-degree burns to 80 per cent of her body. Also reported in the national newspaper *Hospodářské noviny* ‘Economic Newspaper’ (16 March 2010) was an arson attack on 24 May 2009 close to Prague and another on 14 March in the Bedřiška neighbourhood in Ostrava. In this last case, at around four o’clock in the morning, an unidentified person threw a Molotov cocktail into a room of the wooden Finnish house where a young girl was sleeping. The national news magazine *Romano vodí*, ‘Romani soul,’ reported the following:

Mezi půl čtvrtou a čtvrtou hodinou ranní vlétla do okna domu zápalná labev. Do pokoje, v němž spala čtrnáctiletá dívka. Labev prolétla kolem její hlavy na stůl, od něhož se odrazila a spadla na koberec. Ta rána dívku probudila. Naštěstí. Podařilo se jí totiž hořící labev (respektive vyčnívající knot z ní) uhasit. Molotovův koktejl se naštěstí nerozbil, jinak by bořlavina prvního stupně způsobila rozsáhlé škody. V dome v tu chvíli spalo osm lidí. Nejen napadený dům, ale většina obydlí v této kolonii je ze dřeva. Lže se jen domýšlet, co by se mohlo stát, kdyby labev „bouchla“. (Romano vodí 28.3.2010)

‘Between half past four and five in the morning, a Molotov cocktail flew through the window into the house to the room in which the fourteen-year-old girl was sleeping. The bottle flew past her head onto the table, bouncing off it and falling to the carpet. The blow woke the girl up. Fortunately, she extinguished the burning bottle (or the protruding wick). Happily, the Molotov cocktail didn’t break; otherwise, the first-degree combustible would have caused extensive damage. Eight people were sleeping in the house at the time. The attacked house and most of the dwellings in this colony are made of wood. One can only imagine what could happen if the bottle had “smashed”.’

Although these attacks were not fatal, the Roma residents, in particular, feared the possibility of another such violent attack. Not only had racistly motivated arson attacks been intermittently committed in the region for a few years, but the relations between residents were also tense in this ethnically mixed, socially excluded neighbourhood. Hence, there were reasonable grounds for suspecting that the attacks had been committed by one of the neighbourhood’s residents.

In the present chapter, I examine a neighbourhood meeting organised and facilitated by a community worker to respond to the arson attack to empower the neighbourhood to prevent further conflict escalation. The discussion took place one week after an arson attack on 27 March 2010 at an intersection in the Bedřiška neighbourhood. I understand this dialogic-affective event as a deliberative discussion oriented towards the ‘peaceful’ future cohabitation with the neighbourhood as a political community. In this regard, I am especially interested in how distrust and/or trust affect situated interaction: How do these emotions enable interaction? What kind of perceptions of events or signs may evoke distrust? And when and how is distrust mobilised and organised in a discursive activity? In addition, I seek to address how adopting a stance of distrust and/or trust affects deliberative order and whether there are social mechanisms by which distrust can be thematised, transformed, or counteracted.

To answer these questions, I shall first explain what I mean by trust and/or distrust and a stance of trust and/or distrust. Then, I shall outline the social fields and the semiotic speciality in which the deliberative event occurred. This outline involves a critical analysis of the audio-visual recording of the discussion, which I transcribed and upon which my analysis of interaction is based. Then, I shall proceed to discuss other relevant layers of dialogic-affective context, including the analysis of the situated deliberative interaction.

Trust and/or distrust

Similar to broader emotion research, the research on trust is an interdisciplinary undertaking, thus demanding consideration beyond disciplinary boundaries. While trust has been a central concern in sociology and psychology for a considerable period, most other disciplines have avoided it until recently; this is also the case for linguistics (see, e.g., Kuhnhenh 2018; Wengeler 2019). For linguistic purposes, Schäfer (2016) suggests conceptualising the construction of trust as both a semiotic process and a pragmatic phenomenon. Schäfer understands trust as a social attitude involving an evaluation that occurs during communicative interaction and comprises interrelated cognitive, affective and behavioural dimensions. Whereas the cognitive dimension of trust indicates perceiving another person as well-disposed, trustworthy, and competent, the affective dimension of trust refers to feelings of security and calm, indicating a relationship with another free from fear and anxiety. Furthermore, the behavioural dimension indicates actions based on the perception of trust, such as becoming involved with someone, establishing relationships, communicating one's shortcomings or transferring responsibility (cf. Schäfer 2016: 15–38, 41).

Schäfer (2016) further discusses that trust is embedded and built into practical interactions, executed within the context of habitual experiences. The histories of social relationships evoke specific actions and expectations that make future actions readable. If these expectations are not met, the misunderstood person is often evaluated as untrustworthy (cf. Schäfer 2016: 43–44). Intuitively, one may think that as there is a lack of trust, there is distrust, but this would be too simple a judgement.

Trust is related to expectations. We feel safe in our surroundings if our expectations are met. However, distrust may result from expectations not being met. In this light, distrust is merely a lack of trust, that is to say, the opposite of trust when placed on a single continuum. However, as Luhmann (2014) explains, distrust is not simply the opposite of trust:²²

Thus it would hardly be worthwhile paying particular attention to distrust if it were simply a matter of lack of trust. Distrust, however, is not just the opposite of trust; as such, it is also a functional equivalent for trust. For this reason only is a choice between trust and distrust possible (and necessary). (Luhmann 1979: 71)

²² 'Über Mißtrauen besonders nachzudenken, würde sich deshalb kaum lohnen, wenn es sich dabei nur um fehlendes Vertrauen handelte. Mißtrauen ist jedoch nicht nur das Gegenteil von Vertrauen, sondern als solches zugleich ein *funktionales Äquivalent* für Vertrauen. Nur deshalb kann (und muß) man nämlich zwischen Vertrauen und Mißtrauen wählen' (Luhmann 2014: 92).

Distrust thus fulfils the same function as trust, and as a result, a person can choose to trust, distrust or both.

According to Luhmann (2014), trust and distrust both, in a manner of speaking, help us to reduce the complexity of social life. To illustrate further, Luhmann (2014) argues that if a person chooses to trust, they, to a certain extent, simplify their life and conserve their energy, but they simultaneously risk being deceived. Trust reduces social complexity through accepting risk, but distrust initially restores such complexity. An excess of complexity, however, places too much of a burden on the distrustful person's capacities and significantly impairs their ability to act. Therefore, they must identify how to reduce the complexity again, that is, they must amend their expectations and become distrustful, for instance, by turning a person or group into an enemy that must be combated. In this way, distrust becomes a consolidated attitude involving habitual bodily practices.

However, as Luhmann (2014) further points out, the idea of trust and distrust as stable dispositions is ideal-typical and makes less sense if one considers a real interaction. Consequently, trust and distrust do not exist as separate phenomena but interrelate in various ways. An unquestioned familiar sense of being may become an ambivalent experience of trust and distrust, which then again may merge into unquestioned familiarity (*Vertrautheit*), and, again, historicity plays a central role in emotion, style of expression and the persistence of distrust (cf. Luhmann 2014: 92–95).

Lewicki, McAllister and Bies (1998) draw on the theoretical work of Luhmann (1979) to propose a model of the complex and multidimensional relations between trust and distrust (see Table 5.1). They further draw on empirical social psychological research on the simultaneity of positive and negative sentiments and ambivalence (see, e.g., Cacioppo & Berntson 1994; Katz & Hass 1988) to argue for an understanding of social relationships that allows trust and distrust to exist simultaneously (cf. Lewicki, McAllister & Bies 1998: 440). Their model establishes the two emotions as dimensions, whereby trust and distrust constitute two poles of a continuum from low to high. From this, it follows that low trust does not equal high distrust, with low distrust not being the same as high trust. Each dimension comprises various facets (or implicit or explicit judgements about the other) (cf. Lewicki, McAllister & Bies 1998: 445).

Table 5.1: Trust and/or distrust

High Trust Characterized by Hope Faith Confidence Assurance Initiative	High-value congruence Interdependence promoted Opportunities pursued New initiatives			Trust but verify Relationships highly segmented and bounded Opportunities pursued and down-side risks/vulnerabilities continually monitored
		2	4	
Low Trust Characterized by No hope No faith No confidence Passivity Hesitance		1	3	
	Casual acquaintances Limited interdependence Bounded, arms-length transactions Professional courtesy			Undesirable eventualities expected and feared Harmful motives assumed Interdependence managed Preemption; best offense is a good defense Paranoia
		Low Distrust Characterized by No fear Absence of skepticism Absence of cynicism Low monitoring No vigilance		High Distrust Characterized by Fear Skepticism Cynicism Wariness and watchfulness Vigilance

Source: Lewicki, McAllister & Bies 1998, p. 446

As indicated in Table 5.1, a high-trust relationship involves feelings such as hope, faith, confidence, assurance and initiative. In contrast, low trust is characterised by a lack of hope, a hesitancy to act or judge, or passivity. High distrust is characterised by fear, scepticism, cynicism, wariness and watchfulness, and vigilance. Finally, low distrust implies an absence of fear, and there is no need to be vigilant or to monitor the other. All of these facets may change during interactions and are influenced by contextual factors, which can result in different levels of trust and distrust (cf. Lewicki, McAllister & Bies 1998: 445).

To align this discussion of trust and distrust with the present theoretical and methodological framework, I understand a *trustful stance* to express an evaluative world relation indexing emotions such as hope, faith, confidence, assurance and initiative. Such a stance also involves displaying positive expectations of behaviour. Conversely, a *distrustful stance* can be understood as the expression of an evaluative world relation indexing emotions such as fear, scepticism, cynicism, wariness and watchfulness, and vigilance. It further displays negative expectations of behaviour and positions the other as untrustworthy concerning the expected order of things.

An emergent social field embedding the neighbourhood meeting

The focus of the present analysis is a neighbourhood meeting, which was organised one week after an arson attack on 27 March 2010 was perpetrated by a community worker in the Bedřiška neighbourhood. The Bedřiška neighbourhood is, thus, the space and social field in which the analysed event takes place (see Chapters 1, 2, 3 and 4 to embed the event historically).

A document titled *Popis sociálně vyloučených romských lokalit v region Ostravska* ‘Description of socially excluded Roma localities in the region of Ostrava’, which was commissioned by the *Agentura pro sociální začleňování* ‘Agency for social inclusion’ and which was produced from November 2009 to January 2010, lists and describes the neighbourhood of Bedřiška as a socially excluded locality. This document also highlights that the owner of the land was a private limited company called *RPG Byty* ‘RPG Apartments’, although the municipal district owned the houses. Tenants thus entered into a rental agreement with the municipal district authority. Rental agreements were drawn up to cover a limited period, which was shortened if rent was unpaid; those who could not pay the rent on time were evicted. Once evicted, people usually sought accommodation in commercial “hostels” or with relatives. Long-established residents, mainly non-Roma seniors, were gradually evicted to retirement homes or other parts of the district. The document also describes the locality as a neighbourhood detached from the rest of the city, which lacked services despite the availability of public transportation. One hundred and sixty-six residents were officially registered at that time, and the unemployment rate was significant. However, there were also residents who had permanent employment (cf. Kvasnička 2010: 54–57).

Relations among the residents in the neighbourhood were characterised by conflict and tensions between established and new residents. During the focus group discussion that I organised in the neighbourhood on 22 September 2018, the community leader, Ada, remembered a time when crime and disorder were the norm and neighbourhood relations were tense.

Excerpt 5.1: *Field, Bedřiška, focus group discussion, 22 September 2018* (my English translation below)

01 Ada: *Tady byly sousedské nesobody. Málo se mluvilo, lidi kolem sebe obcházel, děcka*
 02 *si žily svým vlastním životem, nebylo se tady kde setkávat, ani lidi o to neměli zájem. [...]*
 03 *krádeže, drogy, odpady, násilí, bluk. Prostě to nebyl program, který by ty lidi mohl spojit.*

01 Ada: There were neighbourhood disagreements. There was little talk, people ignored each other, children
 02 lived their own life, there was no place to meet, nor were people interested in it. [...]
 03 Theft, drugs, waste, violence, noise. It just wasn't a program that would bring folks together.

Ada describes relations among neighbours in a language of conflict marked by social problems and *nesbody* ‘disagreements’ and as she says, *[m]álo se mluvilo* ‘there was little talk’ (line 1).

Nonetheless, the residents’ perceptions of the neighbourhood relations at that time differ significantly. Hana, for instance, articulates very different experiences from Ada’s.

Excerpt 5.2: *Field, Bedřiška, focus group discussion, 22 September 2018* (my English translation below)

01 Hana: *My se nehádáme vůbec. Já tady bydlím tolik roků a já jsem se tady ještě s*
 02 *nikým nehádala. Ani s bílým, ani s Romama. Vůbec. A bydlím tady od deseti roků a*
 03 *je mi čtyřicet pět roků. A nehádali jsme se ani s bílými, ani s Romama. A vycházíme tu jako že.*
 04 *Vůbec žádný problém tu není. A i když tu bydleli ty nepřizpůsobivé, ti [Kratochvíl],*
 05 *ani s nima jsem neměla problém jako.*

01 Hana: We don’t argue with each other at all. I’ve lived here for so many years and I haven’t argued with
 02 anyone here yet. Not with whites, nor with Roma. At all. And I have lived here for ten years and
 03 I’m forty-five. And we didn’t argue with whites nor with Roma. And we are on good terms right.
 04 There’s no problem at all [...]. And also as these inadaptable lived here, these [Kratochvíl],
 05 even with them I just had no problems with them.

The significant difference in the experiences and perceptions of neighbourhood relations could be explained by biographically given characteristics or membership of different sociocultural groups: Ada is a non-Roma resident, while Hana belonged to a group of ‘better-off’ Roma. Dan offered an interpretation of the neighbourhood after the municipal district leader began segregating Roma residents, banning them from the municipal district centre to the neighbourhood.

Excerpt 5.3: *Field, Bedřiška, interview with Dan, 9 February 2020* (my English translation below)

01 Dan: *Když tady začala stěhovat ty lidi, tak ono to byly lidi, které jsme, jsme se znali, to všechno bylo z*
 02 *Mariánských Hor, jo, a jak tu bydleli hodně, hodně nás tu bylo, tak to*
 03 *bylo fajn, jo, bylo veselo. Tam se*
 04 *slavilo, tam se slavilo, tam byly hádky, tam hádky, jo, tak jsme se bavili.*
 05 Int.: *Jo, to vám nevadilo ty hádky?*
 06 Dan: *Ne, vůbec, my jsme na to zvyklí, na takový kravál, no ale ty starší lidi, co tu bydleli, jo,*
 07 *tak jim to vadilo. [...] jo ale mezi náma jsou i slušné lidi, který nechtěj kravál.*

01 Dan: When she started moving these people here, those were people we knew, they were all from
 02 Mariánské Hory, yeah, and as there were a lot of them living here, there were a lot of us here, so it
 03 was nice, there was always something going on. There they were celebrating, there they were

- 04 celebrating, there were arguments, there were arguments, yes, we had a good time.
 05 Int.: Really, you didn't mind the arguments?
 06 No, not at all, we are used to it, to such a hullabaloo, but the older people who lived here, yeah, it
 07 bothered them. [...] yes, but there are also decent people among us who don't want noise.

Dan characterises the relations in the neighbourhood as *keravál* ('hullabaloo') (line 6), meaning that *bylo veselo* 'there was always something going on' (line 3), that is *slavilo se* 'celebrating' and *bádky* 'arguments'. While this situation was desirable for him, he concedes that it was not so for those he calls *starší lidi* 'older people' (line 6) or *slušné* 'decent' (line 7) people among the Roma. Thus, the latter term enables him to grasp a perceived difference in behaviour: it constitutes an intertextual link between his voice and that of the municipal district government, with which he enters into a dialogue or contradiction (see Chapters 3 and 4).

Most importantly, however, Dan and other residents' evaluations indicate that the tolerance or personal celebrations and arguments differed among residents and, therefore, represented a source of conflict. In this regard, yet another resident told me on 23 October 2019 that the relations had become more difficult when the municipal district mayor started to move people from other parts of the city (other than the municipal district Mariánské Hory a Hulváky) to the neighbourhood because these were people that residents did not know from before.

Despite differences in the experience and perception of the quality of neighbourhood relations and the meaning of disagreement or conflict, it is certain that social problems significantly impacted neighbourhood harmony around the time the arson attack happened. The document mentioned above confirms this statement, as do other narratives I noted in my field notebook. For instance, one of the families living in the neighbourhood was so poor that two children climbed up an electrical tower to remove metal pieces to sell. As the social and community worker Avyaan told me on 26 April 2019, one of the children was severely burned and taken to hospital.

On 14 March 2010, these more or less latent conflicts escalated as a Roma family home was subject to an arson attack. Around four o'clock in the morning, somebody threw a Molotov cocktail through the window of a room where a fourteen-year-old girl slept. Luckily, the bottle did not break, and the girl woke up and extinguished the fire (cf. *Romano vodi* 28.3.2010). Five weeks later, criminal investigations would show that their non-Roma neighbours—a mother and her son, who was a minor—had thrown the Molotov cocktail into the family's home. According to the results of the investigation, the reason for this act was personal differences between the two families (cf. *Mladá fronta DNES* 24.4.2010), although this seems a rather drastic act for such an insignificant reason.

In the weeks following the incident, the perpetrator's identity was not known, which heightened feelings of insecurity and fear among the residents. Remembering these tumultuous times, the tenants and victims of the arson attack, Marta and Dan, said the following:

Excerpt 5.4: *Field, Bedřiška, interview with Dan, 9 February 2020* (my English translation below)

01 Marta: *My jsme byly furt ve strachu.*

02 Dan: *Tak ne jako jenom my, jo, všichni lidi jako měli strach. Pak začali dělat domobranu a prostě venku se to*
 03 *blídalo a když přijelo nějaký auto automaticky už volali policajty a už tu*
 04 *naběhli pět šest aut na ráz. Jo, jako mysleli, že to je z venku.*

01 Marta: We were in constant fear.

02 Dan: Not like only us, right, all people were afraid. Then they started doing home defence, and we just
 03 guarded everything outside, and when a car arrived, they automatically called the police, and there
 04 arrived five-six cars at the same time. Yeah, like they thought it was from outside.

Marta and Dan described the situation after the attack using a language of distrust. Residents were afraid that neo-Nazis *z venku* 'from outside' (line 4) had committed the attack and could do it again, which is why they were *furt ve strachu* 'in constant fear'. In fact, *všichni lidi jako měli strach* 'all people were afraid' (line 1–2), so they started *domobranu* 'home defence' to *blídat* 'guard' the neighbourhood. With every unknown car, they *automaticky už volali policajty* 'automatically called the police' (line 3). The expressed distrust is directed at what is 'outside' the neighbourhood, including the police, who could not make the residents feel secure.

Residents were afraid of neo-Nazis, but there were also reasonable grounds for suspecting that the attack had been committed by one of the residents. Relations between neighbours were tense, and people within the neighbourhood came under suspicion. On 24 March 2010, for instance, the magazine *Romano vodi* quoted the community worker as follows:

Excerpt 5.5: *Romano vodi*, 28 March 2010 (my English translation below)

01 „Nepovažuji se za žádného odborníka, od toho je policie, ale jenom vycházím z toho, že mi přijde velmi neobvyklé,
 02 aby si útočníci vybrali dům stojící přímo uprostřed lokality. Jestli se na to podívám zvenčí,
 03 tipoval bych, že si útočníci vyberou spíš dům někde na okraji osady Bedřišky.
 04 Já nesmím moc spekulovat, ale všechno je možné. Neznamená to, že vylučuji, že se
 05 nemůže jednat o útok radikálních extremistů. Řídím se teď ale pouze svými pocity. Možná se mylím a doufám,
 06 že policie to vyřeší. Lokalita je různorodá, není pevná, uvnitř se objevuje velké napětí.
 07 Vznikla před patnácti lety uměle, kvůli tehdejší politice městského obvodu. A to je
 08 velmi nešťastný způsob řešení bytové otázky. Bydlí tu lidé jak sociálně slabí, tak pracující.

09 *Způsob jednání vedení města tyto lidi spíše separuje a obyvatelé nechtějí*
 10 *přijmout jakoukoliv pomoc zvenčí. Proto já osobně vidím útok jako vyostření napětí uvnitř*
 11 *lokality a bohužel se napadená rodina v tomto případě stála jakýmsi terčem. Víc k tomu nemohu říct,*
 12 *myslí si Kumar Vishwanathan.*

01 'I don't consider myself an expert, that's the role of the police, but I just assume that it seems very unusual
 02 for attackers to choose a house standing right in the middle of the locality. If I look at it from an outsider
 03 perspective, I would guess that the attackers will choose a house somewhere on the edge of the Bedřišky
 04 settlement. I shouldn't speculate too much, but anything is possible. It does not mean that I rule out that it
 05 cannot be an attack by radical extremists. But I only follow my feelings now. I may be wrong, and I hope
 06 the police can sort it out. The location is diverse; it is not settled; there is a lot of tension inside.
 07 It was artificially created fifteen years ago, because of the policy of the city district at the time. And this is a
 08 very unfortunate way of solving housing issues. Both socially disadvantaged and working people live here.
 09 The behaviour of the city management rather separates these people, and the residents do not want to
 10 accept any help from the outside. Therefore, I personally see the attack as an escalation of tensions within
 11 the locality, and unfortunately the attacked family is a kind of target in this case. I can't say more about it,'
 12 thinks Kumar Vishwanathan.

Uncertainty leads the community worker to feel, question and evaluate the actual circumstances; thereby, he uses many hedging devices. He expresses distrust towards the neighbourhood itself, suspecting that *vyostření napětí uvnitř* 'the escalation of tensions within' the neighbourhood may have led to the arson attack, and he further accuses or blames the municipal district and its housing policy for this conflictual situation.

Looking at the social field of the neighbourhood meeting as an emerging entity that simultaneously embeds neighbourhood interactions, it can be concluded that the field is marked by (social) conflict and feelings of uncertainty, insecurity, and fear. However, solidarity is also evidenced by the organisation of a home defence. As a response to the insecure and uncertain situation in the neighbourhood and to prevent further conflict escalation, the social worker Avyaan organised a facilitated neighbourhood meeting on 27 March 2010. I shall now focus on this meeting.

Material-semiotic practice mediated through the camera lens

The focus of the present chapter is a facilitated neighbourhood meeting organised by the community worker Avyaan on 27 March 2010. My analysis is based on a transcript of fifteen short audio-visual recordings I have arranged chronologically. These video clips were created during a film project by Fedor Gál and Martin Hanzlíček called *Příběhy pro Natálku* 'Stories for Natálka'. These short film essays came into being in response to the racistly racially motivated arson attack on a Roma family living in a city nearby Ostrava, during which the two-year-old child Natálka was severely burned. The collection of essays was broadcast on *Česká televize* 'Czech Television'. However, only a very short selection of the recordings of the neighbourhood meeting was shown in one of these essays, which told a story about a community worker's service in the City of Ostrava. This community worker was Avyaan.

During my fieldwork, I obtained the contacts of those who made the recordings. The film producers and Avyaan have a long-standing friendship stretching back to their dissident activities during the communist regime. Thus, after contacting the film's producers, I obtained two hard drives in which the desired recordings were stored, and I found what I was searching for: fourteen chronologically ordered short clips showing the neighbourhood meeting. Taken together, the clips last 13.5 minutes. First, I transcribed the clips using EXMARaLDA Partitur-Editor following the semi-interpretative transcription convention HIAT. This approach enabled me to transcribe many speech overlaps to understand participants' interactions. Here, I shall present only a short extract of the whole recording, which I subsequently transcribed using the Jeffersonian transcription technique, which enabled me to capture details of speech in a conversation.

The audio-visual recordings on which my analysis is based convey the event in a particular way: they were recorded by two cameramen, who sometimes appear in the recordings (see Figure 5.1). This has several consequences for my analysis: the cameramen adopted a specific stance towards objects and people. Simultaneously, they created an imaginary positions for viewers (as well as the researcher), with which the viewer may identify or not and which they may use to interpret the images (cf. Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006: 114–153). Moreover, the camera can focus only on certain objects and tends to avoid others. For my analysis, this means that not all the participants were seen or heard equally and that the event I analysed was mediated through the cameramen's lens.

To reveal the influence of the camera's perspectives on my transcript while detecting and scrutinising the social and cultural values associated and communicated during this event, I analyse, in what follows, the voices of the camera. I treat the camera perspectives as one voice, as it is hard to discern which clip was recorded by which cameraman. To describe the mediated event, that is, to make explicit the communicated meaning potentials, I rely on the vocabulary used in film

analysis (e.g., Bacher 2008: 60–65), as well as categories used in social semiotics (e.g., Kress & van Leeuwen 1996; Kress & Van Leeuwen 1999; Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006).

The recordings were made with a professional hand-held camera. Consequently, the image blurs or shakes periodically, a feature of a documentary genre or style. Thus, the viewer is consistently reminded of the cameraman behind the lens. However, the viewer is invited to align with the positions of the camera and, in this way, is forced to interact with the situation depicted. Concerning interactive engagement, however, the camera takes a rather passive or observant stance, as in *cinéma-vérité*; there are few direct interactions with people or subjects. What is further important to note is that the camera might indirectly affect the participant's behaviour (cf. Labov 1972; Gordon 2013).

The cameramen take three social positions, which are reflected by three specific stances. First, the camera adopts the perspective of a participant in a democratic discussion, which relates to a democratic stance indexing values such as equality (see Figure 5.2). Second, the camera positions itself as a curious or even investigative visitor, which correlates with an investigative stance oriented toward what is hidden or unknown (see Figure 5.3). Finally, the camera takes the point of view of a somewhat distrustful voting observer monitoring the voting process (see Figure 5.4).

By adopting the point of view of different participants in a democratic discussion, the cameraman mingles with the crowd and aligns himself with the focus of the assembled inhabitants: Sometimes, he is in the first row, sometimes the second or third; sometimes, he is on the right, sometimes he is on the left, and sometimes he is in line with an event in focus. The camera generally focuses on the objective world in a medium or full shot from behind the people's shoulders (see Figures 5.2, 5.5 and 5.7). Generally, these shots are at eye level, depicting the residents equals (cf. Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006: 140); this, in the given context, can be said to index democratic values. Often, the camera orients towards the facilitator, but even more often, the camera focuses on the poster on the fence. This is the case when the facilitator is writing what the residents have decided to change on the poster (see Figure 5.6). Sometimes, the camera sways to the right or the left to observe other people who are discussing and making decisions, and when people raise their hands, the camera focuses on their raised arms, which signify the act of voting (see Figures 5.5 and 5.7), yet another feature of democracy. By focusing on signs that index democratic values, such as different positions, a common will, equality and voting, the event is framed as democratic by the cameramen, who take a democratic stance (see also Chapter 4).



Figure 5.1: Man with a professional camera in the background.



Figure 5.5: Neighbours voting.



Figure 5.2: Camera looking from behind the shoulders of assembled people.

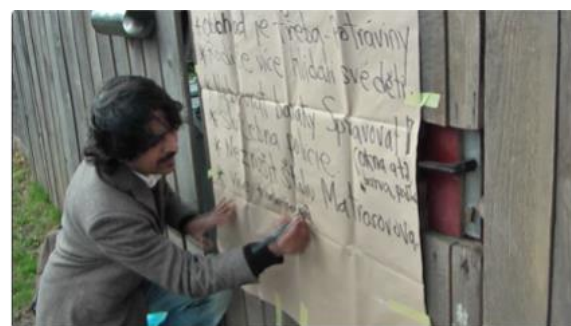


Figure 5.6: A facilitator notes the results of the discussion on a poster on the fence.



Figure 5.3: Camera looking into a garden hiding behind the fence.



Figure 5.7: People voting.

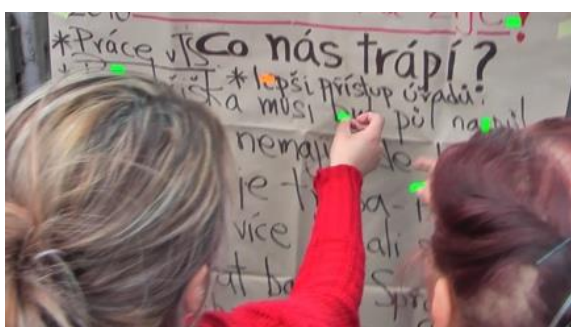


Figure 5.4: Camera observing people as they vote.



Figure 5.8: Dog behind a wire-mesh fence.



Figure 5.9: Children playing in the street.



Figure 5.13: Strolling dog looking straight into the camera.



Figure 5.10: Little child playing with a ball in the street.



Figure 5.14: People standing at an intersection.



Figure 5.11: Teenage girls passing by with a pram.



Figure 5.15: Blurred image at the end of the recording.



Figure 5.12: Policemen observing the assembled inhabitants.

In other instances, the camera takes the position of a reporter or even an investigator. With its curious gaze, the camera discovers what happens alongside the main discussion and beyond the film's primary focus. Accordingly, the camera sometimes approaches the residents from behind, seemingly listening to their parallel discussions and private conversations (see Figure 5.2). Furthermore, the cameraman walks around the neighbourhood streets and looks into people's gardens through wire-mesh and wooden fences (see Figures 5.3 and 5.8).

Away from the main scene, ordinary life carries on. Children and dogs occupy the territory of this village-like neighbourhood built mainly of little Finnish houses with gardens. A big garden appears behind a fence where a pram is parked (see Figure 5.3). Next to it, there is a fireplace with a burning fire. As a woman appears to add wood, the camera quickly disappears behind the wooden part of the fence and then sways to the street, where five girls draw something on the streets with chalk (see Figure 5.9). Another little girl plays with a ball (see Figure 5.10), and two teenage girls pass, pushing a stroller (see Figure 5.11). Concerning the houses in this village-like neighbourhood, the camera shows a big brick house (see Figure 5.9) and small Finnish houses surrounded by gardens, fences, and big trees. As the camera approaches the fences, dogs appear almost instantly or start barking (see Figure 5.8). As is typical for villages, dogs seem to guard the houses and the people living inside.

But this ordinary semiotic life intermingles with a sense of insecurity; there are also signs suggesting the need for security, protection, or control. A police car is parked next to the five girls playing with chalk (see Figure 5.11), and a police officer in a black uniform stands on the street, monitoring the assembled people from a distance (see Figures 5.12 and 5.14). The police presence indicates conflict and distrust; an event has taken place that threatens the given order, and state monitoring is required.

In contrast to these signs of distrust, another dog strolling freely in the streets looks straight into the camera (see Figure 5.13), then turns around and walks back toward the crossroad, where residents are assembled. Possibly, it is the dog of a woman with red hair—a social worker—who stands in the street talking to a cyclist (see Figure 5.14). Apart from the main gathering led by a community worker, there are other little groups of people standing apart. A group of residents, for instance, stands to the right of the main discussion (see Figure 5.14). These people seem to participate only partially, as they are detached from the main assembly, which can be interpreted as a sign of dissent or conflict.

Interestingly, even from the point of view of an investigator, the camera seems loyal to its democratic stance; mostly, the camera maintains an eye-level perspective when looking at the objective world regardless of whether it is oriented at bigger or smaller children, barking or strolling

dogs, or other people. The camera adapts its perspective as if seeking to understand how everybody sees the world from their own point of view.

At the end of the recordings, the camera positions itself as a voting observer. It shows how participants vote by attaching little stickers on the poster on the fence next to the issues that they find most troubling. The camera focuses on the poster, framing it in a close to extremely close shot, whereby it focuses on the voting hands observing the people voting but also discussing in front of the poster (see Figure 5.4). The camera sometimes seems to have difficulties seeing what exactly is happening on the poster's lower part; it tries to find a better perspective, once from a higher angle, once from the side. Despite every effort, the camera shot does not reveal what is occurring in the poster's lower section. At the end of the recording, the camera appears to express its confusion and failure to see: the image blurs. The camera zooms in, first focusing on the words *brát* 'play' and *púl na púl* 'half half' and then on single elements on the poster while moving down in curves along the poster. It then sways around from the poster toward the head of a man, the sky, and the head of a child to conclude with a medium shot of two women and some people standing behind them (see Figure 5.15).

To sum up, the camera depicts the neighbourhood event as a democratic event that takes place in an ordinary environment also characterised by insecurity, uncertainty, a need for investigation and monitoring and, hence, distrust and conflict. In a space where children play, seemingly untroubled by local occurrences, the cameramen adopt an investigating stance that reflects distrust and conflict by showing the policemen (as well as the police car) and the watchdogs behind the fences of the little wooden houses. Moreover, the camera's failure to properly monitor the voting process indexes a sense of uncertainty, as it is unclear who is performing what action. Democracy is indexed through observable local communicative practices (cf. Tracy 2010: 3), such as association, discussion and decision-making. For example, the camera focuses on the assembled people who discuss the issues that most interest them (agenda setting), which the facilitator then writes down on the poster. In addition, the camera focuses on the people raising their hands and choosing between different options by putting stickers next to the relevant issues (voting). The camera further evokes values such as equality and inclusiveness through the way it positions itself alongside the human inhabitants and dogs and the sky in space. Thereby, democratic values are being upheld and enacted. The viewer is invited to align with this democratic stance.

Working on local democracy at the intersection with the social field of community work

The camera's framing of the event as democratic overlaps with principles of community work such as participation and empowerment (see Stövesand & Stoik 2013: 37–43; Žurovcová & Vishwanathan 2015). As Stövesand and Stoik (2013: 18) explain, community work is often understood as a method of social work that contrasts individual approaches to social work. The authors, however, emphasise that community work should be understood as a principle that comprises various methods, for instance, the facilitation of neighbourhood meetings, but also social revolutionary or more pragmatic-managerial approaches to change. Community work aims to organise people to help them emancipate and question inequality to foster change (cf. Stövesand & Stoik 2013: 18–20).

However, the social worker involved in the present case did not learn community work in study courses or through reading manuals but by applying it intuitively. In the social work magazine *Sešit sociální práce* 'Journal of Social Work' one learns that he voluntarily decided to join people who lost their homes during the 1997 flooding of Ostrava and to live with them for a while. Back then, he joined a group of people (mainly poor Roma families) who had lost their homes and lived in provisory housing to help them. He organised them with a colleague, intuitively applying principles of community work.

Excerpt 5.6: *Sešit sociální práce* 2015, p. 13 (my English translation below)

01 *Tak jsme, aniž bychom to pojmenovali, naplňovali principy participace a zplnomocnění. Snažili jsme se*
 02 *vždy pevně stát na straně obyvatel komunity, nebáli se jít do diskuze a někdy i do přímé*
 03 *konfrontace s úřady a institucemi. Pracovali jsme intuitivně,*
 04 *učili se za pochodu z úspěchů a chyb.*

01 Thus, without calling it as such, we fulfilled principles of participation and empowerment. We always tried to
 02 stand firm on the side of the community, we were not afraid to enter into discussion and sometimes into a
 03 direct confrontation with the authorities and institutions. We worked intuitively,
 04 learning from successes and mistakes.

Thus, community work here refers to an activity that should lead to *participace a zplnomocnění* 'participation and empowerment' (line 1) of a *komunity* 'community' (line 2). It is this activity, that is, the organisation of people who lost their homes during the 1997 flooding, that led to the Ostravian project *Vesnička soužití* 'Village of coexistence' in which Roma and non-Roma families still live together today. In addition, it led to the foundation of the NGO *Vzájemné soužití* 'Mutual coexistence' (cf. Žurovcová & Vishwanathan 2015: 15–16).

Community work is, thus, a centralising or unifying force that seeks to overcome (latent) conflict. In discursive terms, this centralising force can be defined as *dialogic-affective deliberation*. According to *Aristotle's Rhetoric*, what characterises the deliberative genre (in contrast to the epideictic and forensic rhetoric genres) is that it concerns political decision-making that impacts the future of a political community. As such, it typically involves the evaluation and choice between different options and typically occurs during a people's assembly at which politicians speak (cf. Reisigl 2007: 52; see also Callard 2021). Thus, generally, deliberation involves argumentation (cf. Reisigl 2014; Kienpointner 1992), but it may also include 'dissent sequences' (Gruber 1996), 'social argument' (Schiffrin 1984), narratives (e.g., Labov & Fanshel 1977) etc.

As a form of dialogue which is always affective, deliberative discourse is potentially conflictual, or as Müllerová (1999) puts it, '[c]onflict is a feature of every dialogue, dialogue is itself a potential conflict by its very nature. In dialogic communication, the partners represent two poles, whose independence and opposition are either accentuated or reduced, but never disappear' (Müllerová 1999: 55, my translation).²³ Every form of dialogue is, thus, potentially a conflict because different voices never completely align. Nonetheless, conflict and/or dialogue, both presuppose cooperation and, hence, trust. Kreß (2010) calls *minimal cooperation* the fulfilment of preconditions of communication such as the readiness to have a conversation. If this form of cooperation is missing, then conversation collapses (cf. Kreß 2010: 85–116, 174–175). Similarly, for Gruber (1996: 76), cooperation (i.e., formal cooperation in the sense of Ehlich (1987: 27) ends only when speakers reject the speaking situation or resort to physical force, that is, when conflict escalates.²⁴

²³ 'Konfliktnost je vlastností každého dialogu, dialog je sám svou podstatou potenciálním konfliktem. V dialogické komunikaci partneři představují dva póly, jejichž samostatnost a protikladnost se buď vyhraňuje, nebo se zmenšuje, ale nikdy nezmizí' (Müllerová 1999: 55).

²⁴ Ehlich (1987) distinguishes between (i) cooperation in the production process (*materielle Kooperation*); (ii) a form of cooperation that may involve the use of language and includes all forms of interaction between actors who subordinate themselves to a common goal and purpose (*materiale Kooperation*); and (iii) *formal cooperation*, which means language use as an inherently cooperative activity from a formal ethical point of view (cf. Ehlich 1987: 27). Pavlidou (1991) distinguishes between 'substantial cooperation' and 'formal cooperation': *substantial cooperation* 'means sharing common goals among communication partner, goals that go beyond maximal exchange of information'; *formal cooperation*, on the other hand, means acting in congruence with the Gricean (1975) conversational maxims (cf. Pavlidou 1991: 12). Kreß (2010) distinguishes between four forms of cooperation: *cooperation1* refers to the anticipation of a consensus by speakers; *cooperation2* means that speakers act in accordance with the Gricean (1975) conversational maxims; *cooperation3* refers to the idea of a minimal form of cooperation and, as such, to preconditions of communication such as the readiness to have a conversation at all. If this form of cooperation is missing, then conversation collapses. Finally, *cooperation4* refers to politeness strategies and the face-work involved (cf. Kreß 2010: 85–116, 174–175). Whereas Kress (2010: 181) refuses to understand conflict as the complete absence of cooperation, Schwitalla (1987: 108) calls a dialogue 'conflict' in cases when a speaker defends themselves against an infringement on their image or face. For Gruber (1996: 76), cooperation (i.e. 'formal cooperation' in the sense of Ehlich (1987:27)) ends only then when speakers refuse the speaking situation or uses physical force. Tuomela and Tuomela (2005) speak of *g-cooperation*, which they define as acting 'intentionally within the group's realm of concern, promoting or at least respecting the ethos, viz. the central, constitutive goals, values, standards, beliefs, norms, elements of the history of the group. The ethos is supposed to give the members their main reason for action when acting as group members' (52–53).

As a centralising force oriented towards a common goal, deliberative discourse involves yet another form of cooperation. Kreß (2010) includes this within the concept of *anticipation of consent*, which means that dialogue is oriented towards the achievement of a compromise. This form of cooperation, however, still does not preclude conflict or dissent; that is, participants may enter into verbal conflict but continue to assume that everyone intends to achieve a common goal (cf. Kreß 2010: 85–90). In Bakhtinian (1981) terms, deliberative dialogue can be conceived as a centralising force that unifies the verbal and ideological world. It nonetheless also contains decentralising forces that disunify this verbal-ideological world (cf. Bakhtin 1981 [1975]: 270–272) in a cooperative process of anticipated consent. Consequently, there is a risk of conflict escalation when cooperation in the form of anticipation of consent is not met.

The neighbourhood meeting organised by the community worker Avyaan, which I have argued can be conceived as a dialogic-affective deliberative event, can be divided into three phases, with the audio-visual recording beginning in the middle of the second phase. Thus, what can be called the *opening phase* of the event was not recorded (see van Eemeren 2018: 36). However, it can be assumed that it consists of the facilitator welcoming the neighbours and providing them with some procedural explanations and, most importantly, the definition of an aim as suggested by the red letters on the top of the poster hanging on the fence (see Figures 5.16 and 5.17). There, one can read *At' Bedřiška žije!* 'Let Bedřiška live!'.

Under the red title is a question written in black: *Co nás trápí?* 'What troubles us?'. This question is related to the second phase of the event, which I call the *agenda-setting phase*. As the question on the poster highlights, the agenda-setting phase involves searching for issues that concern people and need to change to facilitate common living. The agenda-setting phase is followed by a third phase, the *identification of priorities*. This phase aims to identify the issues that must be resolved most urgently; that is, participants choose their priorities. To do that, they receive one sticker each so that they can vote by sticking it next to the issue they find most concerning. Each social group—women, men, and children—has a sticker with a different colour. Another important phase, which, however, is not included in the recordings, is the *election* of five community councillors who are meant to implement the residents' will. Several news media articles reported this aspect or phase of the event (e.g., *Mladá fronta DNES*, 29 March 2010).

Trust and/or distrust in deliberative practice

In what follows, I shall analyse one extract of the above video recording. As argued, I understand the neighbourhood meeting as a deliberative and dialogic-affective event, and more specifically, I am interested in how trust and/or distrust affect this event.

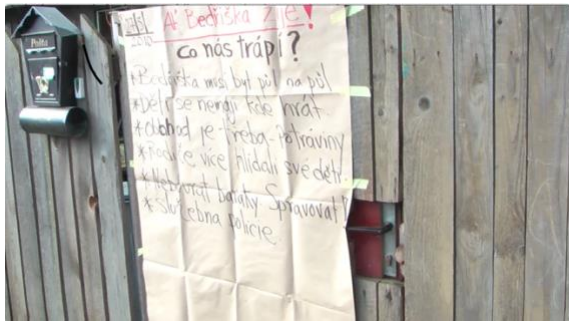


Figure 5.16: Poster 'So that Bedřiška lives!: What troubles us?'.

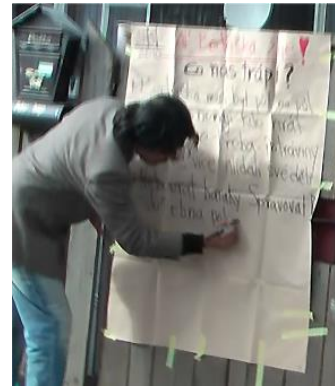


Figure 5.18: Facilitator writes down 'police station'.



Figure 5.17: Poster with the concerns.

Around fifty neighbours, identifying themselves as Roma and/or non-Roma, women and/or men, children, long-established as well as new residents, are assembled on a crossroads. Most people wear simple and casual clothes, mainly training pants and comfortable sweaters, as people typically wear at home. Some wear jackets, and some cross their arms, indicating the rather cold March temperatures in Bedřiška. Most people stand in a half circle around the social worker facilitating the gathering. He wears a pair of rather old jeans, a blazer and a white shirt, which gives him an air of seriousness and elegance. The fact that they have participated in the event indexes trust, or more specifically, participants hope for a better future, and they are willing to cooperate, too.

Behind the community worker, there is a wooden fence with a poster. At the top of the poster is written in salient red, *At' Bedřiška žije* 'Let Bedřiška live!', whereby the exclamatory mark has the form of a heart indexing solidarity and, hence, interdependence (see Figures 5.18). The particle *At'* 'let/may' further connotes a wish (cf. Petr 1986: 231) and, therefore, orients towards a future to be hoped for (see, also, Borba 2019). The red title on the poster represents the aims participants have defined and their stance; that is, a stance of trust, or rather hope.

Under the event's aim, one can read in bold black letters, *Co nás trápí?* 'What bothers us?', and numerous issues have already been defined:

- *Lepší přístup k úřadům* ‘Better access to local authority offices’
- *Bedřiška musí být půl na půl* ‘Bedřiška has to be half half’
- *Děti si nemají kde hrát* ‘Children lack a place to play’
- *Obchod je třeba – potraviny* ‘A shop is needed – Food’
- *Aby rodiče více hlídali své děti* ‘Parents should better look after their children’
- *Nebourat baráky. Spravovat! (okna atd, barva)* ‘Don’t demolish houses, but renovate them (windows etc., colour)’

As can be seen, the participants are engaging in the agenda-setting phase of the deliberative discussion. At the beginning of the recording, the participants are discussing how security can be achieved in the neighbourhood. Two *deliberative-affective positions* (ADP), that is, two possible ways to solve the security issue, have been proposed: establishing a police station (ADP-1) and installing cameras (ADP-2). The participants seem to agree on establishing a police station, as the facilitator is already writing *služebna* ‘police station’ on the poster, where he places results (see Figure 5.18). Surprisingly, some people still express unease with the idea of installing cameras, even if the facilitator is already writing down ADP-1, that is, *služebna* ‘police station’ on the poster. This suggests that there is some confusion in the crowd and that the decision is still being questioned.

More specifically, the discussion is stuck in a ‘pattern of insisting’ (Franke 1990: 43). Even if the majority of people seem to refute the proposition of the installation of cameras, one of the participants, whom I call Robert, resists succumbing to their will and is trying to enforce his position.²⁵ As Kreß (2010: 414) explains, insisting becomes contagious and culminates in both speakers continuously insisting on their respective standpoints (cf. Kreß 2010: 414). Consequently, insisting indicates dissent and risks conflict escalation (cf. Gruber 1996: 120–123). Moreover, Robert’s behaviour can be interpreted as contradicting, to some extent, the purpose of the meeting, which is to find common solutions that enable the neighbourhood’s relatively peaceful cohabitation. Consequently, he may damage the expectations of the participants who believe in his general willingness and interest to cooperate. Therefore, the participants possibly expect that Robert aligns with the opinions of the others and concede. Distrust is, therefore, a possible response to his insistent behaviour.

²⁵ ‘Insisting’: In its minimal form, this pattern contains three moves: an action by a speaker, its disapproval by a second speaker, and the insistence on the first action by the first speaker (cf. Franke 1990: 43). However, speakers can also insist in the fifth, sixth or seventh sequence positions (cf. Schecker 1986: 241). The pattern can be expanded as speakers desire, and, often, insisting becomes a contagious procedure that culminates in a situation in which both speakers do not cease to insist on their respective standpoints (cf. Kreß 2010: 414). Consequently, insisting discloses dissent and bears the risk of conflict escalation (cf. Gruber 1996: 120–123).

Excerpt 5.7: *Facilitated discussion*, 27 March 2010

- 01 Oleg <Však, †Bert'o, ty ††máš:š kamERY, > tak o co < se †jedná:.
- 02 Facil. A já [NE]epochopila ohledně kamery.] =
(turns to group of people)
- 03 Robert [já †NEMÁM všude. <a víc kolik to stojí.] =
- 04 Oleg
- 05 Dan = [†Ty †máš kamery, ne? > o co se jedná.]
- 06 Facil. = [----- (0.4) ----- dvě ná::zory jsou tady.]
- 07 Crowd: ((murmuring and discussion in the background))
- 08 (Jan?): = [N e : _ k a m e r y n e : _]
- 09 Jana: = [Ne], s t a č í - s t a č í] t a s l u † ž e b n a : _] =
- 10 Oleg: [> Mě by se ††NE]řibil! kdyby- < ----- (1.3) -----] =
- 11 Facil: [(((Moves his arms up and down)))(((Puts one arm on hip and one hand to the mouth)))]
- 12 Jana: => aby [tady něco bylo. <
- 13 Oleg: = [> aby můj barák < někdo [kameroval_
- 14 Jan: [< Pod těch kamer ta služebna.
((softly points with chin towards the poster))
- 15 Jana: [< Když nebude služebna, tak at' je tady aspoň ta kamera.
- 16 Běla: [††NE:!] To bude na ulici vyložené jenom, ne †na barák:]
- 17 Robert: [> Ne†kam, erovava: _ < jenom †cesty, aby se vědělo, že když přijde.] =
- 18 = [> že- že- < =



- 19 Oleg: [>Pod'te ↑BLÍŽ! Já vás ne↑slyš_{i:m} ((directs his speech towards participants standing vis-à-vis from him))
- 20 Robert: =>Poslouchej. Že když< ↑PŘIJEDE [nějaká=
- 21 Běla [Ale to bude jenom ↑na ↑ulici?
- 22 Jiří: [(A je) to lepší_ Ta služebna je [↑lepš_ě
- 23 Bara: [LÍŠKA_ε [Liška_ε Liška_ε
- ((turns head towards *facilitator*, then *points to Robert*))
- 24 Ada: [Liška_ε
- 25 Facil.: PAN ↑LÍŠKA?
- 26 Robert: =>aby se vědelo_ε< že, [že když ↑PŘIJEDE_NĚJAKÝ [(0.3) že když [příjde nějaký hájzl hodit flašku_ε tak >se bude [vědět, kdo to [udělal.<
- 27 Bertá?: [(hah hah heh hah)
- 28 People: ((people smiling and exchanging mutual glances))
- 29 Facil.: [PANE ↑LÍŠKA_ε
- 30 Jan: [BERŤO?
- 31 NA? [(V↑ELKÝ:ε)
- 32 Honza?: <Kdo to udělal_ε

English translation

- 01 Oleg: <But, ↑Robert, you ↑↑have camERAS, >so what's< the ↑issue:.
 02 Facil.: And I [D]dn't understand concerning the camera.]=
 ((turns tw. group of people))
 03 Robert: [I ↑DON'T HAVE everywhere.<and do you know how much that costs?]=
 04 Oleg: = [>That's< ↑↑NOT IMPORTANT! (0,3) #wait!# (0,5) that's not important.]=
 05 Dan: = [You ↑have cameras, don't you? >what's< the issue?]
 06 Facil.: = [----- (0.4) ----- there are two opi::nions here.]
 07 Crowd: ((murmuring and discussion in the background))
 08 (Jan?): = [No: _ c a m e r a s n o : _]
 09 Jana: = [No [, it 's enough- it's enough] t h e ↑ s t a ↓ t i o : n _]=
 10 Oleg: [>I would ↑↑NOT like it! if-< ----- (1.3)-----]=
 11 Facil.: [(((Moves his arms up and down)) ((Puts one arm on hip and one hand to the mouth))]


12 Jana: =>so that [something is here.<]
 13 Oleg: = [>so that my house< would be [cameræd by somebody.
 14 Jan: [<under the cameras the stat[ion.
 ((softly points with chin towards the poster))
 15 Jana: [<if there won't be a station, so there should be at least a camera.]
 16 Béla: [↑↑NO! It will be at the street absolutely only, not ↑at the house?]
 17 Robert: [>Nobody would ↑cam ↓etera: _ < only the ↑streets, so that it will be known, if somebody comes-]=
 18 = [>that- that- that-<=

- 19 Oleg: [[>]Come ↑↑close:R! I can't ↑hear ↓you: (directs his speech towards participants standing vis-à-vis from him))
- 20 Robert: =>Listen. So that if< there ↑COMES [some kind of=
- 21 Běla: [But it will be ↑at the ↑street only?
- 22 Jiří: [(And it is) better_ The [station is [↑better₂
- 23 Bara: [FOX₂ [Fox₂ F[ox₂
- ((turns head towards facilitator, then points to Robert))
- 24 Ada: [Fox₂
- 25 Facil: MR ↑FOX?
- 26 Robert: =>so that we know₂< that, [that if there ↑↑COMES_SOME KIND [(0.3) if there [comes some bastard to throw a bo:ttle₂ then >we [will know, who did [it.<
- 27 Bertá?: [(hah hah heh hah)
- 28 People: ((people smiling and exchanging mutual glances))
- 29 Facil: [MR ↑FOX₂
- 30 Jan: [BERTY?
- 31 NA?:
- 32 Honza?: <Who did it₂
- [(The B↑I:G₂ ONE₂)

Oleg seemingly questions Robert's intention to cooperate. Regarding Robert's communicative behaviour, he takes a distrustful stance in line 1, implicitly questioning Robert's willingness to cooperate. He thus positions himself in relation to Robert in a denunciative way, *ty ťmá::k kamERY, >tak o co< se ťjedná*: 'you ťťhave camERAS, >so what's< the ťissue:.', he says. The particle <Však, '<But' denounces Robert and his message (cf. Mluvnice češtiny 1986: 231–232), whereas the diminutive form of the latter's first name *ťBert'o* 'ťBerty' indexes affective proximity. As Kress (2007: 135) observes, in conflict situations, the purpose or point of such vocatives is to appeal to an interpersonal relationship for the sake of cooperation.

Oleg then evaluates Robert's behaviour as contradictory and possibly untrustworthy. His speech act implies that Robert might not have a valid reason to insist on his point of view, as he already has cameras and, therefore, does not need others. The slightly enervated and 'accusing voice' (Günthner 2000: 148) further indexes distrust in a more affective sense. Consequently, Oleg's distrustful stance is intertwined with an accusation.²⁶ In this way, Oleg evaluates Robert's behaviour as possibly untrustworthy and positions the latter as a possibly untrustworthy participant.

On the one hand, Oleg's stance act can be understood as scrutinising Robert's behaviour without risking conflict escalation. Conversely, conflict escalation is a risk as his act could result in mutual accusations (cf. Apeltauer 1977: 30; Gruber 1996: 66, 120–123; Günthner 2000: 120–124). This might be why Oleg only implies the accusation which causes his distrust; he does not explicitly state his feelings (see Günthner 2000: 73). Moreover, owing to its syntactic form (question), his evaluation of Robert's behaviour as untrustworthy is stated only as a possibility and not as a fact. Nonetheless, Oleg's stance act implies a *virtual offence* in constituting the 'worst possible reading' (Goffman 1971: 108–109) of Robert's communicative behaviour, that is, its evaluation as untrustworthy.

However, Oleg's distrustful stance affected the deliberative discussion in yet another, more constructive, way. Accusations generally occur owing to a considered violation of a shared norm

²⁶ 'Accusations' typically occur on the basis of the supposed violation of a shared norm or rule and therefore imply a request to give an account (cf. Günthner 2000: 78–79). Sökeland (1980: 33) discusses cases in which speech acts realise a secondary illocution of a relation of inclusion between two illocutions. Henrikson (2004: 49–54) discusses in detail the speech act quality of assertions and concludes that 'der Vorwurf als Sprechakt auf sekundärer Illokutionsebene zum Ausdruck kommt und dass er sich auch impliziter und indirekter Sprechakte als Trägerillokutionen bedienen kann. Dabei steht er in einem Inklusionsverhältnis zur Feststellung oder Behauptung, die auf primärer Illokutionsebene als seine Trägerillokutionen fungieren können' (Henriksson 2004: 50). In addition, Kreß (2010: 314) discusses accusations as secondary illocutions and approves Günthner's (2000: 77) refusal of speech act theory (or aspect thereof) for the sake of an accurate description of the complexity of ordinary communication. Günthner (2000: 73) shows that the explicit articulation of accusations is generally considered by speakers as a transgression of social norms. This is why speakers often attempt to avoid explicitness (cf. Günthner 2000: 73) by resorting to different forms of indirectness, such as 'off-record' communicative acts, through which a speaker 'leaves himself an 'out' by providing himself with a number of defensible interpretations' (Brown & Levinson 1987: 211). Negative politeness, however, does not seem to be a preferred choice in this rather direct discourse style in which the Gricean (1975) maxim of manner seems to be valued.

or rule—here, cooperation—and, therefore, typically require accounts (cf. Günthner 2000: 78–79). Accounts are crucial to social order, as ‘they prevent conflicts from arising by verbally bridging the gap between action and expectation’ (Scott & Lyman 1968: 46). From this perspective, Oleg’s stance act or his explicit affective displays can be said to evoke an evaluative frame of distrust in which Robert is positioned as the accused who must account for his behaviour or engage *in remedial work* in order ‘to change the meaning that otherwise might be given to [his] act, transforming what could be seen as offensive into what can be seen as acceptable’ (Goffman 1971: 109). Other participants listen to his response and play the role of a jury (cf. Scott & Lyman 1968: 46).

Oleg’s stance act leads to two responses: The facilitator returns to the assembled participants and starts a parallel dialogue (line 2 and 6). However, first, I want to concentrate on the interaction between Oleg and Robert.

In line 3, Robert takes a defensive stance and accounts for his behaviour, saying, *Já ťNEMÁM všude.<a víš kolik to stojí* ‘I ťDON’T HAVE everywhere.<and do you know how much that costs?’ The agitated response lends itself to a cooperative and a less cooperative reading. The statement is ambiguous owing to the lack of clarity over the indexical meaning of the words *všude* ‘everywhere’ and *to* ‘that’: the former term may refer to the neighbourhood, but it may also index the speaker’s house and garden. The word *to* ‘that’ may be interpreted as an index for the cameras around Robert’s house but may also refer to a potential police station. Thus, depending on the hearer’s understanding, the meaning of the utterance changes.

Rhetorical questions typically enable speakers to communicate an assertion (cf. Ueding & Steinbrink 2005: 311), and, as Henriksson (2004: 50, 71) explains, in conflict communication, they typically contain accusations implying that common expectations have not been met.²⁷ In the present case, Robert’s rhetorical question can be interpreted as communicating the argument that a police station is too expensive, which would support ADP-1. Conversely, however, it might be interpreted as implying a counter-accusation, ‘condemning the condemner’ (Scott & Lyman 1968: 51) or the socio-cultural group to which he belongs for the difficult situation in the neighbourhood, which is also why Robert installed a camera in his garden. The explicit affective displays index anger and, therefore, support the latter reading. Thus, Robert’s contribution is inherently multivoiced,

²⁷ ‘Rhetorical questions’ do not elicit information but rather typically enable speakers to communicate an assertion (cf. Ueding & Steinbrink 2005: 311) (e.g. that cameras are expensive). However, as Henriksson (2004: 50, 71) explains, in conflict communication, a rhetorical question typically transports an accusation in the form of a ‘secondary illocution’ (Sökeland 1980: 33; see also Kreß 2010: 314). This means that the latter obscures the illocutionary force of the assertion, without replacing it. Moreover, Kreß (2010: 314) discusses accusations as secondary illocutions and approves Günthner’s (2000: 77) refusal of speech act theory (or aspect thereof) for the sake of an accurate description of the complexity of ordinary communication.

making it difficult for the other participants to evaluate the motivations for his insistent behaviour and, hence, his trustworthiness.

Oleg implicitly ‘exonerates’ (Rehbein 1972: 315) Robert from his distrust in that he aligns with the latter’s defensive or justifying stance. However, this is also the only possible means of achieving cooperation; Oleg orients his speech again to the state of affairs, not Robert’s supposed deviant behaviour. In this spirit, he takes up Robert’s argument that a police station is expensive and evaluates it irrelevant: *To je < ↑↑JEDNO! (0,3) #počkej! # (0,5) to je jedno. ‘>That’s< ↑↑NOT IMPORTANT! (0,3) #wait!# (0,5) that’s not important.’* Thereby, however, Oleg partially backslides into the pattern of insisting, pleading with Robert to wait and reconsider. His plea leaves space for cooperative negotiation, but it mainly insistently appeals to interpersonal relationships, Robert’s empathy (and the other’s listening) (cf. Kreß 2010: 414) rather than clearly outlining why costs are unimportant in this case. Moreover, he accidentally positions himself as somebody who does not care about city expenses.

At this moment, Dan intervenes in the interaction and aligns with Oleg’s distrustful stance, literally resituating the latter’s voice: *Ty ↑máš kamery, ne? >o co< se jedná? ‘You ↑have cameras, don’t you? >what’s< the issue?’* By repeating Robert’s words, Dan actualises their meaning. Thus, he again thematises Robert’s insistence by evoking a frame of distrust and evaluating Robert’s acts as possibly untrustworthy. In contrast to Oleg, Dan adds the interrogatory particle *ne?* ‘don’t you?’ to form a rhetorical tag question, thereby adding his own voice and additional directive force (cf. Kreß 2010: 407–408).

In summary, the analysed discussion shows that distrust is strongly intertwined with dissent, or what Gruber (1996: 121–122) calls ‘structural dissent sequences’. As he explains, *structural dissent sequences* are typically oriented towards another person’s behaviour rather than a state of affairs, and they are characterised by self-cohesive elements, which indicate that at least one party is not interested in the cooperative resolution of conflict. Consequently, there is a constant risk of conflict escalation (cf. Gruber 1996: 121–122). In the extract above, the discussion remains within a dissent action pattern of insisting: Robert does not want to give in, even if most people refuse cameras. His behaviour, therefore, does not meet Oleg’s expectations and triggers distrust. Consequently, Oleg takes a distrustful stance oriented towards Robert’s behaviour, which he questions; that is, Oleg evaluates Robert’s behaviour as possibly untrustworthy, which is why he accuses him.

As Gruber (1996) further observes, *structural dissent sequences* are characterised by circularity, as every act of insisting on one’s position gives reason for yet another dissent sequence (cf. Gruber 1996: 121–122). In the extract above, circularity is evident in Dan’s repetition of Oleg’s distrustful and accusing stance act. The intertwining of dissent and distrust becomes evident because, as

Luhmann (2014: 98, 101) explains, distrust has ‘a tendency to reinforce itself in social interaction’ (Luhmann 1979: 74). It can thus be assumed that, entangled together, they form spiral movement leading to conflict escalation.

At the end of Excerpt 5.7, this conflict-escalating spiral movement becomes evident. In line 26, Robert tries to convince Oleg and the other auditors of ADP-2 (cameras) by arguing that cameras will reveal the perpetrators of future attacks. In response to this, Honza asks Robert, <Kdo to udělal? ‘<Who did it?’ (line 32) instead of presenting a counter-argument. Honza’s distrustful and accusing stance implies that Robert knows who the perpetrator is. This offence could lead to conflict escalation.

Owing to this risk of conflict escalation, knowing mechanisms that enable one to regulate distrust is essential. Thus, the question is, how can this circular pattern of distrust and dissent be transformed? The facilitator’s reaction to Oleg’s distrustful stance and the interaction that follows his intervention offers some answers to this question.

In lines 2 and 6, the facilitator involves other participants in the discussion to transform the conflictual interaction between Oleg and Robert: he asks them their opinions. In response, Jan takes a *protesting stance* and exclaims: *Ne: _kamery ne:_* ‘No: _cameras no:_’ (line 8). And Jana instantly aligns with him in his protest: *Ne, stačí- stačí ta slu↑šeb↓na:č* ‘No, it’s enough- it’s enough the ↑sta↓tio:n_’ (line 9). According to Heinemann (1983: 110), who examines negation and denial from a pragmatic perspective, protest is characterised by an intensification of refusal. Here, this intensification is realised through the negation particle *ne* ‘no’, which both speakers use. In this way, Jan and Jana position themselves as opponents of ADP-1. In line with the latter’s protesting stance, Oleg exclaims, >*Mě by se ↑↑NElíbilo! kdyby*-< ‘>I would ↑↑NOT like it! if-<’ (line 10), and then abruptly ends his speech activity. He thus opposes ADP-2 by stressing the negation affix *ne*- ‘not’ within the adjective *nelíbilo* ‘not like’ and aligns himself with the others’ protestations.

Simultaneously, the facilitator gently instructs the participants using arm gestures: in line 11, he first moves his arm up and down, suggesting a scale, an icon for weighing. Then, he puts one arm on his hip and one hand to his mouth, suggesting thinking. The facilitator thus uses his body to subtly evaluate and affect the behaviour of the protesting participants, evoking a deliberative frame of evaluation and action.

The facilitator’s instructing gestures imparts the discussion with an argumentative touch; that is, participants start to support their objections with reasons (e.g., Toulmin 1964; Kopperschmidt 1989; Kienpointner 1992; Kienpointner 1996; Kopperschmidt 2000). Jana supports her claim with the argument, >*aby tedy něco bylo*.< ‘>so that something is here.<’ (line 12). Therefore, she uses the argumentative operator *aby* ‘so that’. Simultaneously, Oleg finishes his defying plea, using Jana’s

argumentative operator: >aby můj barák< někdo kameroval ‘>so that my house< would be cameraced by somebody.’, he says (line 13). The prelogism *kameroval* ‘to camera’ represents a verb formed out of the noun *camera* ‘camera’).

In lines 14 and 15, Jan and Jana position themselves as facilitators helping the official facilitator to transform the conflict between Oleg and Robert. In line 14, Jan builds upon Jana’s argument and instructs or rather—in his role as participant—advises the facilitator to write služebna ‘police station’ under the cameras on the poster as well (he erroneously believes the facilitator has written down ADP-2 on the poster, even if in reality it was ADP-1). In line 15, Jana builds upon Jan’s advising statement and formulates a compromise, <Když nebude služebna, tak at’ je tady aspon ta kamera. ‘<if there won’t be a station, so there should be at least a camera.’. The compromise represents a method to settle dissent, and, interestingly, it also explicitly states the justification for her argument in line 12, which follows an inconsistency scheme (‘Gegensatzschema’)(Kienpointner 1992: 313). This further demonstrates the centralising force of an argument, which is always linked to a general assumption.

But how does all this affect Oleg’s distrustful attitude and Robert’s insisting behaviour? In lines 17 and 18, Robert tries to persuade Oleg regarding ADP-2, saying that the cameras would not point to his house, >Ne↑kam↓erovova::l< jenom ↑cesty, ‘>Nobody would ↑cam↓erera::< only the ↑streets’. He then tries to support his claim using the argumentative operator *aby* ‘so that’ in alignment with the other participants. However, he cannot finish his statement: *aby se vědělo, že když přijde* >že- že- že-< ‘so that it will be known, if somebody comes- >that- that- that-<’, but he cannot finish his statement). Oleg has ceased listening to him, apparently no longer trusting his words. Instead, Oleg asks other participants to come closer, saying loudly: >Pod’te ↑↑BLÍŽ! Já vás ne↑slýš↓š::m ‘>Come ↑↑cloSE:R! I can’t ↑hear ↓you::’ (line 19).

To sum up, the facilitator’s method of interacting with participants such as Jana and Jan demonstrates a democratic stance that implies equality, cooperation, weighing of opinions and reflection. The facilitator’s subtle guidance enables the participants to position themselves as facilitators and contribute to resolving or transforming dissent. The behaviour of the other participants further affected Oleg’s behaviour in that he stopped listening to Robert but instead took a stance of trust towards the other participants, with whom he wanted to have a more cooperative discussion. It is an open question as to what exactly motivated him. It might be the support he felt from Jana and Jan protesting in lines 7 and 8 or the deliberative frame affirmed by the facilitator in line 11 and Jana and Jan’s subsequent cooperation that disrupted the affective-dialogic framework of distrust/dissent for a moment.

Robert, however, does not stop insisting on his dialogic-affective position and continues to try to persuade Oleg and the other auditors in lines 20 and 26. The facilitator, thus, has to intervene more forcefully in the deliberative discussion, interrupting him by finding out his name first and then calling it (see lines 23–31). Some participants help the facilitator, others mock Robert and Oleg with their laughter. Later in the discussion, the facilitator had to resort to another means to resolve the conflict, voting (see Figures 5.5 and 5.7); a significant majority voted for establishing a police station and, hence, against cameras.

Conclusion: Balancing trust and/or distrust, and unison and/or dissent, in a community

In this chapter, I have examined a facilitated neighbourhood meeting organised on 27 March 2010 in response to an arson attack in the neighbourhood. I consider this event a *dialogic-affective deliberative event* oriented towards a ‘peaceful’ future cohabitation in the neighbourhood as a political community (cf. Reisigl 2007: 52; see also Callard 2021). In this regard, I was especially interested in *distrust and/or trust*, which I have conceptualised as partially opposite but functionally equivalent emotions in line with Luhmann’s (1979; 2014) writings (see also Lewicki, McAllister & Bies 1998). I then looked closer at the social fields, the space in which community work took place, and the *signs* and *stances* of trust and/or distrust exposed before focusing on other relevant layers of the context from which the deliberative discussion emerged.

My analysis has shown that in the present case, trust and particularly *distrust* as evaluating world relations imply fear, scepticism, or wariness, which permeate all contextual layers and significantly contribute to the organisation and course of deliberative interaction. As to the social field and material space in which the dialogic-affective event occurred, I have shown that it emerged at the intersection of the socially excluded neighbourhood and community work. Whereas social exclusion, and particularly the arson attack, led to signs of distrust, the presence of community work led to signs of *trust*, that is, hope for a more ‘peaceful’ or democratic future, which also translates into engaging the residents in the deliberative event. As to this engagement, my analysis of the transcribed neighbourhood meeting has revealed a tension between trust and/or distrust in interaction. As I have demonstrated, one of the participants expresses a *distrustful stance* towards another participant, characterised by a language of fear, scepticism, or wariness that intertwines with an accusation. These signs are then taken up, confirmed, or transformed by other participants.

I have further shown that it is hard to say whether distrust plays a dysfunctional or a functional role in the deliberative order. On the one hand, in situations of (latent) conflict, distrust is strongly entangled with *dissent* (Gruber 1996: 121–122), which leads to an omnipresent risk of conflict escalation because, whereas a circular pattern characterises dissent, distrust tends to reinforce itself

in interactions (cf. Luhmann 1979: 74; Gruber 1996). Consequently, they form a *spiral pattern* leading to the escalation of conflict and loss of ‘minimal cooperation’ (Kreß 2010: 85–116, 174–175). Conversely, however, distrust may also fulfil a control function in the deliberative order: Oleg’s questioning of Robert’s behaviour evokes a *dialogic-affective frame of distrust* in which the other participants are positioned as a jury monitoring and evaluating Robert’s behaviour regarding its trustworthiness and compliance to deliberative values and, hence, his interest in the ‘peaceful’ coexistence of residents that belong to different sociocultural groups. Consequently, the critical amount of trust and distrust must always be carefully assessed and monitored by the facilitator and the other participants. The question, then, is how such critical moments can be recognised.

I have further rendered several mechanisms to regulate distrust visible: to prevent conflict escalation, the facilitator evokes a deliberative frame of reference and involves the other participant in the discussion, reminding them of democratic deliberative values. The support of the other participants in forms of protest and their cooperative behaviour most probably motivated Oleg’s decision to interrupt the dissent sequences. Finally, however, the facilitator had to resort to yet another means of conflict resolution, namely voting; a significant majority voted for establishing a police station and, hence, against cameras.

It has further become evident that ethnicity and gender are relevant to a complete understanding of the analysed discussion. All the participants who explicitly displayed distrust were men identifiable as Roma. Robert was a non-Roma resident suspected of being an informant for the municipal district mayor. Conversely, Jana and Jan were non-Roma residents actively participating in community activities. Oleg was later elected as one of the five representatives and members of the neighbourhood council who represented the neighbourhood in negotiations with the municipal authorities. However, as I was told, his protests against the local government, which were ‘too loud’, meant he soon lost his home.

The newly elected neighbourhood council members started to organise various events in the neighbourhood, and they negotiated with the municipal district government for a community centre. As Ada narrated during a public event on 24 November 2018, it was in this way that trust was built, and the tenants became a community:

Prostě tohle to, takovéhle aktivity tu komunitu pomalu spravovaly, začali jsme si důvěřovat a začali jsme si řešit i problémy který měli ostatní třeba s exekucema, s dlužným nájemným, pomaličku jsme začali bradit, pomaličku jsme začali řešit ty nehlubší problémy, a to pomaličku ty lidi zklidňovalo tak, že byly schopni spolu prostě se (znát), a spolu začínat prostě ehm na Bedřichce společně jakoby společně žít. (Ada, field, Ostrava, presentation in Plato Museum, 24.11.2018)

‘It’s just this, such activities slowly repaired the community, we started to trust each other and we started to solve problems that others had, for example, with foreclosures, with rent arrears, we slowly started to pay, we slowly started to solve the most severe problems and slowly these people calmed down so that they were able to just (know) each other, and just start together ehm on Bedřiška, to live together.’

Community members thus started to interact more; they organised common celebrations and activities for the children and helped each other with social issues.

Still, some problems remained. Many residents left the neighbourhood, and the NGO *Bílý Nosorožec* commissioned by the municipal district mayor, slowly took over all the activities, which led to frustration and demotivation among residents. Nonetheless, eight years later, they would confront the municipal district government’s plans to demolish the neighbourhood and evict tenants.

6 (Re)Framing Bedřiška

A future entangled within chronotopic positions of ‘social exclusion’

On 22 August 2018, I received an e-mail from community worker Avyaan with a programme detailing a participatory planning workshop with architects. It contained dates (from 28 to 31 August) and a section mentioning *přednášky pro veřejnost* ‘public presentations’ that listed a guided tour through Bedřiška and three presentations: one about participation and self-help construction, a second about the housing movement and bottom-up organisation within the political context, and a third that included information about engaged architecture. The programme further announced a participatory action café for residents along with the formation of different working groups; each group would be led by an expert in a specific field of architecture. Avyaan explained that the aim of the workshop was to discuss and elaborate on an alternative to official plans to demolish houses and evict locals in order to build a new neighbourhood for ‘more suitable’ families. This was one of several events organised by social workers and activists alongside several Bedřiška residents to counter the local authority’s plans to demolish the so-called *sociálně vyloučená lokalita* ‘socially excluded locality’.

I had assumed so far that the term social exclusion implied one group of people excluding another from full participation in society. Accordingly, one can read on the homepage of the European Commission (2018) that, in the EU context, social exclusion refers to ‘a situation whereby a person is prevented (or excluded) from contributing to and benefiting from economic and social progress’. One might therefore expect the logical follow-up on such a situation to be an effort to include these excluded people into general social and cultural life (see Giordano & Boscoboinik 2011: 18). After all, this would correspond with the policy aims for inclusion defined in the EU Framework.

To my surprise, I noticed Ada, the neighbourhood spokesperson, vehemently insisting that Bedřiška was not a ‘socially excluded’ locality. This got me thinking as to why someone might refuse the appellation if it could legitimise a request for financial contributions that in turn would improve the situation in the neighbourhood. But as I later came to learn, the attribute ‘socially excluded’ could also legitimise quite contrary action (see also Fairclough 1999). My assumptions hitherto had been far from reality.

In this chapter, I am interested in the dialogic-affective imagination of Bedřiška within a frame of social exclusion and/or inclusion. More specifically, I focus on the evaluation of Bedřiška as a space in time through signs of social exclusion. I am further interested in how these signs were denied or countered. In this regard, I attempt to construct typical chronotopic evaluative positions that, as I will show, are indeed argumentative (cf. Blommaert 2015: 112). To do this, I analyse print news media reports that followed the publication of official plans in addition to four posters designed by groups of students and architects during the planning workshop mentioned above.

But before doing so, I briefly explain how I understand the Bakhtinian idea of a ‘chronotope’ (Bakhtin 1981 [1975]: 84). I then further provide an ethnographic insight into different contexts of social exclusion and/or poverty and explain what I mean by signs of ‘social exclusion’. Then, I analyse print news media discourse beginning at the onset of 2018, when locals, social workers, and activists were still preparing protest activities. Next, I focus on how news reporting changed in response to these protest events. Finally, I analyse the posters mentioned above to show how the alternative vision they present effectively subverted that of the municipal district government, which until that time had occupied a hegemonic position in discourse.

Chronotopic evaluations

Bakhtin (1981) understands the term chronotope metaphorically, as a way ‘real historical time and space’ is represented in literature; it is a ‘time-space’ pointing to ‘the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature’ (84). As such, he writes:

In the literary artistic chronotope, spatial and temporal indicators are fused into one carefully thought-out, concrete whole. Time, as it were, thickens, takes on flesh, becomes artistically visible; likewise, space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot and history. This intersection of axes and fusion of indicators characterizes the artistic chronotope. (Bakhtin 1981 [1975]: 84)

Bakhtin (1981: 84) further identifies a chronotope as a defining feature of genre that, as he writes, largely shapes the image of humanity. In the Greek novel, for instance, there is no evolution as both the world in which the story is set and its characters are static and inflexible. This stands in sharp contrast to the adventure novel of everyday life in which the theme of metamorphosis is central (cf. Bakhtin 1981 [1975]: 110–112). In a monograph about the memorialisation of Apartheid by the free-born generation in South Africa, for instance, Sonnenleitner (2019: 130) emphasises the centrality of the chronotope to what she regards as agency. In fact, the chronotope is the precondition for agency as it creates possibilities or impossibilities for action, imagining figures as

either passive or active (see also Lempert & Perrino 2007: 207). According to Blommaert (2015), chronotopes can be seen as ‘invokable histories, elaborate frames in which time, space, and patterns of agency coincide, create meaning and value, and can be set off against other chronotopes’ (110).

Blommaert (2015) further proposes the concept of scale to grasp the idea of agency in relation to different histories. This idea points to differences in the scope for communicability and the accessibility of such tropes in different audiences and participants (cf. Blommaert 2015: 111–112). Chronotopes thus have a scaled and multiple nature – that is, they comprise different layers of historicity working together in a synchronised way (cf. Blommaert 2020). Moreover, they are argumentative in that they ‘create an epistemic-evaluative effect of truth, importance, and relevance’ (Blommaert 2015: 112).

Agha (2007a) describes the chronotope as a ‘semiotic representation of time and place peopled by certain social types’ (322) that can be mass mediated. For example, chronotopic imaginations can be circulated in novels or newspapers. These texts not only link producers and readers semiotically, but are designed or directed towards specific audiences (Bell 1984). As Agha (2007a) further explains, a given chronotope can be widely known and accepted or fragmented into different positions. It can also be defended or disputed through semiotic practices within participant frameworks. Chronotopes are thus always entangled with images of locale, personhood, and social relations (cf. Agha 2007a: 321, 324).

As Bakhtin (1981: 243–244, 252–254) further writes, it is not just stories and genre that have chronotopic values. Indeed, every motive or place can have a specific chronotope. For instance, there is a chronotope for the encounter or the road:

The chronotope of the road is both a point of new departures and a place for events to find their denouement. Time, as it were, fuses together with space and flows in it (forming the road); this is the source of the rich metaphorical expansion on the image of the road as a course: “the course of a life,” “to set out on a new course,” “the course of history” and so on; varied and multi-leveled are the ways in which road is turned into a metaphor, but its fundamental pivot is the flow of time. (Bakhtin 1981 [1975]: 244)

The road represents a path and a point of intersection for individuals of different social classes, religions, ages, or nationalities at a given point in time and place. But the road as a space also carries ‘traces and signs of time’s passage’, such as marks of a historical era (cf. Bakhtin 1981 [1975]: 243–244).

Similarly, Baro (2019) looks at the semiotic landscape of the city of Johannesburg from a temporal perspective. He analyses middle-class markets under the lens of what he calls a ‘chronoscape’, or ‘a landscape with multiple historicities layered on top of each other’ (Baro 2019:

61). As he argues, memory is tightly connected to the notion of chronoscape ‘because signs in the landscape directly or indirectly act as remembering tools, or force viewers to forget’ (Baro 2019: 61). Consequently, planners or architects highlight certain meanings while obscuring others when envisioning spaces (cf. Baro 2019: 61). Furthermore, the architect’s interpretation of the past may politically legitimate the present in a way that emphasises certain social practices and values to the detriment of others (cf. Markus & Cameron 2002: 114). Similar to Baro (2019), Dong (2021) analyses linguistic landscape signs in a migrant worker community that produce an alternative public identity in creative ways.

In keeping with this line of thought, it can be said that Bedřiška (residents as well as houses) is a space shaped by time; for example, the neighbourhood houses index different layers of history and show traces of the passage of time. At the same time, the neighbourhood is imagined within a specific chronotope – that is, the history of the neighbourhood (houses as well as resident interactions and agency) is mediated by news media text in various ways. Although both ways of understanding co-relate to a certain extent, I am mainly interested in the latter concept in this chapter. Specifically, I am interested in how Bedřiška is imagined as a ‘socially excluded’ space from the perspective of time. This means I am interested in the chronotopic evaluation of Bedřiška as a time-space of ‘social exclusion’. To begin, I look at the print news media discourse that framed the participative planning workshop with architects. Then, I examine the posters designed at this workshop. But before I get to that, I embed this event in a larger context of poverty and social exclusion.

Getting to know contexts and signs of ‘social exclusion’ and/or poverty

Before attending the planning workshop in Ostrava, I had worked in a ‘socially excluded’ locality in the city of Brno for some weeks already. I had accompanied several social workers and slowly became familiar with various contexts of social exclusion and/or poverty.

In August 2018, as a requirement of my work for the organisation, I was engaged in a conflict analysis so that I could understand how the context of work was affected by poverty, racism, and social isolation. As part of this analysis, I noted visible signs characteristic of such places, which included broken doors, doorbells, or mailboxes. There was a general lack of cleanliness in shared spaces, with syringes littered on the floor providing clear signs of drug use or sale. Clients complained about noise and quarrels, and there was a general fear of strangers coming to the apartment buildings. There was also a lack of basic necessities such as food and medication. Not so surprisingly, every unforeseen expenditure (e.g., a need for medication) would turn an entire household upside down. Some parents would turn to strategies such as foregoing medication in

order to buy what their child needed for school. And it was admirable that, despite all of these hardships, some families were able to create little havens for their children and moments of solidarity between neighbours. This was true even in the most desolate conditions, which I found at the “hostel” I had visited.

At the “hostel”, many impoverished Roma families were isolated and cooped up in tiny rooms under blatantly inhumane, squalid conditions. It wasn’t just a matter of poor hygiene, which was signified by the acrid stench that hit my nose as I entered the premises and the prevalence of bedbugs, but also the salience of the exploitation of tenants and their sense of insecurity (see Kupka, Walach & Brendzová 2021). The social worker that I accompanied said that the hostel was a rather small and ‘better’ one. Still, she also said that the partner of a young woman we met there had been stabbed with a knife in front of her eyes not long ago; no wonder this woman suffered from trauma. I also met a grandmother living in a beautifully arranged, very clean tiny room with her young granddaughter whom she had motivated to perform well at school.

Thanks to the rehousing project I worked for, our clients had escaped the fate of many poor Roma forced to live in such “hostels”; they had the opportunity to live in public housing and receive support from social workers. Some even received apartments in neighbourhoods that were in high demand, where they lived among members of the social majority. But however advantageous this may sound, it was not; clients identifiable as Roma often endured complaints from neighbours who routinely contacted local authorities. Despite very similar habits, our non-Roma clients experienced significantly fewer complaints.

It was with such difficult-to-digest experiences in mind that I attended the planning workshop with architects to which I had been invited by Avyaan. As mentioned earlier, it took place from 28 to 31 August 2018 in Ostrava – or more specifically, in Bedřiška. In 2010, a document commissioned by the National Agency for Social Inclusion had identified the neighbourhood as a ‘socially excluded’ locality based on social, technical, and spatial indicators (cf. Kvasnička 2010: 54–57). But as I arrived in this Ostravian neighbourhood, I was surprised to witness how peaceful and green the so-called socially excluded locality was. There was life everywhere; children were playing and bonding with adults. I would later learn that the neighbourhood had not always been so as locals had cleaned it up and built a community. I witnessed locals cooperating despite divisions along ethnic lines. Consequently, I felt a sense of relief, hope, and motivation to take some initiative. At the time, I noted the following about the neighbourhood in my field notebook.

Excerpt 6.1: *Field, Bedřiška, notes, 28 August 2018* (my English translation below)

- 01 *Die Siedlung umfasst einige Finnenhäuschen in unterschiedlichem Zustand, kein Luxus,*
 02 *aber sicher gut bewohnbar. Einige Bewohner_innen haben auch begonnen Renovationen vorzunehmen.*
 03 *Als allerdings bekannt wurde, dass die 'Osada' abgerissen werden soll, hörten sie damit auf.*
 04 *Seither sind schon einige gegangen.*

- 01 The settlement includes some Finnish cottages in varying conditions; there was no luxury, but
 02 it was a good place to live in. Some residents have also started renovations.
 03 But when it became known that the *Osada* would be demolished, they stopped.
 04 A few have left since then.

As activist and academic Frida told me on 4 September 2019 during an interview at a café in Ostrava, rumours had circulated in 2017 that some housing contracts would be extended for no more than three months, which is why residents ceased renovations (line 3). At the time, around 250 people were living in Bedřiška. By the end of 2017, after the local authority engaged in what the activist and academic Frida referred to as *neprímé vymístování* 'indirect displacement', around 150 residents remained (line 4). At this point, activists joined in helping the community of residents retain their homes to counter the process of social exclusion.

According to Frida, one of the primary changes residents wished to see was to the image of 'social exclusion' publicly attributed to their neighbourhood. Together, they organised various public activities and engaged in mediatisation via social media and other channels. Activities for the public involved, for instance, an open house day with a guided tour of the neighbourhood in April. In July, the group organised *dny bdělosti* 'Vigilance Days' to exert pressure on the municipal government. Over two weeks, several discussions, presentations, and children's activities were held along with a day called *Barvy Bedřišky* 'Colours of Bedřiška', which alluded to the commercial festival called Colours of Ostrava taking place around the same time. News media reported on these events and thereby mediated a certain image of the neighbourhood.

In what follows, I look at various print news media voices to construct what could be called chronotopic evaluative positions of the neighbourhood entangled within a frame of social exclusion and/or inclusion. To begin, I show how the neighbourhood was imagined in early 2018 before residents started their protest activities. Next, I show how these protests altered the voices of print news media. Finally, I take a closer look at the alternative vision elaborated by residents and their supporters during the planning workshop with architects.

Publication of official plans: 2018

How did local, regional and national print news media report on the official plans to demolish the neighbourhood at the beginning of 2018, when resident's protests were still in a preparatory stage? How did they evaluate the neighbourhood as a socially excluded and/or included space?

Over the first few months of the year, the neighbourhood was typically evaluated explicitly as a 'socially excluded' or 'excluded' locality. Past efforts of locals were often ignored or alluded to only marginally, and the objectified voices of residents and their supporters often assumed a defensive stance to deny and maybe counter what residents were being accused of. The lack of agency attributed to residents further becomes apparent when looking at how news articles often treated locals and their houses as one and the same. Most apparently, this effect is realised through references to residents by means of the name of the place – that is, the term *Bedřiška* is used metonymically. Accordingly, a future change to official plans is not envisioned. Nonetheless, it is important to note that these texts are always multi-voiced, comprising different (and also contradictory) points of view.

On 8 February 2018, for instance, an article appears in the regional newspaper *Moravskoslezský deník* 'Moravian Daily'. The topic of the article is a meeting that should have taken place between residents and district representatives at the community centre in the neighbourhood, but did not. Residents had waited in vain for the arrival of representatives and that is why they were said to be *slušně řečeno – naštvaní* 'politely speaking – angry'. The article is titled *Bedřiška se ptá: Proč nás chtějí vystěhovat?* 'Bedřiška asks: Why do they want to evict us?' Needless to say, it is not the place (the location or the houses) that is asking why it should not be part of Bedřiška's future, but the residents living there.

The neighbourhood is characterised as a *sociálně vyloučená lokalita* 'socially excluded locality'. Signs of social exclusion thereby intermingle with signs that contradict this interpretation. On the one hand, the neighbourhood is evaluated as a place that is clearly 'other'; the locality is characterised as *rozhodně není místem pro rodinný výlet* 'certainly not a place for a family excursion' and instead a place where nobody *zvenčí* 'from outside' would go – apart from *automobilisty vyvážející načerno odpad* 'motorists exporting black waste'. People are described as *chudí* 'poor' and houses as *starý* 'old'. Yet on the other hand, there are signs that contradict these evaluations of the place as a 'socially excluded' space. The article quotes a social worker who counters these characterisations, saying there are residents *bez potřeby poskytování sociálních služeb* 'with no need of any social services', *platiči naprosto převyšují neplatiči* 'those who pay rent largely outnumber defaulters', *děti chodí do škol* 'children go to school', and *criminalita tady není* 'there is no criminality' or *drogy* 'drugs'.

The article also mediates the voices of residents who take a defensive stance, accounting for their purported guilt by contradicting the signs of ‘social exclusion’ attributed to them. The article quotes them saying that *platíme* ‘we pay’ the rent and that there are *žadné špatné rodiny* ‘no bad families’ *ani kriminalita a drogy* ‘nor criminality and drugs’, and that they wouldn’t leave their *renovovaný domek* ‘renovated house’. In terms of interethnic conflicts, a long-term resident is quoted as taking a solidary stance towards Roma residents.

Excerpt 6.2: *Moravskoslezský deník*, 8 February 2018 (my English translation below)

01 “Žiju tu od narození, skoro sedmdesát let, a když tu sestěbovávali Cikány, byl jsem proti nim.

02 Ale teď jsem s nimi, nechci z *fiňoku*, co kdysi dostal táta od

03 *šachty!*” nechal se slyšet zástupce v Bedřišce minoritní populace Petr Sklenařík.

01 ‘I have lived here since birth, almost 70 years, and when they moved the Gypsies here, I was against them.

02 But now I’m with them [and] I don’t want to leave the little Finnish house that my dad once got from the

03 colliery!’ Petr Sklenařík, a representative of the minority population in Bedřiška, let everybody know.

The objectified voice combines multiple layers of history to voice his opinion. In line 1, the speaker is positioned as a long-term resident. In line 2, he aligns with his Roma neighbours, simultaneously acknowledging a moment in the past (the beginning of the implementation of the municipal district’s housing policy) when he was not *s nimi* ‘with them’ but *proti nim* ‘against them’ (lines 1 and 2). He thus constructs this history as a conflict between long-term non-Roma residents and newer Roma residents, overlooking that both sociocultural groups are ethnically mixed to a certain extent. Despite his alignment with Roma residents, he further identifies these Others with the pejorative term “*Cikány*” “Gypsies”, unknowingly evoking a six-hundred-year-old history of othering (see Chapter 1) and merging this past with the present.

In line 2, he explains that he does not want to move out of his *fiňoku* ‘little Finnish house’. The diminutive form used to refer to his house indexes affective attachment that, in connection with the biographical and historical references, can be interpreted as a display of nostalgia: it was his *táta* ‘dad’ who got it from the *šachty* ‘colliery’. Whereas the first term (in contrast to its alternative, *otec* ‘father’) indexes closeness, the latter term evokes the mining history of the place (see Chapter 2). Consequently, the solidary stance act of the old man is ambiguous. Whereas the communicated change in attitude towards his Roma neighbours represents a sign contradicting ‘social exclusion’, the use of the term “*Cikány*” signifies it. His statement signifies a positive change within time-space as well as the loss of it; in doing so, it both contradicts and confirms ‘social exclusion’.

The article further imagines the future of the neighbourhood as uncertain. Even though the Director of the organisation *Bílý Nosorožec* is quoted as saying that the local authority plans to evict people and demolish houses in a *krátký proces* ‘short process’, the article dedicates a whole paragraph to answering the question *Jaké fámy kolují?* ‘What rumours are getting around?’ This text is made salient by means of light blue background colour. The textual voice helps to consolidate the rumour that residents will have to leave the neighbourhood without receiving replacement housing for up to one or two years, and the question *Co z toho je pravda?* ‘What is the truth?’ marks the uncertainty of the claim.

During the first month of 2018, most articles replicated this almost conflicting or ambiguous image of the neighbourhood as a ‘socially excluded’ space. On 9 February 2018, for instance, an article in *Moravskoslezský deník* reports on a district council meeting on the future of the neighbourhood that was attended by residents. The article is titled *Jednání o Bedříšce: emoce, obavy a strach z budoucnosti* ‘Meeting about Bedříška: Emotions, worries and fears for the future’, thereby indexing the insecurity of the future of the neighbourhood. The neighbourhood is referred to as a *sociálně vyloučená lokalita* ‘socially excluded locality’ where mostly *romský rodiny* ‘Roma families’ had lived in *finský domky* ‘Finnish houses’ since the 1990s. Interestingly, other residents are not mentioned, concealing an older past that is still present in the neighbourhood. The article further quotes the defensive voices of residents saying *platíme řádně nájem* ‘they pay their rent properly’, but it mainly mediates the voice of the district mayor, Liana Janáčková, who evaluates the houses as ‘old’ and places the residents in a bad light using various signs of ‘social exclusion’. Here, once again, the metonymic equation of houses and residents becomes apparent.

Excerpt 6.3: *Moravskoslezský deník*, 9 February 2018 (my English translation below)

- 01 “Domy byly postaveny před sedmdesáti lety a už tenkrát se počítalo s tím, že nebudou mít
02 až tak dlouhou životnost. V dnešní době už přestávají a nevyhovují současným požadavkům na bydlení”,
03 vysvětlila starostka. Dodala, že skladba nájemníků odpovídá charakteru těchto domů.

- 01 ‘The houses were built 70 years ago and, even back then, it was not expected that they would be
02 so durable. Today, they no longer serve and do not meet current housing standards’, the
03 mayor explained. She added that the composition of tenants corresponds to the character of these houses.

In lines 1 and 2, the objectified voice of the mayor evaluates the houses as old and *nevyhovují současným požadavkům na bydlení* ‘not meeting current housing standards.’ In line 3, residents are metaphorically equated with these houses by means of a paraphrase of Janáčková’s words; houses are said to have a *charakter* ‘character’ that corresponds to that of their tenants. The textual voice

thus imagines houses a little like the residents and the residents a bit like houses. By means of this personification and objectification of houses and residents, the voice draws a parallel between the poor condition of the houses and the allegedly poor character of the residents – implying that the residents, too, do not meet ordinary expectations. This further implies that, as with the houses, they have no real future in the neighbourhood and must or can be removed. Then, Janáčková is quoted once again.

Excerpt 6.4: *Moravskoslezský deník*, 9 February 2018 (my English translation below)

01 *“V této lokalitě je dlouhodobý problém s nájemníky, kteří si bez povolení na pozemcích v okolí domů*
 02 *vystavěli nejrůznější přístřešky a další stavby a také zde probíhá likvidace stavebních odpadů.*
 03 *Nákladní auta v nepravidelných intervalech na Bedřišku dovážejí například stará okna,“*
 04 *argumentovala starostka Janáčková.*

01 ‘There is a long-term problem with tenants in this locality who, without permits, have built
 02 various shelters and other buildings. Construction waste is also being disposed of here.
 03 For example, trucks import old windows to Bedřiška at irregular intervals’,
 04 Mayor Janáčková argued.

In this excerpt, Janáčková’s objectified voice layers yet another space onto the history of the neighbourhood by evoking the image of a slum, as readers may recall images of slums in Slovakia. The image is evoked through the evaluation of the locality as containing *nejrůznější přístřešky* ‘various shelters’ constructed by people *bez povolení* ‘without permits’ (lines 1 and 2). The image of ‘social exclusion’ created by Janáčková’s objectified voice is far from reality and, as far as I know, there is no such slum in the Czech Republic. I am not saying that housing conditions of the poorest would be better there, but they are different. In the Czech Republic, the poorest people live in tiny rooms in “hostels” where they often have to endure horrific housing conditions and exploitation, or what has been described as *obchod s chudobou* ‘business with poverty’ (e.g., Kupka, Walach & Brendzová 2021).

Moreover, Janáčková’s voice imagines the neighbourhood as a space where *stavební[] odpad[y]* ‘construction waste’ (line 2) is disposed. A reader who knows the history of Bedřiška well might recall earlier images of the neighbourhood showing waste piled up outside (see Chapter 2). However, this was before residents organised and cleaned up the place. It is that past, in which residents transformed the neighbourhood into a ‘decent’ space, that is denied in the article. In this respect, the present is caught up in the past and the transformative capacity of residents, so their agency is denied. Consequently, Janáčková’s objectified authoritarian and paternalistic stance implies what Fabian (1983) called a ‘scandalous petrified relation’, or ‘a discourse whose referent has been removed from the present of the speaking/writing subject’ (143). This relation is

inevitably political as the production of ‘knowledge’ occurs in a public space of intergroup relations (cf. Fabian 1983: 143–144). What is at stake here is the future of Bedřiška.

Based on this image of the neighbourhood, the article then asks, *Budoucnost Bedřišky?* ‘[What is t]he future of Bedřiška?’. Once again recalling Janáčková’s objectified voice, the article imagines the future of the neighbourhood in a next step.

Excerpt 6.5: *Moravskoslezský deník*, 9 February 2018 (my English translation below)

01 „Místo vyloučené lokality bychom rádi z Bedřišky vytvořili místo, ve kterém budou žít například
02 mladé funkční rodiny s dětmi, ale nejen ty,
03 prostor zde může být pro aktivní seniory a další spoluobčany [...]“
04 přiblížila představy vedení městského obvodu Liana Janáčková.

01 Instead of an excluded locality, we would like to make a place out of Bedřiška where, for example,
02 young, functional families with children would live. But [it will be] not only [for those people];
03 there may be space for active seniors and other fellow citizens [...],
04 Liana Janáčková explained the municipal district government’s ideas.

Janáčková’s objectified voice imagines the future of the neighbourhood in contrast to what she calls *vyloučená lokalita* ‘an excluded neighbourhood’ (line 1). Interestingly, the adverb *sociálně* ‘social’ was omitted, effectively hiding the agents who may have caused the situation of social exclusion and hence their responsibility to address the issue. Given this concealment of political responsibility, it becomes all the easier to just imagine the neighbourhood’s future without its actual residents and instead with *mladé funkční rodiny* ‘young, functioning families’ (line 2) and *aktivní seniory* ‘active seniors’ (line 3).

As a result, the future image of the neighbourhood is embedded in an ideology that supports the so-called functional and healthy parts of society – to the detriment of the inclusion of more vulnerable sociocultural groups, such as working-class people or those needing social support as well as those with relatively higher incomes who are nonetheless identifiably Roma (e.g., given where they live). It also implies that low income and/or Roma families are seen as being unable to contribute to a functional and healthy society. Instead, the latter are imagined as undeserving of any support or decent housing, implying a conception of their ‘social exclusion’ as self-inflicted or natural. In this perspective, structural inequalities, and future costs are all ignored.

The mediated chronotopic evaluations of Liana Janáčková do not simply reach local audiences. Instead, they are further recontextualised in a 12 February 2018 article in the national newspaper *Právo* ‘right/justice’ titled *Z vyloučené lokality domov pro mladé* ‘From an excluded locality to a home

for young people'. Here, the adverb *sociálně* 'socially' was again omitted from the description of the locality. What is further noticeable is that the article does not mediate resident perspectives at all. Whereas the article that appeared in the *Moravskoslezský deník* (9 February 2018) considers residents to be subjects with worries and fears, the *Právo* article leaves their experience out of focus.

Nonetheless, it has to be mentioned that during those first months of 2018, there were voices taking a more critical stance towards the municipal government. Aside from the multi-voiced character of the above-mentioned articles, an article in the *Moravskoslezský deník* (16 February 2018) asks rhetorically, *Bedřiška? Kdepak, lidi více zajímá kolonie Červený kříž* 'Bedřiška? No way, people are more interested in the Červený kříž colony'. Červený kříž is another artificially produced, socially excluded space located in the same municipal district as Bedřiška. By means of the interjection *kdepak* 'no way', the title of the article evaluates Bedřiška being very different from the 'much worse' locality, Červený kříž, and thereby implies that Bedřiška might actually not be a 'socially excluded' space.

To sum up, I have shown how at the beginning of 2018, news media discourse tended to emphasise a chronotopic evaluative position that devalued the neighbourhood by means of signs of 'social exclusion', thereby characterising both its present and its past as such. There is a further equating of houses and people, and an unquestioned assumption that people are responsible for their own exclusion seems underlie the texts. The community's transformative capacities are denied, which is why it does not seem to deserve a decent future.

The influence of activism on news media discourse

Various events organised by activists, residents, and supporters as well as official political events involving residents speaking out during district and city council meetings are accompanied by a change in reporting. What can be observed is a shift in the focus of reporting away from official plans and the mostly defensive reactions of residents to centre on the conflict between residents and the local authority. Whereas some articles frame the conflict as a struggle, others frame it as a plea for help. This goes along with the attribution of a certain degree of agency to residents and hence a capacity to change the future of the neighbourhood.

On 21 February 2018, for instance, an article appears in the national newspaper *Mladá fronta DNES* 'Young Front Today' that reports about the open house organised in the neighbourhood (see above). It recounts how residents are taking a protest stance in a struggle with the municipal district. In this spirit, the title of the article is *Lidé z Bedřišky odmítají zánik osady* 'People from Bedřiška refuse the extinction of the settlement'. Under the title, one can see a large picture that prominently occupies two thirds of the page.

Excerpt 6.6: *Mladá fronta DNES*, 21 February 2018

Lidé z Bedříšky odmítají zánik osady



In a mid-range shot, the picture depicts an older woman who, given her dark hair and skin colour, can be identified as Roma. She stands in front of the fence of a house, posing with her left arm propped up at her hip and looking directly into the reader's eyes. The woman's embodied posture can be interpreted as an icon signalling contradiction, confrontation, or protest. The directness of her gaze involving the reader in the interaction (cf. Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006: 115–153) confirms this interpretation of her assumption of a protest stance. The title of the article further refers to residents as *lidé* 'people' of Bedříška, evaluating them as active agents who *odmítají* 'refuse' the destruction of their neighbourhood. As such, the article indexes initiative and hope for a future different from the official one planned by the municipal district government.

Similarly, articles in the newspapers *Moravskoslezský deník* (9 July 2018) and *Frýdecko-místecký a třinecký deník* 'Frýdek-Místek and Třinec Daily' (9 July 2018) report on a resident who had *investoval statisíce* 'invested hundreds of thousands' in renovating his house and therefore refused to leave. Signs that contradict 'social exclusion' are thus entangled with signs of protest. For instance, the reader learns in the lead text that the *podnikatel* 'entrepreneur' hung the message *Zde je můj domov, ZŮSTANU!* 'Here is my home, I STAY!' on his fence. The capital letters and the exclamation mark emphasising this commissive and declarative act clearly reflects a protest stance that contradicts official plans (cf. Heinemann 1983: 110; Kreß 2010: 259–360). Moreover, this stance is attributed to a social type (entrepreneur) who, according to local values and norms, is meant to be respected.

Still other articles framing the conflict as a struggle reflect a protest stance even more explicitly by naming it as such. An article in the 21 June 2018 edition of the national newspaper *Právo*, for instance, is titled *Lidé bojují za své domovy v Bedříšce* 'People struggle for their homes in Bedříška'. Another article that appeared in the same newspaper some weeks later is titled *Ostravská osada Bedříška bojuje o přežití*

‘The Ostravian settlement of Bedřiška is struggling to survive’ (*Právo* 14 July 2018). Both articles respond to specific events. Whereas the topic of the former article is the resident’s participation in a city council meeting, the latter reports on two weeks of vigilance organised by residents and supporters (see above).

Although some articles frame the conflict between the municipal government and the residents as a struggle, others see it as one in which the latter are asking for help. This evaluative position implies that residents need help and are thus, to a certain extent, deprived of agency. The person they ask for help is generally the mayor of the city of Ostrava, Tomáš Macura. An article in the 21 June 2018 edition of *Frýdecko-místecký a třinecký deník*, for instance, reports on a city council meeting where Bedřiška residents *přišel[i] odorovat* *za* ‘came to plead for’ preservation of the ‘Finnish houses’ and the ‘local community’. It is interesting to note that the author of this article opted to use the word *orodovat* rather than the more common term *prosít*; the former carries a religious connotation and therefore invokes religious values and a sense of submission – perhaps even guilt. The lead text further frames the situation as an arbitration:

Excerpt 6.7: *Frýdecko-místecký a třinecký deník*, 21 July 2018 (my English translation below)

01 *Na jedné straně lidé z vyloučené lokality se svými příznivci,*

02 *na druhé mariánskohorsko-hulvácká starostka a mezi nimi ostravský primátor.*

01 On the one side [lies] people from the excluded locality with their supporters, [and]

02 on the other, the mayor of Mariánské Hory a Hulváky. In between them is the mayor of Ostrava.

The article thus frames the conflict as one in which two parties oppose each other as they are located on different *stran[y]* ‘sides’. The mayor of the city of Ostrava is positioned as the mediator or facilitator *mezi* ‘in between’ the conflicting parties (line 2). In this spirit, one can further read that the latter made an agreement with Janáčková.

Excerpt 6.8: *Frýdecko-místecký a třinecký deník*, 21 July 2018 (from an archived print news report)

01 *Ostravský primátor Tomáš Macura, řídící zasedání, konstatoval,*

02 *že má od Janáčkové příslib nejméně do komunálních voleb nedělat v Bedřišce „nevratná opatření*

03 *a nevypovídat smlouvy nájemníkům“.*

04 *Situaci by mělo vyřešit nové vedení obvodu vzešlé z voleb.*

01 The mayor of Ostrava, Tomáš Macura, chair of the meeting, stated

02 that he had received a promise from Janáčková to not take ‘irreversible measures

03 or terminate housing contracts’ in Bedřiška, at least until the municipal elections.

04 ‘The situation should be resolved by the new municipal district government after the election [...]’.

Despite the presence of citizens during the council meeting, it was the mayor of Ostrava to whom Janáčková's *průslib* 'promise' (line 2) was directed. The city mayor thus appears as an indispensable and benevolent authority enabling agreement.

Similarly, an article in the newspaper *Mladá Fronta DNES* (22 June 2018) is titled *Obvod chce zbourat domky v osadě. Lidé hledají pomoc: „Zabraňte našemu vystěhování,“ prosili obyvatelé Bedřišky zastupitele Ostravy* 'The district wants to demolish the houses in the settlement. People are looking for help: "Prevent our eviction," Bedřiška residents begged Ostrava representatives'. The article then asks, 'renew or demolish?' *opravit, či zbourat?* This title again frames the conflict as one involving two positions. Here again, the city mayor is imagined as a benevolent agent with the power to change the future of the neighbourhood. For their part, the residents' agency is limited to the act of asking for help (or forgiveness).

A more radical and confrontational understanding of the event that differs from what I have shown so far is mediated by an article in the 1 August 2018 edition of the newspaper *A2*. As one can read on the website, *A2* sees itself as a critical and independent biweekly newspaper offering an alternative point of view to mainstream media. Articles are said to be based on academic findings but take a 'punk' *punkový* stance (cf. o nás *A2*: n.d.). Applying Bell's (1984: 160) categories, the newspaper is thus directed towards a national audience but specifically addresses those who identify as punks. In contrast to other articles, the *A2* article takes a much more critical stance towards the local authority, indexing accusation and distrust.

This can already be seen in its title, *Ostrava pro „slušné“: Snaha o likvidaci komunity Bedřiška* 'Ostrava for "the decent": Efforts to liquidate the Bedřiška community'. The title is oriented towards the official plans that it then evaluates as efforts *o likvidaci* 'to liquidate' the neighbourhood. The word 'to liquidate' indexes a business context of property selling and speculation. Yet what is being liquidated or destroyed is not only houses, but *komunita* 'a community'. This is to give space to what the article calls, in quotation marks, „slušné“ 'the decent'. The quotation marks signal distance or irony, indexing the strangeness and distrust felt towards this voice. This, in turn, invites the reader to find a substitute for the word – one such as 'rich' or 'non-Roma'.

This phenomenon is further generalised to the space of the whole city of Ostrava. As in other articles, the event is characterised as a struggle. As such, one learns reading the lead text that residents actively *se rozhodli kolonii bránit* 'decided to defend the colony'. Consequently, the residents struggle for their homes is critically located in a broader political context of gentrification and speculation with public property – as well as in system that favours a specific type of people ('the decent') over others. In this light, the event is imagined as a defensive struggle against an aggressor

in which residents play an active and positively evaluated role. The residents are positioned as victims of an attack who therefore need to actively defend themselves.

The framing of the situation as a struggle or plea goes hand in hand with an amplified mediation of resident voices or voices in support of them. That, in turn, is accompanied by a more positive imagination of the neighbourhood as a whole wherein signs of ‘social exclusion’ are largely contradicted. The name *sociálně vyloučené lokalita* ‘socially excluded locality’ itself sometimes appears in these articles, and sometimes not. Only one article overtly names the neighbourhood as such (see above: *Frydecko-místecký a třinecký deník* 21 June 2018). Other articles may name the neighbourhood as such, but only to later contradict this status.

National newspaper *Právo* (21 June 2018) calls the neighbourhood *vzříšen[á] osad[a]* ‘a reanimated settlement’ and paraphrases the voices of residents as pointing out *že z vyloučené lokality se stala bezproblémová čtvrť* ‘that the excluded locality [had become] an unproblematic neighbourhood’. In doing so, the neighbourhood is imagined as a former ‘socially excluded’ or ‘death’ space transformed to *se stala* ‘become’ a neighbourhood that is now *bezproblémová* ‘unproblematic’. In other words, there are no more signs of ‘social exclusion’. The textual voice also aligns with the voice of the mayor of Ostrava, Tomáš Macura, which it mediates.

Excerpt 6.9: *Právo*, 21 July 2018 (my English translation below)

01 „V Bedřišce jsem se opakovaně byl podívat, již se nejedná o vyloučenou lokalitu,
02 jak je často prezentováno...“.

01 “I have repeatedly been to Bedřiška, and I have seen that it is no longer an excluded locality,
02 as it is often presented...”.

Here, the negated adverb *již [...] ne* ‘no longer’ marks past and present as different and implies a transformation; Macura negates the evaluation of the neighbourhood as ‘socially excluded’. Needless to say, the authority of the city mayor’s voice could lead many readers to change their opinion of the neighbourhood. Similarly, the article in *Právo* (14 July 2018) evaluates the neighbourhood as *kdysi vyloučená lokalita* ‘once an excluded locality’ and quotes the voice of a Bedřiška supporter explaining the aim of the Vigilance Days they organised to protest official plans.

Excerpt 6.10: *Právo*, 14 July 2018 (my English translation below)

01 „Dva týdny bdělosti mají upozornit na těžkou situaci místních
02 a představit veřejnosti život v osadě, která již dávno není vyloučenou lokalitou,“
03 vysvětlila vznik akce za organizátory Klára Šebestová.

- 01 'The two weeks of Vigilance should draw attention to the difficult situation of locals
 02 and introduce the public to life in a settlement that is no longer an excluded locality',
 03 explained Klára Šebestová the reason for the event in the name of organisers.

The objectified voice of the supporter evaluates the neighbourhood as no longer a 'socially excluded' locality. By means of the adverb *dávno* 'long ago', the era when the characterisation was true is moved even further back in time. Similarly, the newspaper *Mladá Fronta DNES* (22 June 2018) uses the term *sociálně vyloučená lokalita* 'socially excluded locality', but distances itself from this evaluation by attributing it to district representatives who *Bedřišku popisují* 'describe Bedřiška' as such, implying a certain disalignment with the truth value of this evaluation and the trustworthiness of the participants.

Finally, the alternative newspaper *A2* (1 August 2018) is more explicit in the evaluation of the municipal district government's stance. It also presents the only voice that uses the pejorative term *ghetto* 'ghetto' to characterise what Bedřiška was in the past. The use of this pejorative term could be interpreted as a way to foreground what might be hidden by the term 'social exclusion'. Alternatively, it could be an implicit evaluation of the latter term as euphemistic, questioning its truth value. The article further attributes the use of the term to the local authority.

Excerpt 6.11: A2, 1 August 2018 (my English translation below)

- 01 [...] *vedení městské části se ostatně snaží kolonii prezentovat jako problémovou čtvrť.*
 02 *Bedřiška má ale k sociálně vyloučené lokalitě daleko.*
 03 *Naopak se tu podařilo vytvořit komunitu, která v našich poměrech ojedinělá.*

- 01 [...] The government of the city district is trying to present the colony as a problematic neighbourhood.
 02 However, Bedřiška is far from being a socially excluded locality.
 03 On the contrary, they were able to create a community that is unique in our context.

Here, the textual voice disaligns or counters the local authority's voice, saying that they are *snaží kolonii prezentovat* 'trying to present the colony' as 'socially excluded' or as a *problémovou čtvrť* 'a problematic neighbourhood' (line 1) and then denying this evaluation in line 2. The adverb of place *má daleko* 'far from' could indicate a linear time conception and evaluates the 'socially excluded' space as far from the present time for Bedřiška; in the present and *naopak* 'on the contrary', the space is social and alive – it is a *komunit[a]* 'community' (line 3). The textual voice further recognises resident agency and efforts to transform the neighbourhood into a space that is *v našich poměrech ojedinělá* 'unique in our context' (line 3).

Later in the article, the textual voice explains why Janáčková presents the neighbourhood in a negative light and thereby submits her actions to public scrutiny.

Excerpt 6.12: A2, 1 August 2018 (my English translation below)

01 *Zbourání Bedřišky by uvolnilo prostor spekulacím s pozemky*

02 *a Janáčková by se mohla prezentovat jako někdo, kdo obvod zbavil „sociálně vyloučené” lokality.*

01 The demolition of Bedřiška would enable speculation on the land,

02 and Janáčková could present herself as someone who rid the district of a ‘socially excluded’ locality.

As in the title of the article, the quotation marks in line 2 signal distance or scepticism and index distrust toward both this term and Janáčková’s voice.

Finally, there are three articles that do not even mention the term ‘social exclusion’. These articles locate residents at the centre of their reporting in the newspapers *Mladá fronta DNES* (21 April 2018), *Frydecko-místecký a třinecký deník* (9 July 2018) and *Moravskoslezský deník* (9 July 2018). As has become evident, the mediation of multiple voices denying or contradicting the reality propagated by the municipal district government through the print news media leads to questioning the evaluation of the neighbourhood as a ‘socially excluded’ space. The more weight given to the voices of residents and their supporters (and especially the city mayor), the more a positive image of the neighbourhood is strengthened. This goes hand in hand with a dissolution of the metaphorical equation of houses and residents. As a consequence thereof, fewer signs of ‘social exclusion’ are used to characterise the neighbourhood.

The above-mentioned signs of ‘social exclusion’ are generally used to evaluate the condition of the houses and do not necessarily need to be interpreted as signs of ‘social exclusion’. Most articles objectify the municipal district government’s voice as merely declaring that *domky v osadě jsou za hranicí životnosti* ‘the life expectancy of the houses has been exceeded’ (*Frydecko-místecký a třinecký deník* 21 June 2018) and the houses are *nedosahují standardní požadavky na bydlení* ‘not meeting standard housing requirements’ (*Mladá fronta DNES* 21 April 2018). The negative characterisation of residents largely disappears, save for a few exceptions. One of the articles, for instance, quotes Janáčková as taking a defensive stance in response to residents accusing her of continuing to oust residents despite her agreement with the city mayor. Her objectified voice accounts for this practice as follows:

Excerpt 6.13: *Frydecko-místecký a třinecký deník*, 21 July 2018 (my English translation below)

01 *„Neplatičím se smlouvy normálně neprodlužují. Ukončili jsme je z důvodu dluhů,”*

02 *upřesnila starostka Liana Janáčková.*

01 'Defaulter contracts are normally not renewed. We terminated them due to debts,'

02 said Mayor Liana Janáčková.

The negative 'habitonym' (Reisigl & Wodak 2001: 49) 'defaulter' *neplatič* used to refer to a group of residents is intertextually linked with discriminatory language that is strongly associated with Janáčková's discourse (see Chapter 3). This discriminatory discourse is certainly a sign of 'social exclusion' in the scholarly or institutional sense. In the present discursive context, however, the word 'defaulter' is a sign of 'social exclusion' in that it points to the possibility of an inability to pay the rent – a situation in which all people can find themselves. When evaluated by the objectified voice of Janáčková, however, it is presented as a derogatory or disgraceful condition.

These few signs of 'social exclusion' are largely countered by contradictory signs; in general, the print news media imagines residents as citizens actively engaged in the preservation of their home. Journalists often quote or paraphrase resident voices, giving them and their supporters space to counter the general image of their neighbourhood. The article in *Mladá fronta DNES* (22 June 2018), for instance, paraphrases residents as taking a trustful stance (or more specifically, a solidary stance) by recounting how they *[t]vrdí* 'claim' they *spolu výborně vycházejí* 'get along with each other very well' across ethnic lines. In the newspaper *A2* (1 August 2018), the textual voice paraphrases the objectified voice of the city police saying that the neighbourhood does *neeviduje vyšší počet trestních činů nebo přestupků než v běžných lokalitách* 'not have a higher incidence of crimes or minor offences than ordinary localities'. Both examples either counter or contradict signs of 'social exclusion'.

When examining print new media discourse from the perspective of chronotopic evaluations, it becomes evident that different evaluative positions regarding the present condition of the neighbourhood (whether or not it is a 'socially excluded') either enable recognition or lead to the misrecognition of a certain past involving the efforts of residents and other agents to transform the neighbourhood into a peaceful or just ordinary place. But most importantly, the evaluative positions further enable the reader to envision and/or to argue for a specific future. An article in the national newspaper *Mladá Fronta DNES* (21 April 2018), for instance, reports on the open house in Bedřiška intended to present the 'reality' of the neighbourhood to citizens and journalists. The latter then entextualised this 'reality'. As the textual voice writes, the event was organised *na podporu jejího zachování* 'in order to support the preservation of [the neighbourhood]'. It is in the context of these words that the article quotes a resident imagining the future of the neighbourhood.

Excerpt 6.14: *Mladá Fronta DNES*, 21 April 2018 (my English translation below)

01 „*Chceme dosáhnout jenom jedné věci: ať se Bedřiška nebourá, ať to zůstane tak, jak to je.*

02 *Lidé nevědí, co s nimi bude, kde budou bydlet,*“

03 *vedl Antonín Baláž, jenž v osadě žije 20 let.*

01 ‘We only want to achieve one thing: The settlement should not be demolished but should stay as it is.

02 People do not know what will happen to them or where they will live’,

03 stated Antonín Baláž, who has lived in the settlement for 20 years.

In this excerpt, the objectified voice of a resident explains what locals *ch[tějí] dosáhnout* ‘want to achieve’ (line 1); he expresses an intention or will and thereby imagines a future for the neighbourhood. For him, the neighbourhood *ať to zůstane tak, jak to je* ‘should stay as it is’ (line 1) so that people feel secure, as they should know *co s nimi bude* ‘what will happen to them’ (line 2).

The layering of present and future is also central to the argument of the municipal district government. The following excerpt from an article quoting Janáčková’s voice exemplifies this.

Excerpt 6.15: *Mladá Fronta DNES*, 22 July 2018 (my English translation below)

01 *Podle starostky obvodu Liany Janáčkové je ale situace jasná.*

02 „*Domy dosloužily, nevyplatí se je opravovat. Některé už jsme zbourali. Máme v plánu*

03 *současné nájemníky postupně vystěhovat a vybudovat tam moderní rezidenční bydlení pro mladé rodiny. [...]*“

01 According to district mayor Liana Janáčková, the situation is clear.

02 ‘The houses are out of date and it is not worth it to repair them. We have already demolished some. We plan

03 to gradually evict the current tenants and build modern residential housing for young families there’. [...]

Here, the future of the neighbourhood is imagined on the basis of the present ‘reality’, or the supposedly poor condition of houses that *dosloužily* ‘are out of date’ and *nevyplatí se je opravovat* ‘not worth’ (line 2) repairing. This financial reason is now provided to support the conclusion that the actual residents have to leave and make space for more valuable families. The residents’ agency, that is their past and present effort and activities, goes unmentioned.

Finally, there is a third typical evaluative position typically associated with Tomáš Macura. The following excerpt paraphrases the city mayor’s voice imagining the future of the neighbourhood to exemplify this evaluative position.

Excerpt 6.16: *Mladá Fronta DNES*, 22 June 2018 (my English translation below)

01 *Primátor města Tomáš Macura řekl, že obyvatelé Bedřichy si zaslouží důstojnou budoucnost,*

02 *život a perspektivu a že si ji dokáže představit i na stejném místě.*

01 The mayor of the city, Tomáš Macura, said that residents of Bedřicha deserved a dignified future,

02 life, and perspective, and that he can imagine it at the same place.

This evaluative position *dokáže představit* ‘can imagine’ a future for Bedřicha in which the actual residents continue to inhabit this space. More specifically, Macura argues that residents *si zaslouží* ‘deserve’ what he calls a *důstojnou budoucnost* ‘dignified future’ (line 1). The verb indexes a moral frame according to which human beings are meant to ‘deserve’ a decent future – that is, they have to engage or work for it. This liberal position thus recognises resident agency along with their past and present efforts.

To sum up, I have shown that in this second phase of organised resistance, the print news media shed light on the multi-layered nature of the frame of social exclusion and/or inclusion. All of the articles mediate the contradiction inherent to the evaluation of the neighbourhood as a ‘socially excluded’ time-space to a certain extent. They do not just negate, but also contradict or counter dominant imaginations by including a range of voices in their reporting. This process seems to indicate a shift within a frame of social exclusion and/or inclusion: the dominant story personified by Janáčková seems to fade into the background, opening up space for an alternative interpretation.

In the next section, I argue that the planning workshop with architects held at the end of August 2018 did not just contradict signs of ‘social exclusion’, but effectively shifted meaning within the frame of social exclusion and/or inclusion in a way that changed social positions – and thus transformed the hegemonic story of ‘social exclusion’.

The elaboration of an alternative vision during a participative planning workshop with architects

As Markus and Cameron (2002: 1–9) point out, buildings and language are both social phenomena: language plays a crucial role in the ‘social art’ that architects do even as the meaning of architecture or buildings is shaped through interactions with language (see also Baro 2017; Baro 2019). In other words, buildings signify. In the sense of Bakhtin’s (1981) semiotics, this means architectural plans and the meaning of buildings or a neighbourhood are shaped in dialogue with various social languages and voices. With this in mind, the present section focuses on chronotopic evaluations and especially the future envisioned for Bedřicha during the participatory planning workshop that took place from 28 to 31 August 2018 in the neighbourhood. The outcomes of the workshop

included four posters representing different perspectives or layers of one image. This vision was created by architects and students with support from residents and social workers. In what follows, I show how these vision(s) came into being and how they contradict – or even shift – the meaning of ‘social exclusion’ propagated by the municipal district mayor.

Around twenty architects and students mainly in architecture met at five o’clock in the evening in Bedřiška, where they were welcomed by organisers, architects, social workers, and activists. The workshop was launched with a guided tour of the neighbourhood held by Ada who was presented to us as the spokesperson of the place. In the evening, we had a barbeque in the garden of a non-Roma family’s house. Before selecting one of four working groups, each of which would elaborate one layer of the common vision, we listened to two presentations held outside in a large tent. The first was about social housing, participation, and self-help construction. The second was about the housing movement and organisation from below in a political context. Then, the four working groups were formed.

As I had assumed that the workshop was for architects only, I had intended to attend as an observer only. This status, however, was quickly revealed as insufficient as I felt that others would not accept me if I simply observed them without contributing to the work that needed to be accomplished in only three days. I was thus channelled into the working group on social and architectural participation. Other groups elaborated architectural ideas from the perspectives of historical preservation, culture, art, and urban architecture. All of the work was based on the wishes of residents that had first been elicited during a participatory action café (see Figure 6.1).

This participatory discussion can be compared to the one organised by the community worker Avyaan in 2010 (see Chapter 5) and, as Frida told me in an interview on 4 September 2019, it was Avyaan who suggested organising it. But in contrast to the meeting in 2010, emphasis was not placed on fostering trust and cooperation between neighbours. Instead, the discussion was meant to elicit the needs and wishes of residents so they could serve as a basis for the work of the architects and students. This might also be the reason why residents were not interrogated all at once, but in alternating small groups.



Figure 6.1: Residents discussing their neighbourhood during the action café, source: FB-post, probud domy 2018



Figure 6.2: A social worker presenting the action café results, source: FB-post, probud domy 2018

Social workers and activists facilitated the discussions and noted the locals needs on large pieces of paper that they later presented to the students and architects (see Figures 6.1 and 6.2). On the basis of these presentations the latter then worked on their topic. The outcome of the student's work was the four posters that each represented a single layer of the overall vision. It is no exaggeration to say that locals, social workers, and primarily students and architects worked day and night to elaborate this alternative vision to official plans. The vision was intended for presentation and discussion during a public event held at the end of the workshop to which politicians, journalists, civil society representatives, and citizens had all been invited (see Chapter 7). In the following, I examine each poster individually.

Source: *Bedřiška (pře)žije!*, Vize Bedřišky (n.d.)



Figure 6.4: poster 'Urban transformation of Bedřiška: What if', 31 August 2018

**URBANISTICKÁ PROMĚNA BEDŘIŠKY
CO KDYBY**

Zůstaneme a spolu proměníme

PLZEŇSKÁ

... byl zelený pás okolo ulice, který chránil Bedřišku před hlukem?

... byl prostor využit pro výhledu, která zajišťují i blízkou okolí?

... byla oblast doplněná zelení a sportovní rekreační prvky?

... vznikl objekt, který vytvořil dominantu u vstupu do lokality?

LESOPARK

... revitalizované cesty propojují Bedřišku s okolními čtvrtěmi?

... pouhým vyčištěním vzniká (projeví se) původní průmyslové fragmenty?

REZERVY

... v okolí vznikly nové rodinné domy?

... zelení z okolí dále prostupovala na Bedřišku?

ZAHRADY

... byla Bedřiška tak jako dříve bez plotů?

... vznikly přechody mezi rodinnými domy a pokusnými prostory?

... stále jako dnes byly všechny zahrady soukromé?

PARKOVIS

... nové stavby obcházely okolí a propojovala je naučná stezka?

ULICE

... byly ulice víceúčelovým prostorem a hřištěm?

... byly ulice více zelené a obnovily se původní kaštanové aleje?

Náš tým se věnoval kolonii Bedřiška z širšího pohledu urbanistického rozvoje a pozitivní stagnace.

Tvorba jakéhokoli lidského sídla je dlouhodobým procesem, při kterém se jednotlivé časové vrstvy doplňují a přetvářejí. Tím město získává svoji pastorek. Zároveň díky tomuto dlouhodobému vývoji jsou města domovem několika po sobě jdoucích generací. Kvůli překotnému vývoji v době průmyslové revoluce nemá Ostrava dostatek historických vrstev ani početnou skupinu rodin, pro jejich předcházející generace byla domovem. Rozsáhlé přepisování architektonických i urbanistických vrstev vede k nestranným sociálním vztahům a absenci vztahu obyvatel k místům, kde žijí.

Cílem naší práce nebylo vytvořit jeden komplexní návrh, ale souhrn motivů a principů, jak se Bedřiška může dále rozvíjet, aby došlo ke kulturní i sociální stabilizaci kolonie. Zároveň vytvořit podklad pro dialog mezi obyvateli kolonie, zástupci města a také obyvateli okolních městských čtvrtí a zjistit, kde se dělníci jednotlivých akcí protínají. Těžištěm práce je hledání možností napojení na okolní městské čtvrti, které je dnes nedostatečné a celá kolonie je tak izolována.

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**Architektonický workshop
kolonie Bedřiška**

ORGANIZÁTOR:
CUR
OSTRAVSKÁ UNIVERZITA
Katedra architektury a urbanistiky
Dělní nezávislost o.p.s.

FINANČNÍ PODPORA:
OSTRAVSKÁ UNIVERZITA
provoz
provoz

OPRÁVIL:
OPRÁVIL
OPRÁVIL

Source: *Bedřiška (pře)žijte!*, Vize Bedřišky (n.d.)

Figure 6.6: poster 'A walk through public space', 31 August 2018

Procházka veřejným prostorem
Jak by mohl fungovat aneb fantazii se meze nekladou

Zůstaneme a spolu proměníme

MAPA VEŘEJNÉHO PROSTORU

- HRAJ** Tu, vzduch, kousek od lesa, tady se dá krásně hrát. Hráti hry, Hry na hřišti. Už tu máme prázdnou s pískovištěm. I hřiště by se určitě vešlo. Fandíme z pavlače nad komunitním centrem, teda jen pokud nás na ni pustí ti, kdo tady bydlí.
- LAV. ST.** Před komunitním centrem je super plácek, je totiž od cesty oddělený stromy, takže trochu schovaný. Je velký tak akorát pro menší pódium. Na něm tancujeme, zpíváme, protože moc rádi slavíme - křtiny, svatby, narozeniny...
- BUĎ V CENTRU** Na této křižovatce se všichni scházíme, z domu si ven vytáhneme židle, uvoříme si kávu a jarní tu všichni pohromadě. Je to pro nás moc důležité místo. Naše náves. Na jiných návesích jsou lavičky i odpadkové koše. To by bylo fajn, kdyby byly i tu. K tomu třeba letní kino a ohniště a...
- ODPOČÍVEJ** Máme tady velkou plochu, je na ní tráva, ale nikde žádný stín. Vysadit pár stromů, pod nimi záhon květin a v malém jezírku mít zlaté rybky. Posadit se na lavičku a odpočívat nebo plést nebo háčkovat nebo jen tak pikat a nebo třeba cvičit jógu. To by šlo.
- BLBNÍ A LET** My děti jsme rády venku. Sem na pole si chodíme hrát. Hrajeme na pikanou a hoňku, taky na zloděje a policajty, trénujeme parkour. S naší dětskou fantazií umíme vidět příležitosti ke hře snad úplně ve všem. A když nám sem něco přibude, fantazii si ještě o to víc rozšíříme. Ostatně...té se meze nekladou.

Zveme Vás na procházku po Bedřišce!

Veřejný prostor je důležitý k životu. Fakt je. Tento fakt nás inspiroval k vytvoření plánu, který nás přivádí na ta místa, která nám po analytickém vyhodnocení vyplynula jako nejvíce vhodná k tomu, abychom jim věnovali pozornost a pokusili se je posílit, či vylepšit. Jejich možnou funkci jsme ztvárnili více či méně abstraktní formou přímo v prostoru kolonie.

Je to celé taková hra. Bedřiškou se procházíme dnes, teď, v roce 2018, ale zároveň vidíme, jaká by mohla být možná zítra a možná za chvíli. Ve spolupráci s místními obyvateli jsme vytvořili galerii pod širým nebem. Jejich ochota pomoci a podílet se na této hře s námi ukázala, že se nacházíme v místě, ke kterému místní mají srdečný vztah a touží po tom si svůj domov zvelebovat, hýčkat a není jim lhostejné, jak vypadá a jak se v něm cítí. Logicky.

Ale pojďme se už, prosím, projít. Přenesme se tam, kde fantazie a sny dokáží tvořit realitu. Pokusme se chvíli být jako Petr Pan v Zemi Nezemi, kde stačí uvěřit a můžeme vidět, co bylo očím neviditelné.

Architektonický workshop kolonie Bedřiška

ALTOŘÍ:
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PRÁVNÍK:
NADACE VIA
PROVOZ
architekti
b. h. bez hranic
PROVOZ
ORIENTACE
KOLONIE
BEDŘIŠKA

Na prostor na komunitním centru navrhujeme umístit křtiny pro různé hry.
Před komunitním centrem by mohl sloužit k umístit pódia sloužící k různým oslavám.
Veřejný dětský prostor oděti slouží jako místo ke schůzce, diskusím, žitím. Navrhujeme tento prostor posílit a omezit jako jiné funkce, odpadkové koše a také sem umístit ohniště či letní kino.
Veřejná zelená plocha v blízkosti komunitního centra Bedřišky by v případě potřeby sloužila k odpočinku a rozvoji umělecké tvorby jako přírodní umělecký prostor. Bedřiška by měla sloužit jako místo centra v podobě malého parku vnitřního k různým společným aktivitám.
„Chvilku si hrát na pole.“ Tato forma malých dětí (hry) ledně se v veřejné ploše v blízkosti komunitního centra, zároveň však dostatečně daleko od přírodních stromů, poskytuje ideální podmínky pro hru. Navrhujeme tento prostor vyzdobit jako velkou herní plochu: parkour, houpačky, domky, možná stánky banky atd.

Source: *Bedřiška (pře)žijte!*, Vize Bedřišky (n.d.)

All of the posters have a title that captures the topic or perspective from which the neighbourhood is depicted. In the upper left corner, there is a little Finnish house in a different colour on every poster. In the upper right corner, one can read the motto of the workshop: *Zůstaneme a spolu proměníme* ‘we stay and together we will transform’. This stance of hope directed towards the future can be attributed to locals. At the bottom, the reader learns the names of the creators of the poster sourced from the architecture workshop in Bedřiška as well as the foundations, institutions, organisations, initiatives, and people who organised, sponsored, or otherwise supported the workshop. The posters combine written text and pictures in the form of photographs and digital or hand-drawn pictures. Colours are used to signify various areas and houses.

The poster with the title *Architektura – Genius loci: Ochrana hodnot, rekonstrukce* ‘Architecture – Genius loci: Preservation of values, reconstruction’ (see Figure 6.3) evaluates the neighbourhood with respect to its spiritual and historical value as a former mining settlement that should therefore be preserved. A large picture located at the top of the poster features an old but restored Finnish house with a fence and a garden situated at a crossroads. Black silhouettes illustrate the spirit of the neighbourhood: children play in the street while an elderly man sits on one bench and a young woman on another. Flowers and trees border the street. The modality of the picture, which appears to be a drawing rather than a photograph, characterises it as not real – or rather, not present but located in the future. Under it, the reader can see two maps of the neighbourhood. The one on the left shows *stávající* ‘existing’, *neobydlené* ‘uninhabited’, and *zbourané* ‘demolished’ houses along with public and private gardens; the one on the right shows *stávající stavby* ‘existing houses’, *stavby k rekonstrukci* ‘houses in need of renovation’, and *navrhované stavby* ‘proposed buildings’. Whereas the first map represents the present, the second envisions the future.

Under the two maps, there is an illustration of an existing Finnish house from all perspectives with labels on various parts and characteristics of the house. Next to it, one finds a description of the settlement that justifies or ‘explains’ but also ‘complements’ (van Leeuwen 2005: 230) the illustrations. The settlement is evaluated as valuable heritage to the city of Ostrava. As such, one can read that *Je jednou z významných lokalit pozměněných výstavbou spojenou s průmyslovou historií města* ‘it is one of the important localities marked by construction associated with the industrial history of the city’. Two brick houses *korunují a povyšují tuto lokalitu svými nepopíratelnými architektonickými hodnotami* ‘crown and enhance this location with their undeniable architectural value’.

It is not only the houses, but also the residents who have value: they *vytváří* ‘create’ *jedinečný genius loci* ‘a unique genius loci’. The poster further presents photographs that illustrate select features of the houses. Overall, the future of the neighbourhood is imagined on the basis of this evaluation: *fungující* ‘functioning’ houses should be left as they are, some should be renovated, and some newly

constructed. As with the houses, residents are considered an integral and valuable part of the neighbourhood. Consequently, this historical preservation perspective clearly contradicts the plans of local authorities.

Another poster envisions the future of Bedřiška from an urban architectural perspective (see Figure 6.4). As one can read in a brief write-up in the bottom left corner, the focus of this work was *hledání možností napojení na okolní městské čtvrti, které je dnes nedostatečné a celá kolonie je tak izolována* ‘to find connections to the surrounding neighbourhoods, which are insufficient today as the whole colony is being secluded’. This is interesting in terms of ‘social exclusion’. The signs of ‘social exclusion’ mentioned here have to do with accessibility and communication between the neighbourhood and its surroundings. As stated, the neighbourhood *je izolována* ‘is being secluded’. This evaluation in passive voice implies an actor responsible for this seclusion, perhaps evoking the question of how the neighbourhood could be included. Consequently, the given perspective does not just contradict the local authority’s idea of ‘social exclusion’ but effectively shifts its meaning in that it shifts responsibilities, the focus of the problem, and hence the meaning of the frame of social exclusion and/or inclusion. Within this frame, the voice enters into an inner struggle with other voices: the cause for ‘social exclusion’ is not the residents, but the municipal district government that has secluded the neighbourhood from the rest of the district. The neighbourhood is thus evaluated as a ‘socially excluded’ space in the present and the responsibility for its exclusion is not attributed to residents, but to the district government.

In this spirit, the text imagines a future of Bedřiška that builds on the present, but offers ideas how to reconnect the neighbourhood to city life in the future. As such, the title employs the subjunctive mood to ask *Co kdyby* ‘what if’, then completes the question with different phrases. Drawings answer and/or illustrate the question in each case. For instance, the text imagines what could lie in between the neighbourhood and the main road where a large boundary fence is situated today. Thus, one reads *co kdyby* ‘what if...*byl zelený pás okolo ulice, který chrání Bedřišku před hlukem?*’ ‘...there were a green belt around the street to protect Bedřiška from noise?’ or *...byl prostor využit pro výstavbu, která zajistí služby i širšímu okolí?* ‘... the space were used for construction to provide services to the wider environment?’

The text further imagines changes that would lead to the inclusion of the neighbourhood, such as streets that would *propojily Bedřišku s okolními čtvrtěmi* ‘connect Bedřiška with surrounding neighbourhoods’, or new buildings that would *obohacovaly okolí a propojovala je naučná stežka* ‘enrich the surroundings, connected by a nature trail’. Consequently, the voice evaluates Bedřiška as a neighbourhood presently subject to isolation or exclusion by local authorities and imagines it, from an urban architecture perspective, as a space included into city life in the future.

The local perspective (see Figure 6.5) evaluates residents as emancipated, engaged voices that know what they need and are willing and able to contribute to the transformation of the neighbourhood. As such, one can read as follows on the upper right side of the poster:

Excerpt 6.17: *Field, poster 'Participation – Community to itself', 31 August 2018* (English translation below)

01 *V přesvědčení, že lidé znají prostor, ve kterém žijí nejlépe, jsme se ptali obyvatel Bedřišky,*
 02 *jak vnímají svůj domov? Jak by ho chtěli změnit a co by chtěli uchovat.*

01 Believing that people know the space in which they live best, we asked the inhabitants of Bedřiška
 02 how do they perceive their home? How would they like to change it and what would they like to keep?

The residents do not appear as passive subjects who need to be acted on, but rather as people who *žijí* 'live' in the neighbourhood and therefore *znají prostor* 'know the space' best (line 1). The textual content further narrates the proceedings of the action café and gives examples of what the members of the group learned about the neighbourhood.

In the same line of reasoning, a drawing on the upper left side of the poster next to the text 'extends' and 'complements' it (van Leeuwen 2005: 228). The drawing features a green neighbourhood with many trees and small houses. Resident voices are represented by means of speech bubbles coming out of houses, suggesting political engagement and participation. The speech bubbles mediate their voices with brief utterances, such as *Rozhodovat společně o tom, co se týká nás všech* 'Decide together what concerns us all' or *Opravíme si své domy sami* 'We will repair our houses ourselves'. Interestingly, however, the drawing simultaneously attenuates the representation of individual political engagement to a certain extent as it disguises interactions between people. This is achieved through the representation of voices coming out of houses, but also through the combination of speech bubbles symbolising the activity of speaking alongside speech bubbles symbolising the activity of thinking only. Moreover, the four little maps located under the drawing (featuring places that people are talking about) contain small white squares of text that only allude to the speech bubbles. This has an attenuating effect as well.

This choice of attenuating forms of representation might have to do with group member's efforts to avoid creating space for any stereotypes or typical fears that could be exploited by other agents to denigrate the neighbourhood. As I know from my own presence and participation in this group, several evaluative adjectives were changed in the same spirit. For example, the utterance *Zjistili jsme, že bedřišská komunita je silná a živá* 'We learned that community in Bedřiška is strong and healthy' (*Field, Bedřiška, draft of poster text, 30 August 2018*) was changed to *Zjistili jsme, že bedřišská*

komunita je zdravá a živá ‘We learned that community in Bedřiška is healthy and alive’. The choice to replace the adjective *silná* ‘strong’ with the adjective *zdravá* ‘healthy’ attenuated the perception of internal unity within the community, which also implies a certain degree of organisation and force for action; it also contradicted racist stereotypes of (poor) Roma people as dirty and infectious (cf. Bogdal 2011: 307, 265). In this regard, however, one might ask whether the contradiction of a stereotype does not also invoke it and hence could have a contrary effect.

In contrast, six pictures located under the little maps illustrate some of the needs raised by locals. The pictures draw attention to ongoing ‘social exclusion’ in a manner similar to the urban architectural perspective mentioned above; they illustrate ways the neighbourhood could potentially be included into the city through very simple infrastructural choices, such as a pedestrian crossing, pavement, a street sign indicating the location of the neighbourhood, a footpath, or a railing. In each case, these needs were directly sourced from group members. Consequently, the local perspective both contradicts but also enters into struggle with the dominant story of ‘social exclusion’ propagated by the district mayor.

Finally, the last poster has the title *Procházka veřejným prostorem. Jak by mohl fungovat aneb fantazii se meze nekladou* ‘Walking through the public space: How it could be when there are no limits to fantasy’. The poster mediates a cultural-artistic perspective (see Figure 6.6). Unlike with the other groups, the final outcome of their work is a poster as well as a walk through an exhibition of objects created by group members. Here, however, I shall focus mainly on the poster as it functions to draw attention to the walk through Bedřiška.

The group’s work is based on local use of public space and suggestions for how it could be transformed. The upper part of the poster features a photograph of the neighbourhood taken from a bird’s eye view. Specific spaces are identified with different colours. A text box located on the right side of the poster labels and characterises these spaces through the use imperative verbs in the respective colour: *hraj* ‘play’, *bav se* ‘have fun’, *bud’ v centru* ‘be in the centre’, *odpočívej* ‘relax’, and *blbni a let* ‘fool around and fly’. The write-ups for each space ‘extend’ (van Leeuwen 2005: 228) the picture through the mediation of resident voices in form of unmarked reported speech. Whereas the coloured verbs in the imperative catch the attention of readers and address them directly, the text draws the reader into a dialogue with the objectified voices of residents, adults, and children. For example, the text titled *hraj* ‘play’ begins as follows:

Excerpt 6.18: Field, poster ‘A walk through public space’, 31 August 2018 (my English translation below)

01 HRAJ: Tu, vzadu, kousek od lesa, tady se dá krásě hrát. Hráť hry. Hry na břišti.

02 Už tu máme prolízačku s písčovištěm. I hřiště by se určitě vešlo.

01 PLAY: Here, at the back and close to the forest, you can play beautifully – play games on a playground.

02 We already have climbing equipment and a sandpit. A playground would certainly fit as well.

In this excerpt, a child who likes to play is imagined as an active voice entering into direct dialogue with readers, explaining to them how the child uses and imagines the present but also the future of the public space. The voice of the child poetically draws the reader into a dialogue with their material surroundings. This effect is achieved through use of the deictic words *tu* ‘there’ and *tady* ‘here’, which index the space in front of the visitor to the exhibition. The ‘poetic function’ (Jakobson 1960) of the text is realised through a hyperbaton extending the utterance as well as alliteration and anaphors.

In a second step, the text invites the reader for a walk around Bedřiška through a direct address: *Zveme Vás na procházku po Bedřišce!* ‘We invite you for a walk around Bedřiška!’ Hence, the poster invites readers and visitors to develop their own opinion of Bedřiška as a ‘socially excluded’ space (or not), helping them imagine the future of the neighbourhood by guiding visitors through an open-air exhibition. Consequently, it can be said that the cultural-artistic point of view takes the strongest facilitating stance of all the voices: the text not only empowers residents through the mediation of their voices, but also visitors and readers by inviting them to form their own opinion and enter into dialogue with locals.

To conclude, I have shown that the multi-layered vision of Bedřiška elaborated by students and architects present the neighbourhood in a generally positive or even idealised way – as an active and solidary community of people living in homes and in a neighbourhood with historical value to Ostrava. From this, it follows that the neighbourhood should not only be preserved but also renewed and that the present community should stay.

All of the architectural voices clearly contradict and/or subvert the voice of Janáčková. They evaluate the neighbourhood with signs that contradict the dominant story of ‘social exclusion’, but their evaluations also change meanings in a subversive manner. In other words, they shift meanings in a way that forces the future of the neighbourhood to change. The neighbourhood is imagined as presently excluded, but responsibility or fault is attributed to an external participant – the municipality – rather than locals.

The vision is abstracted from the fact that not every resident participated in the organised action café, from ordinary conflicts that characterise the neighbourhood, and from possible (and more or less latent) ethnic conflicts inscribed in social structures. Moreover, it abstracts to a certain extent from the harsh working conditions of miners, and instead idealises mining life. It is in this sense that the political function of the vision becomes apparent as a way to include the neighbourhood into common value frameworks on the municipal level as well as in a hegemonic (neo)liberal social order.

Conclusion: A future embedded within a frame of social exclusion and/or inclusion

The present chapter has focused on the dialogic-affective imagination of the neighbourhood of Bedřiška within a *frame of social exclusion and/or inclusion*. More specifically, it has centred on the evaluation of the Bedřiška neighbourhood as a space in time by means of *signs of social exclusion*. Based on an analysis of print news media discourse following the announcement of official plans to demolish houses and evict residents living in Bedřiška as well as four posters elaborated during the planning workshop with students and architects, I have constructed four typical chronotopic positions. In this regard, I argued that these evaluative positions are argumentative (cf. Blommaert 2015: 112) – they are part of a dialogic-affective struggle over the future of Bedřiška that takes place within a frame of social inclusion and/or exclusion. Within this frame, these different chronotopic evaluative positions entangle, negating, contradicting, or countering each other.

The first evaluative position is strongly associated with Janáčková's hateful voice (see Chapter 3). Referring to various signs of 'social exclusion' (e.g., waste lying around), it imagines the neighbourhood as a 'socially excluded' locality both in the past and at present. In so doing, future transformation and/or metamorphosis becomes inconceivable. People are equated to old houses that need to get out of the way or kept at distance, whether destroyed or evicted. They thus appear as (subaltern) subjects without agency, caught up in time (cf. Fabian 1983: 143). In this spirit, the future of the space is imagined as a neighbourhood of 'modern' houses in which young and functional (richer) families live. The fact that young, functional families already live there is ignored.

The second chronotopic evaluative position is strongly associated with the voices of residents as well as the city mayor. It contradicts the first position in that it imagines the neighbourhood as a former 'socially excluded' locality transformed by residents into a neighbourhood that can no longer be qualified as such. There are thus no signs of 'social exclusion' in the sense of the first position. Residents are conceived on an equal footing, capable of transformation and possessing agency. They should be allowed to stay because they worked on their neighbourhood (and themselves) and therefore *si zaslouží* 'deserve' it. Consequently, the neighbourhood should be preserved in the future. It is interesting to note that this second, liberal or civic/civil position clearly negates or contradicts the first position, but fails to shift meanings in the sense that it does not transfer the responsibility for social exclusion. No critical stance is taken towards Janáčková's activities or the unhealthy by-products of a capitalist system.

Rather, the moral frame evoked by this second position seems to align with what researchers have described in a multitude of countries as the consequence of a change in welfare policy and

the moralisation of this domain. Levitas (2005 [1998]) argues from a sociological perspective that in the 1990, the New Labour Party's social policy agenda of 'social exclusion' brought about a major shift away from a discourse that took the need to redistribute wealth for granted towards a discourse that emphasised the need for integration into the labour market. This was further associated with the need for a change in 'underclass' morals. Similarly, Fairclough (1999) observes that the idea of 'social exclusion' used to be constructed as a situation in which people find themselves rather than a process in which some agents exclude others. Gunders (2012) analyses exclusionary representations of welfare recipients in political speeches in Australia from a critical discourse-analytical perspective, showing that politicians construct welfare recipients as national others threatening the moral and economic wellbeing of ordinary people. Marston's (2008) critical discourse analysis further shows that 'welfare reform' often not only means a change in policy within an advanced form of capitalism, but also involves the construction of a system of values that communicates to citizens how they should (and should not) behave. In other words, it disciplines labour as well as deviant welfare recipients.

Finally, Erler (2012) shows how the Great Recession shifted, to a certain degree, discourses about poverty from psychological/moral narratives to more positive structural/contextual accounts in the United States. However, she also notes that these accounts remain racialised and gendered, constructing especially black women as less deserving of aid than the 'new poor'. Consequently, (neo)liberal voices used to ignore structural influences and instead explain 'social exclusion' in terms of moral failure or merit; accordingly, the residents of Bedřiška 'deserved' decent housing because they worked hard to transform their neighbourhood into a decent space. As I have further shown, the only evaluative position that understands the problem of 'social exclusion' and/or poverty in structural terms is the one mediated by the alternative newspaper *A2*. However, this is a marginal and by no means hegemonic position.

I have further shown that, within the posters elaborated during the workshop with architects, yet another chronotopic evaluative position emerges. In contrast to the second position, it does not simply contradict signs of 'social exclusion'. Instead, it shifts meanings within the frame of social exclusion and/or inclusion in that it shifts roles and responsibilities; it is not residents who appear as responsible or guilty for their exclusion and therefore must transform, but the municipal district that bears the responsibility of including the neighbourhood into city life. This perspective coincides with more structural understandings of 'social exclusion' and/or poverty – that is, with accounts that stress exclusionary dynamics and unequal distribution of forms of capital inherent to the functioning of a capitalist system (e.g., Bourdieu 1994).

It could be argued that this constellation of *chronotopic evaluative positions* creates a dialectic process in which a thesis and antithesis merge in a third position. However, I suggest that this constellation should rather be conceived as a sort of dialectical layering, an entanglement of chronotopic evaluative positions that can be constructed while observing the plurality of voices (cf. Todorov 1981: 160–161, after Bakhtin 1981 [1975]: 292) and positions emerging within the dialogic-affective struggle about the future of the neighbourhood.

These entextualised voices and positions are thus contextualised in situated (discursive) interactions in which participants negotiate the future of Bedřiška. At the end of the planning workshop with students and architects, for instance, the outcomes were presented and discussed at a public gathering to which politicians, journalist, civil society representatives, and citizens were invited by the workshop organisers. In the next chapter, I shall focus on this public discussion.

More broadly, the planning workshop with architects was just one of several activities and events organised by social workers, activists, and residents. It can be said that all these events – in addition to continuous communication with political representatives – influenced the outcome of the city assembly meeting on 19 September 2018. Against the interests of Janáčková, the city assembly decided to commission a detailed analysis of the technical state of the houses (in a vote of 58 yes, 0 no, and 5 abstentions). Moreover, representatives decided that, no matter the results, locals should be enabled to remain in the neighbourhood (cf. Statutární město Ostrava, zastupitelstvo města 2018b: 57–63). At the municipal election on 5 to 6 October 2018, city mayor Tomáš Macura was further confirmed to office. Liana Janáčková left her office after 28 consecutive years as the mayor of the municipal district Mariánské Hory a Hulváky (aside from a brief interruption in 2006). She was succeeded by her close colleague Patrik Hujdus. Nonetheless, hoping for the city mayor's support, residents and supporters gained another four (or rather three and a half) years in which they could seemingly count on political support in the struggle for the future of their homes.

7 (Re)producing social (dis)order

A deliberative discussion emerging within (anti-)‘modern’ disgust

The more I learned about contexts of social exclusion and poverty, the more I began to doubt whether ‘we’ really want to include Roma and/or people living in precarity into mainstream society. How was it possible that majority members of society are seemingly undisturbed by the fact that their fellow citizens are subject to what is commonly called poverty business?

As elsewhere in the world, the selling of public property and associated speculation is a common phenomenon in the Czech Republic. People living on these properties often have to leave their homes. For Roma and especially for those who are impoverished, this is a major problem as they typically lack access to the housing market owing to discriminatory (discursive) practices. Unless family members accommodate them, they often have to accept substandard housing in so-called hostels from ‘rough landlords’ (Kupka, Walach & Brendzová 2021). The latter not only offer housing at exaggerated prices, but often engage in illicit activities related to the offer of housing, such as exploitation, harassment, and deliberate under-maintenance (cf. Barašová 2003; Kupka, Walach & Brendzová 2021). Once people find themselves in such inhuman conditions, it is nearly impossible to find a way out and return to ordinary life.

While working for the rehousing project in the city of Brno, I learned that these so-called hostels are often infested with mould or bedbugs. I came to understand how living with such plagues causes not only stress and humiliation, insufficient sleep, and paranoia, but also family conflicts that significantly complicate attempts to live a decent life. Against this backdrop, Mary, a social worker and colleague of mine, told me how one of her client families decided to leave all their belongings at the “hostel” once they had an opportunity to move into a decent apartment. They did so out of disgust and fear of infesting their new home with the hostel’s ‘dirt’. In this way, they hoped to slowly become able to have an ordinary life, to find decent work, and be able to care for their kids well – and maybe even care for themselves.

In the case of Bedřiška in 2017, municipal district leader Liana Janáčková continued to propagate an image of the place as ‘dirty’ even though residents had organised their community (see Chapter 5) and cleaned up the whole neighbourhood in 2010. External agents, such as social workers or the church, were also contributing to the neighbourhood’s order in their own ways. Needless to say, the dissemination of such a negative image of the neighbourhood enabled Janáčková to legitimise her plans to evict residents and demolish houses while simultaneously positioning herself as the guarantor of order in the municipal district. In response, residents, their supporters, and activists organised various events to contradict the image of the neighbourhood.

One of these events was a participatory planning workshop with architects (see Chapter 6). During this event, students and architects challenged the negative image of ‘social exclusion’ propagated by the municipal district government. However, their primary purpose was to elaborate an alternative vision to official plans to demolish Bedřiška. At the end of the workshop, the outcomes were presented and discussed at a public event attended by politicians and journalists.

The present analysis centres on this public discussion. More specifically, it focuses on the entanglement of signs of ‘dirt’, disgust, and the production of (dis)order. I am interested in how participants evoked – and more or less consciously intertwined – these languages during the public discussion of the workshop. I conceptualise the discussion as a deliberative event emerging from the broader dialogic-affective context within which it is embedded. The present analysis thus focuses on a transcript of this discursive event, taking into account other forms of data as well, to construct the broader context of political struggle. To understand the emergence of signs of ‘dirt’ and disgust in the situated interaction, I shall first relate these ideas to contexts of social exclusion and/or poverty by giving some further ethnographic insights into my fieldwork experience. I shall then translate these accounts into theoretical categories. In a second step, I shall embed the public discussion of the workshop results into relevant dialogic-affective fields in which – as I shall show – the (re)production of (dis)order is a central activity. Finally, I shall reveal how perceptions of dirt and/or disgust find their way into concrete interactions where they can affect reality.

Dirt, disgust and social disorder

The aim of the rehousing project I worked for in Brno was to include mostly impoverished Roma residents into mainstream society by providing them with housing and social services. Some of our clients were moved from “hostels” to neighbourhoods of mostly Roma residents, while others were moved to neighbourhoods of mainly non-Roma residents from the lower- to upper- middle class. The latter, more vigorous practice of inclusion frequently led to intense conflicts with neighbours that were hard to mediate.

To illustrate, a Roma woman and single mother was meant to start a new life with her two daughters in a ‘better’ neighbourhood. By the time I began working for the rehousing project, the conflict between her and her neighbours had already taken shape. Her new home was part of an old apartment building and as such, it had a balcony shared between the family and another neighbour that extended into an inner courtyard. Beneath the apartment was a restaurant with a terrace that also extended into the courtyard. At the centre of the conflict was our client’s cat that, according to her neighbour and the restaurant owner, seemed to cause a monstrous annoyance (see Figure 7.1). This situation had led to an agreement between the neighbours and our client to

keep the cat indoors. But one day, the cat escaped anyway. Apparently, it had jumped from the balcony and damaged the canopy that covered the restaurant terrace. Naturally, the restaurant owner was concerned about the costs incurred by this damage. He nonetheless refused to talk to our client, explaining that he knew that she had no money.

But this was not the whole story as something else seemed to be bothering him: he complained not just about the damage caused by the cat, but also about our client's children who had come down to the restaurant to catch the cat as it ran around the courtyard. It was as if he were worried that the roaming cat of Roma residents would endanger his business or the well-being of his guests. In its association with the Roma family, the cat began to signify something 'dangerous' that needed to be controlled and kept out of sight, as if it *were* 'dirty' or 'infectious'. This minor conflict in reality escalated in such a way that the family eventually had to leave the neighbourhood.

How can we make sense of this phenomenon? The occurrence illustrates what Mary Douglas (1966) put succinctly as 'dirt offends against order' (2). This means that we learn to care for hygiene and the maintenance of order, which involves respect for social norms. In other words, we protect what is sacred to us from impurity. To do so, we tell each other beliefs about danger to uphold a specific moral code or, if we disagree, we dialogue about and debate social norms to define them anew (cf. Douglas 1966: 1–6). As mentioned in Chapter 3 of this thesis, Elias (1973) presents a socio- and psycho-historical account of the social formation of individual 'selves' in the process of civilisation; people once had to learn and embody specific 'civil' manners, conventions, and hygiene rules. This remains the case in every culture through the present. In the same spirit, Hübschmanová (1993) writes about Roma culture:²⁸

Where in [our grandparents'] generation would a *Vlach* have married a *Rumungro* or a *Rumungro* a *Vlach Roma*? That was impossible! In the same way, it was unthinkable that a *žůžo Rom*, a member of a group who does not eat impure meat (horse, dog), would eat in the house of a *degeš*, one whose group does not feel disgust when consuming 'impurity'. (Hübschmannová 1993: 23, my translation)

To paraphrase this quotation, it used to be normal in Roma culture for a Vlach Rom to refuse to marry a Servika Rom. Similarly, it was unthinkable for a *žůžo Rom* to eat at the house of a *degeš* (cf. Hübschmannová 1993: 23).

²⁸ 'Kde by si v generaci prarodičů byl Vlach vzal „Rumungricu“ nebo „Rumungro“, Olašku? To nebylo možné! Stejně tak bylo nemyslitelné, aby „žůžo Rom“, příslušník ze skupiny, která se neživí nečistým masem (koňským, psím) pojedl v dome „degeše“, toho, jehož skupina se neštítí podobou „nečistotu“ požívat' (Hübschmannová 1993: 23).

As Douglas (1966) explains, what we believe to be dangerous for our body or the community we identify with has not only factual, but symbolic load as well; what we sense as signs of pollution also points to a specific way to relate to the world and other sociocultural groups, and these relations are part of what counts as social order (cf. Douglas 1966: 1–6). As argued elsewhere (e.g., Chapter 3), relations imply not just power but a certain degree of identification, proximity, or distance. Consequently, it can be argued that frames and practices of ‘social exclusion’ are closely entangled with the ideas of ‘dirt’ and ‘anomaly’ – and thus with emotions of fear or disgust.

As Ahmed (2014) details, disgust is closely related to a history of othering in which the bodies of others were transformed into objects of disgust, or that which is ‘bad’. She thereby refers to the colonial history of Europe, which is closely entangled with the civilisational process and construction of ‘modern’ subjects and their ‘Others’ (cf. Ahmed 2014: 83–84). Disgust is directed towards objects that are historically constructed and imagined as dangerous to the self. The self therefore rejects the objects and keeps them at safe distance – or, as Kristeva puts it, the abject ‘is that which opposes the I’ (Kristeva 1982: 3, after Ahmed 2014: 87).

But Ahmed (2014: 83–84) explains that this is not the whole story: rejection also concerns what comes in contact with that which opposes the I. The cat running around the courtyard did not signify ‘dirt’ because it represented a danger as such. However, it was interpreted as a danger in connection to the Roma family it belonged to – or rather, in connection to the image of “the gypsy”. In this association, the cat became a signifier of ‘danger’ and ‘anomaly’ in a way that symbolised broader relations involving the social exclusion of mainly impoverished Roma people.

Accordingly, it was surprisingly self-evident to most parties involved in the conflict that the cat had to be kept away from lower or upper middle-class residents and restaurant guests. Here, members of mainstream society seemed to have the sole moral authority to decide what was generally bearable and what was not. Consequently, it was generally accepted that there was no need to discuss these problems with our client in direct face-to-face interaction. It is in this sense that conflict resolution through mediation appeared illusionary, at least from my own position as a novice in this field.

So far, I have reflected on signs and connections between dirt, disgust, and (dis)order on the basis of what I experienced while working for a rehousing project in Brno. In what follows, I am interested in the signs of disgust emerging during the public discussion of the outcomes of the participative planning workshop with architects in Bedřichská. Before giving an example of the interactions of ‘dirt’ and disgust, however, I shall embed this discursive event in other relevant contextual layers. This will enable me to show how closely ‘dirt’ and disgust are related to the production of (dis)order and social exclusion.

At the intersection of housing politics and social work in Bedřiška

The public discussion of workshop outcomes is embedded in various intersecting social fields. Here, I shall concentrate on the ones I consider most important. First, there is the city of Ostrava as a democratically organised political unit as well as the municipal district of Mariánské Hory a Hulváky. Then, there is the field of social or community work. Let's not forget the neighbourhood itself, as it represents the site where all of the above fields intertwine to pattern (discursive) practice. Consequently, the neighbourhood together with the event represents a sort of centralising point that sets the framework of relevance. Below, I describe the field of politics and then the field of social work as relates to the ideas mentioned above.

The city of Ostrava is a political unit embedded in the national democratic system. However, it also forms a system of its own that functions according to bureaucratic and democratic rules and ensures decision-making on a municipal level. What I mean here with democracy is that citizens elect their representatives and, in this way, have a voice in the system. Naturally, potential as well as existing representatives need to adapt their political programmes and public speeches to the positions of citizens, convincing or persuading them in order to be (re)elected. The municipality is headed by a city mayor and a government, and there is an authority as well as a city police. The city contains 23 municipal districts whose mayors form the city assembly that facilitates communication and activities between municipal districts and bodies. Each municipal district has its own government, authority, and assembly.

The division of responsibility across these bodies is regulated by different laws. For housing, the municipal district government is tasked with managing the housing stock owned by the city. In other words, the district has to maintain the housing stock and fulfil the responsibilities of a landlord. As such, it is also the district that decides who lives in these houses. In the event there is a need or wish for broader change (i.e., the demolition or sale of real property and/or a new housing project), then these plans need to be approved by the city assembly. Citizens of Ostrava have the right to attend assembly meetings and present their concerns to representatives. They can thus wield a political instrument to exert direct influence over decision-making processes at the level of both their municipal district and the municipality itself. All this is relevant to understand why there was a planning workshop with architects, why the workshop outcomes were presented in public, and why the municipal district mayor was invited alongside the city mayor.

As noted in Chapter 5, the term 'community work' refers in the field of social work to a method aimed at organising people to help them emancipate and question inequalities for the sake of fostering social justice and change; democratic principles such as equality, participation, and empowerment are central in this regard (cf. Stövesand & Stoik 2013: 18–20). According to

Stövesand and Stoik (2013), community work may involve pragmatic-managerial as well as more radical democratic practices. In contrast to the organisation of the community in 2010, activists, residents, and social workers took a more radical democratic approach (see, e.g., Wolin 2018) in 2018 in that it involved the organisation of public events and protest in the public space.

In the spirit of Benhabib (1994), it can be argued that the political field of decision-making emerging through the intersection of these most relevant social fields takes the institutional form of deliberative democracy, which is ‘a multiple, anonymous, heterogeneous network of many publics and public conversations’ (45). In this sense, the public discussion of workshop results represented one of the ‘many publics’ contributing to the decision-making process over the future of the neighbourhood. Normatively speaking, deliberative democracy stresses the importance of ‘free public deliberation about matters of mutual concern to all’ (Benhabib 1994: 44). A public discussion between all people concerned should thus enable the dissemination of relevant information, the expression and weighing of reasons, and the revision of beliefs and opinions as well as public critique of the decision-making process (cf. Benhabib 1994: 44–45).

Before I come to the analysis of the discussion of workshop results, however, I shall try to give a sense of how social workers, activists, and locals organised community and protest at the intersection of housing politics and community work to counter the production of (dis)order by the municipal district.

Political and social agents (re)producing (dis)order

As already mentioned in Chapter 6, the close of 2017 saw the displacement of locals undergo yet another round. As the academic and activist Frida told me during an interview on 4 September 2019, rumours and the limiting of rental contract extensions to three months only had led to a climate of insecurity and distrust. Some tenants left directly while others stopped paying rent to save money to be able to pay a deposit elsewhere. It is not surprising that insecurity gave rise to a desire to understand what was happening. As Frida further narrated, residents thus insisted on direct communication with the municipal district mayor. This turned out to be rather difficult, however, as the municipal district government once again assumed an inflexible stance (see Chapter 3) and was unwilling to negotiate with residents on an equal basis.

During the interview, Frida assumed a distrustful or critical stance toward Janáčková. As she recounted, Janáčková finally met with locals several months later in early summer 2018. However, she did not accept the participation of what she called *aktivisty* ‘activists’ (see also Statutární město Ostrava, zastupitelstvo města 2018a). Unlike Ada and the director of the organisation providing social work in the neighbourhood, Frida was not allowed to participate in the discussion. Still, this

did not prevent her from listening secretly behind a door. She described her experience of Janáčková's communication style as follows:

Excerpt 7.1: *Field, Ostrava, interview with Frida, 4 September 2019* (my English translation below)

01 *No tak, jím eh začala mazat med kolem pusy, že prostě se jako o ně postará a že prostě*
 02 *jako dobrý at' za ní prostě ti lidi chodí individuálně, protože to je to, co ona vlastně taky dělala,*
 03 *že třeba večer přijela na Bedřišku a šla za nějakou rodinou, individuálně se domlouvat,*
 04 *že jak by prostě tříštila tu kolektivní snahu řešení, a snažila se to vlastně rozbít nějakýma*
 05 *individuálníma nabídkama, které ale vlastně se nezakládaly, ty byly prostě falešné.*

01 So, she started rubbing honey around their mouths, [saying] that she will take care of them and that
 02 everything is fine – that people should come to her individually, because that's what she actually did.
 03 For instance, she came to Bedřiška in the evening and went to some family to negotiate individually.
 04 So, she just shattered the collective effort for a solution and actually, she tried to break it with some
 05 individual offers that weren't actually real; they were fake.

Frida's evaluation of Janáčková's communication with residents coincides with what I have elsewhere described as a paternalistic stance (see Chapter 3) involving displays of feelings of care (line 1) entangled with an intention to oppress. In Frida's account, this would mean shattering common action or trust (lines 4 to 5). To support her claim, Frida further narrates the story of a family to whom Janáčková offered an apartment with three rooms and kitchen. This was a false offer as it never became true, and another family with four or five children was moved into a one-room apartment with a kitchen.

In its role as a landlord, the municipal district government needed to fulfil certain duties towards tenants. Generally, landlords are responsible for the maintenance of their property. But as Ada narrated me during one of my visits, these expectations were not being met.

Excerpt 7.2: *Field, Ostrava, notes, 23 September 2018* (my English translation below)

01 *Sie zeigte mir Bilder, die den Zustand des Hauses aufzeigten, als die Tochter von [Ada] es übernommen hatte:*
 02 *Ohne Küche, in desolatem Zustand, feuchte Wände, Schimmel, Ratten, Reparaturen wurden schlecht gemacht,*
 03 *der Parkettboden musste neu gemacht werden, alles selbst und auf eigene Kosten. Die Bürgermeisterin*
 04 *erzähle hingegen immer, wie die Bewohner_innen die Häuser in einen schlechten Zustand gebracht hätten.*

01 She showed me pictures of the condition of the house as Ada's daughter had taken it over. [It had
 02 no] kitchen [and was] in a desolate condition with damp walls, mould, rats, shoddy repairs,
 03 a parquet floor that needed to be redone – and everything by herself and at her own expense. The mayor,
 04 however, always talks about how the residents put the houses in bad condition.

In lines 1 to 4, Ada implies that Janáčková did not take care of houses and intentionally allowed them to deteriorate (lines 3 to 4) while residents were forced to actively prevent this from happening (line 3).

However, not everyone took such a negative stance towards the municipal district government or Janáčková as a landlord. Another resident assumed a positive stance that is nonetheless slightly ambiguous.

Excerpt 7.3: *Field, Bedřiška, interview with resident, 9 February 2020* (my English translation below)

01 *To my se dlouhé roky znali s Janáčkovou, a ona nebyla špatná taková, prostě ona to co měla na jazyku,*
 02 *ona prostě řekla. Já jsem rad, že ona byla na tom úřadě, protože když jsem potřeboval něco pomoci, tak já vždycky*
 03 *za ní, a ona řekla, buď to jde nebo nejde, jo, ona říkala, jsou tady nějaké paragrafy, jo,*
 04 *že to nejde, že se známe že ti můžu to dát, a to nejde, musíme podle*
 05 *paragrafu. Pokud máš nárok, není problém, jo, ale byli lidi takoví, že ji pomlouvali, jo, že prostě*
 06 *nechtějí jí, že to je rasista. No ale prostě, když jsem potřeboval něco, tak jsem šel za ní a jsem ji řekl, jako že,*
 07 *ona se mi ptala jako, jestli též jdu proti ní, a já říkám, ne, paní starostko, já proti vám nikdy, no,*
 08 *a tady jsem zase musel lhát, že jdu proti ní. Já říkám, ne, říkám ne, já s váma držím. Ona nebyla špatná.*

01 We have known Janáčková for many years. She was not a bad person; she simply said what was on her mind.
 02 I'm glad she was at that office because when I needed help with something, I always went
 03 to her and she would say whether it was possible or not. Yes, she said, there are some paragraphs, yeah,
 04 that it's not possible that we know each other, so I give you, that's not possible and we have to follow the
 05 paragraphs. If you have the right, no problem, yes. But there were people who slandered her. They just
 06 didn't want her, [saying] that she's a racist. But when I needed something, I went to her and told her.
 07 She asked me if I was going against her and I said, no, Ms Mayor, I never go against you. Well,
 08 and here, I had to lie again that I was going against her. I said no, I'm with you. She wasn't bad.

The account of this Roma resident illustrates the fragile unity that existed between residents in reality (lines 7 to 8), as well as the strategies that some locals may have adopted to ensure the livelihood of their family.

So far, I have attempted to give a sense of the disorder produced by the municipal district government that yielded emotions of insecurity, distrust, and conflict in Bedřiška. But how did residents, community workers, and supporters try to counter this production of disorder?

Before getting involved with Bedřiška, Frida had engaged in different activities to combat homelessness in Ostrava. As she told me during the interview on 4 September 2019, she had been asked for help by a resident who had participated in the *Divadlo utlačovaných* 'Theatre of the

oppressed’ that Frida had helped organise. The resident knew she was active in the *Probud’ domy* ‘Wake up houses’ initiative that advocated for a right to housing and the city at the time.

Excerpt 7.4: *Field, Ostrava, interview with Frida, 4 September 2019* (my English translation below)

01 *On věděl, že já jsem I v tom Probud’ domy, no a přišel za mnou s tím, jestli bychom eh nemohli zajít na Bedřišku,*
 02 *že tam prostě ta jeho rodina mu říká, že tam lidi mají strach, že tam chce obvod dávat výpovědi*
 03 *z nájmu, a že prostě ty lidi tam potřebujou nějakou podporu, a jestli že bychom se tam mohli nějak zastavit*
 04 *a nějak mu pomoci to začít řešit.*

01 He knew that I was involved in ‘Wake up houses’, and he came to me asking if we couldn’t go to Bedřiška,
 02 that his family was telling him people were afraid as the district wanted to put an end to
 03 their lease – that people there simply needed some support and [he wanted to know] if we could come by
 04 and somehow help him start addressing the issue.

In this excerpt, Frida paraphrases the voice of a resident as taking a stance of trust when asking her for help and thus fostering interdependence (see Chapter 5). She says *přišel za mnou* ‘he came to me’ (line 1) to ask whether they could *mu pomoci* ‘help him’ (line 4) as *lidi mají strach* ‘people were afraid’ (line 2). In other words, people were said to have felt insecure and this, in a broad sense, indexes distrust.

When activists entered the community, several other agents were active in the neighbourhood. For one, the organisation *Bílý Nosorožec* provided individualised social services as well as activities for children. There were members of the Salesian Church (*Salesiány*), the community worker Avyaan, and Ada. In 2017, these agents met to figure out how best to support and help organise residents. A central task was to find leaders able to unite the community, a role that Avyaan and Ada were meant to fulfil. Trust played a central role in this regard (see Chapter 2).

Working with trust was important as distrust was indeed a ubiquitous emotion (see Chapters 2 and 5), even if it was more often directed at external actors. Needless to say, distrust is an emotion that amplifies fear rather than hope and common initiative (cf. Lewicki, McAllister & Bies 1998: 445). Emotions of hate, distrust, and fear stood in stark contrast to the ideal of unity that community leaders, social workers, and activists continuously tried to support and achieve to foster effective common action. Accordingly, during a community meeting on 24 September 2018 attended by around 20 residents, I noted the following.

Excerpt 7.5: *Field, Bedřiška, notes, 24 September 2018* (my English translation below)

01 *Es sei wichtig Einheit zu Behalten. Eine Roma Frau mit Kleinkind sagt: „Bedřiška ale neni jednotná“.*
 02 *[Avyaan] meint, dass jede/r den „společný zájem hájit“ muss, denn sonst verlieren alle. Die eine Soz. Arbeiterin*
 03 *widerspricht der Frau etwas paternalistisch: „Ihr seid einig“ „vy jste jednotný“.. Die Frau*
 04 *mit Kind ist scheinbar genervt. Sie sagt bestimmt, dass das, was sie sagt, nicht stimmt: „Kdyby*
 05 *pani [Ada] nebyla, tak by Bedřiška padla“. Die frühere Chefin von Nosorožec und [Avyaan] sagen: „Jste to vy“*
 06 *und [Ada] „Vy jste na sebe málo brdí“.*

01 It is important to maintain unity. A Roma woman with a small child says, ‘but Bedřiška is not united’.
 02 [Avyaan] says that everyone must ‘defend common interests’, otherwise everyone will lose. One social worker
 03 contradicts the woman somewhat paternalistically, saying, ‘you are united’. The woman
 04 with the child is seemingly annoyed. She says with certainty that this was just not true: ‘if there were
 05 no Ms [Ada], Bedřiška would fall’. The former director of Nosorožec and [Avyaan] say, ‘it’s you’,
 06 and [Ada says], ‘You have little pride in yourself’.

This excerpt beautifully illustrates how community leaders, social workers, and activists struggled with fostering trust during the community meeting. To them, trust means to *společný zájem hájit* ‘defend common interests’ (line 2), *[byt] jednotný* ‘[be] united’ (line 3), and to *[byt] na sebe [...] brdí* ‘have [...] pride in yourself’ (line 6). In contrast, the woman with a small child counters this language of trust with a language of distrust, saying, *Bedřiška ale neni jednotná* ‘but Bedřiška is not united’ (line 1) and *[k]dyby pani [Ada] nebyla, tak by Bedřiška padla* ‘if there were no Ms [Ada], Bedřiška would fall’ (line 5). This example shows how local unity was not at all a given, but constantly endangered. Even in times of relative unity, which was very strong in 2018, a language of distrust continued to pattern interactions extensively. For non-Roma neighbours, feelings of anger or hate seemed to persist, occasionally surfacing (e.g., on 30 September 2019, as I noted) in form of racial slurs – and this even in times of relatively strong unity.

Residents, academics, activists, and social workers organised regular meetings with residents at the community centre to strengthen participation, trust, and unity. They further tried to build of a network of external supporters (e.g., architects, lawyers, and several civil organisations). As Frida recounted during the interview, she called the young architect Tomáš in April 2018. She explained to him what was happening in Bedřiška and asked whether he would be willing to develop an architectonic study presenting an alternative vision to official plans, that is, a study that preserves houses and enables locals to remain.

During an interview that I had with Tomáš over lunch at a restaurant in Ostrava, he told me that he agreed to do this because he had a feeling that what was happening was unfair.

Excerpt 7.6: *Field, Ostrava, interview with Tomáš, 30 August 2019* (my English translation below)

01 Já jsem to začal řešit proto, vlastně jakoby ze dvou důvodů, protože když mě Frida vysvětlila vlastně, co se tam děje,
 02 a jak se tamní radnice prostě k těm lidem chová a jak se k tomu k téhle problematice staví, tak eh tak se mi to
 03 prostě nelíbilo, říkal jsem si prostě, že to je nefér vlastně. A druhý ten důvod byl ten, že, že ty hornické kolonie jako
 04 z mapy Ostravy hodně rychle mizí. Ono jich tady prostě byla spousta a jako je mi jasné, že všechny kolonie
 05 zachránit nejde a ani, nicméně se vytrácí, a myslím si, že ty kolonie hornické tvoří prostě
 06 esprit Ostravy jo, že tvoří charakter té Ostravy. V momentě, kdy všechny zmizí, tak prostě tak,
 07 tak Ostrava přijde o jako nějakou svoji tvář a hodnotu.

01 I agreed [...] for two reasons[. First,] because as [Frida] actually explained to me what was going on there,
 02 and how the local authority treated those people and how she approached this issue, I just didn't
 03 like it; I just thought it was unfair, actually. And the second reason was that mining settlements
 04 disappear very quickly from the map of Ostrava. There were a lot of them here and, of course, not all
 05 settlements can be saved – but still, they disappear and I think that these mine sites represent
 06 the spirit of Ostrava [...] they create the character of Ostrava. The moment they all disappear, just like
 07 that, Ostrava will lose its face and value.

In terms of his motive for supporting Bedřiška, Tomáš takes what can be called a protest stance entangled with a language of nostalgia in line 3. On the one hand, he evaluates the municipal district government's behaviour as something that he *prostě nelíbilo* 'he just didn't like', supporting his evaluation by saying that it was *nefér* 'unfair' – an adjective that indexes expectations and questions of equality and social justice. As an architect, however, he takes a nostalgic stance, emphasising the value of *hornické kolonie* 'mining settlements' as heritage to Ostrava. In lines 3 to 5, he further stresses that these *z mapy Ostravy hodně rychle mizí* 'disappear very quickly from the map of Ostrava' and suggests that at least some should be *zachránit* 'saved'. The architect thus evaluates the neighbourhood as a rare site with historical value to Ostrava – particularly as it forms *charakter* 'the character' or *esprit Ostravy* 'spirit of Ostrava' (lines 5 to 6). The architect's voice personifies the city as a body with a spirit, character, face, and value, all of which is very similar to the representation of nations.

In line with Anderson (1999), it can therefore be said that the architect imagines the mining settlement of Bedřiška as part of an Ostravian 'imagined community' that takes the form of a civic identity. It is in this sense that the loss of mining settlements can be experienced as a loss of face (line 7). Whereas the first reason given by the architect expresses a protest stance, the second reason is rather tied to his profession (although both reasons apply). Their relation can be explained by Gero and Root (1990), who argue that heritage plays 'an active function, a political function, in legitimating the present context, naturalising the past so that it appears to lead logically to present

social practices and values' (19; cf. Markus & Cameron 2002: 114). Considering the former mining settlement of Bedřiška as a heritage site valorises it and legitimises its preservation – and this to the detriment of the plan to construct new houses for wealthier families.

In terms of the nature of the conflict between residents and the district government, Tomáš evaluates it as a struggle or even war. He thus more or less aligns with the stance expressed by the newspaper *A2* mentioned in Chapter 6.

Excerpt 7.7: *Field, Ostrava, interview with Tomáš, 30 August 2019* (my English translation below)

01 *V době, kdy se ten workshop pořádal, tak ta situace na Bedřišce byla jakoby hodně divoká. Jako tehdejší*
 02 *vedení, vedení obvodu bylo hodně vybraněné v podstatě nebo aspoň tak působilo,*
 03 *jo, oni jako tvrdí, že ne, ale, ale prostě vůči těm lidem to tak působilo. [...] takže*
 04 *vlastně nebyla moc vůle, to s tím obvodem nebo magistrátem vlastně řešit, protože jsme měli pocit, že*
 05 *stojí na druhé straně barikád. Víš, že ten workshop vlastně spíš byl jako, spíš byl eh nějaká*
 06 *bitva hhh, která měla ukázat prostě těm politikům, že to jde i jinak.*

01 At the time the workshop was organised, the situation in Bedřiška seemed very wild. That is [...] the
 02 local government, the district government, had a very definite opinion – or at least, it [...] appeared so.
 03 They claim that no, but it appeared that way from how they treated those people. [...] So
 04 actually, there wasn't really much will to negotiate with the district or city authority, because we felt like they
 05 were on the other side of the barricades. You know, the workshop was more like some kind
 06 of battle intended to show those politicians that there are other ways to do things.

In line 1, Tomáš describes the period in which the planning workshop took place as *hodně divoká* 'very wild'. The expression can be interpreted as indexing a situation of weakly-regulated capitalism after the collapse of the communist regime. This time is often described as *divoká* 'wild' and sometimes compared to *divoký západ* 'the Wild West'. Put differently, he indexes a neoliberal ideology that influences the struggle over housing. In this perspective, the architect evaluates the relation between a 'we', with whom Tomáš identifies, and a *oni* 'they' (line 3) that includes the *obvod* 'district' as well as the *magistrát* 'city authority' (line 4).

The architect further disaligns with these agents, evaluating and positioning them metaphorically as standing *na druhé straně barikád* 'on the other side of the barricades' (line 5). This expression signals not just distance but a war in which barricades are a part. In line 6, Tomáš explicitly names the constellation between agents as such, calling the planning workshop a *bitva* 'battle'. This battle is characterised as a constellation in which the other's opinions are perceived as *vybraněné* 'definite', which is why *nebyla moc vůle, to [...] řešit* 'there wasn't really much will to negotiate' (lines 2 and 4).

Tomáš's voice thus clearly indexes protest and confrontation with another voice perceived as refusing dialogue in the sense that it refuses to engage in real dialogue on an equal footing.

According to Tomáš, the 'battle' was thus about defending the neighbourhood against an aggressor. But as Frida recalled, it was about more than that: it was about participation and the empowerment of residents so they could be an active part in change. In other words, it was community work.

Excerpt 7.8: *Field, Ostrava, interview with Frida, 4 September 2019* (my English translation below)

01 *Ten nápad eh myslím si, že to byla hodně jakoby vize [Avyaana], ale že jsme s tím souhlasili fakt všichni, že když*
 02 *prostě by jakoby hmm si obyvatelé hájí Bedřišku, tak že by měli – já jsem to vlastně taky hodně podporovala –*
 03 *že by měli přijít jako vlastně s vlastní jakoby vizí toho jak by ta Bedřiška měla vypadat, to znamená že ne jenom*
 04 *prostě být jenom reakční, bránit se, ale prostě vytvářet jakoby tu další jakoby realitu.*

01 The idea, I think it was very much [Avyaan's] vision. But everyone really agreed with it – that if
 02 residents defended Bedřiška, then they should (I also supported this a lot)
 03 actually come with their own vision of how Bedřiška should look. That means not just
 04 simply being reactionary and defending themselves, but somehow creating the coming reality.

Academics and social workers thus tried to approach the planning of protest activities with a democratic stance towards neighbours, or a stance indexing values such as equality, participation, and empowerment. The struggle was also or mainly about *obyvatelé* 'residents' *hájí* 'defending' the neighbourhood (line 2), which meant that *měli přijít jako vlastně s vlastní jakoby vizí* 'they should actually come with their own vision' (line 4) for the neighbourhood. During the planning workshop, this idea was translated into the participatory pro-action café at which residents were asked what they wanted to change in the neighbourhood (see Chapter 6).

The participatory planning workshop was announced by Ada, the spokesperson for Bedřiška, on the neighbourhood's Facebook page *Bedřiška* as follows:

Excerpt 7.9: *Field, Facebook post from Bedřiška profile, 28 August 2018* (my English translation below)

01 *A je to tady!!! Dnes u nás na Bedřišce v 18:00 hod. zabavujeme dlouho očekávaný a připravovaný architektonický*
 02 *workshop, jehož výsledky budou veřejně prezentovány dne 31.8.2018 od 16:00*
 03 *na Bedřišce. Bedřišáci – jde o nás, o naše domovy!!! Od všech tudíž očekáváme aktivní*
 04 *účast na debatách a přednáškách, nápady a návrhy k tomu, co na Bedřišce postrádáme dnes a co*
 05 *bychom tam v budoucnu chtěli mít. Je to především pro nás a o nás. Ať jsme vidět, ať jsme slyšet!*
 06 *Jen tak nás začnou a budou ostatní respektovat.*

01 And here it is!!! Today, at 6:00 p.m. in Bedřiška, we are starting the long-awaited and prepared planning
02 workshop with architects, the results of which will be publicly presented on 31 August 2018, from 4:00 p.m.
03 in Bedřiška. People of Bedřiška – it's about us, about our homes!!! Therefore, we expect from everyone active
04 participation in debates and lectures, ideas and suggestions about what we lack in Bedřiška today and what
05 we would like to have there in the future. It is primarily for us and about us. Let us be seen; let us be heard!
06 That's the only way others will start and continue to respect us.

Ada's message is directed towards locals and functions to motivate as well as create ownership and community. Consequently, her entextualised voice assumes a democratic stance. In lines 3 and 4, for instance, she imagines locals as a collective by calling them *Bedřišáci* 'people of Bedřiška', then exclaiming *jde o nás, o naše domovy!!!* 'it's about us, about our homes!!!' The tripling of the exclamation mark indexes the affective intensity with which she instructs residents to participate, promoting interdependence and hence trust, cooperation, and order.

At the time, motivation among locals was high: many participated in the event and the general atmosphere was very good.



Figure 7.1: A girl carrying a cat



Figure 7.4: A social worker presenting the action café results, source: FB-post, probud domy 2018



Figure 7.2: Students listening to a presenter and taking notes, source: FB-post, probud domy 2018



Figure 7.5: An architect with students taking notes in the streets, source: FB-post, probud domy 2018



Figure 7.3: Residents discussing their neighbourhood during the action café, source: FB-post, Probud domy 2018



Figure 7.6: The preliminary presentation of work to residents, source: FB-post, probud domy 2018



Figure 7.7: A posed picture of residents, workshop participants, and organisers, source: FB-post, probud domy 2018



Figure 7.8: A social worker holding coloured balloons in his hands, with children watching, source: FB-post, probud domy 2018



Figure 7.9: A community worker with an arm raised, children standing around him, and balloons in the sky, source: FB-post, probud domy 2018



Figure 7.10: Chlebíčky 'sandwiches' in a yellow box on a table with a social worker eating one of the sandwiches.



Figure 7.11: The public presentation of results in a tent.

Generally speaking, the social atmosphere was filled with a multitude of signs of high trust indexing initiative, confidence, and hope (cf. Lewicki, McAllister & Bies 1998: 445). As the pictures show, participants engage confidently in the process of elaborating an alternative vision to official plans. Students listen actively to presenters, directing their gaze towards them and taking notes (see Figure 7.2). Locals gather and actively engage during the action café. For instance, they focus on a poster on a table upon which a social worker has written a host of ideas already (see Figure 7.3); social workers present the results of the open discussion, pointing to ideas written on the poster (see Figure 7.4); architects smile confidently at the camerawomen while exploring the neighbourhood and taking notes (see Figure 7.5); and locals attend a preliminary presentation of the vision filling the whole tent (see Figure 7.6). A posed picture of the participants shows residents, organisers, and even politicians such as the city mayor Tomáš Macura smiling confidently into the camera (see Figure 7.7). Will he help residents retain their homes? The picture further reveals several banners symbolising a shared identity, cooperation, and hope for a common future. A black-green banner bears an image of two hands, one black and the other white. Above it, there's a black hammer crossed with a white pick. The shaking hands can be interpreted as indexing interdependence (solidarity and/or cooperation) between Roma and non-Roma, signified as 'white' and 'black'. A crossed hammer and pick is an icon and conventional symbol for mining. This sign can thus be read as a banner for the community and mining settlement of Bedřiška. I was told it was a gift from an external supporter.

There is yet another banner on the picture – a white, handmade one with coloured patches that was painted by children living in the neighbourhood. On it, the word 'Bedřiška' is written in capital letters and oriented vertically. The large banner is attached to a dozen colourful balloons, evaluating the neighbourhood as colourful and potentially diverse. The colourful banner also creates an intertextual link with texts mentioning the Colours of Bedřiška event. But most importantly, the banner and helium-filled balloons can be interpreted as a sign of hope. Surrounded by children, Avyaan lets the balloons and the banner loose into the sky (see Figures 7.8 and 7.9), as if releasing a wish for the future.

Whereas there were many signs of trust and hope, there were also – rather hidden to a majoritarian gaze – signs of distrust. As I would learn later when interviewing Frida, there was a conflict over the way meals were organised during the event. More specifically, the problem was that all the meals were held in the garden of one non-Roma family's house only. As Frida and others told me, some Roma residents were offended by this, which caused conflict. In the following excerpt, Frida paraphrased what one of the social workers had observed at that time.

Excerpt 7.10: Field, Ostrava, interview with Frida, 4 September 2019 (my English translation below)

01 *To je spíš pozorování jakoby [Dany]. To jako tak říkám, o čem se třeba se mnou bavila, že má pocit, že*
 02 *vlastně od toho workshopu, tím jak ehm tím jak vlastně to jídlo bylo vždycky na zahrádě [Krlišových], a hodně to*
 03 *vlastně zajišťovali [Krlišovi] a [Jana] od [Adi], takže jakoby ty romské rodiny se cítily z toho jakoby vyloučené,*
 04 *že se to prostě dobře neošěfovalo, že se z toho stál takový trochu interetnický konflikt, jako prostě na jednou.*

01 It's more [Dana's] observation. I'm just saying what she talked to me about, that she felt that
 02 actually since the workshop, since the meals were always in the [Krliš] family's garden, a lot was
 03 actually provided by the [Krliš] and [Jana] of [Ada]. So Roma families felt somehow excluded from this,
 04 that it was simply not managed well, and it turned into a bit of an inter-ethnic conflict – suddenly, just like that.

What Frida mediates here is an evaluation of the feelings of Roma residents by one of the social workers. The latter told her that *romské rodiny* 'Roma families' had *se cítili [] jakoby vyloučené* 'felt somehow excluded' (line 3) from the activity of hosting and providing food to workshop participants. Feelings of trust and hope were entangled with distrust: why were they not included into these activities? Unfortunately, the problem escalated during the discussion of workshop outcomes.

A deliberative discussion emerging within entanglements of disgust and social exclusion

As already noted, the vision of the neighbourhood elaborated by architects and students was presented during a public gathering that took place at the end of the participatory planning workshop on Friday afternoon. Politicians, journalist, civil society representatives, and citizens had been invited by the organisers. At the end of the presentations, the alternative vision was discussed with the guests. The following analysis focuses on this discussion. In the present context and as I show, emotions of disgust were closely entangled with a frame of social exclusion and/or inclusion.

The public discussion of the workshop results took place in a big tent that had been erected in a meadow in the neighbourhood. This was the same tent that had already been used during the presentations for students and the preliminary presentation of the outcomes to residents. In it are wooden benches and a projector, a table, and microphone stand in the back. The posters elaborated by group members were put up at the back of the tent so visitors could look at them before and after the presentation of the vision.

Residents had prepared little sandwiches that were located to the right in a yellow box in front of the tent so visitors could serve themselves before, during, or after the event (see Figures 7.10 and 7.11). The *chlebíčky* 'sandwiches' were a typical Czech refreshment that likely all or most guests were very familiar with. Nonetheless, they were homemade. For this reason, their aesthetic appearance may not have corresponded to what some guests were accustomed to eating during

public encounters as it did not disguise every trace of a human hand and they were not presented in an immaculate manner. As I shall show, these *chlebičky* ‘sandwiches’ became relevant to the discussion.

The first guests arrived at around 3 or 3.30 in the afternoon and were welcomed by organisers, who talked to them or to other visitors in front of the tent. Later, guests either found a place to sit or decided to stand in front of the entrance of the tent. Among the attendees were municipal district mayor Liana Janáčková and city mayor Tomáš Macura. Other representatives were also present at the event, which started around four o’clock and was moderated by Frida. After a short presentation of the vision – the four presentations took 10 minutes each – Frida introduced the discussion.

Excerpt 7.11: *Field, Bedřiška, public discussion, 31 August 2018* (my English translation below)

- 01 Mod.: *Věřím tomu, že eh určitě máte spoustu podnětů, spoustu otázek, eh takže kdokoli může začít, (2.0)*
 02 *a samozřejmě potom se dá ještě pokračovat v neformálním prostor u již tolikrát*
 03 *zmiňovaného ob(h)čerstvení, které připravili ob-hh-yvatele a které je stále eh na stole heh.*
 04 Aud.: *((sound of nose blowing)) ((chatting))*

- 01 Mod.: I believe that you have a lot of suggestions, a lot of questions, so anyone can start. (2.0)
 02 Of course, afterwards, you can continue in an informal space with the [refresh(h)ments] mentioned already so many
 03 times prepared by res-hh-idents, which are still, eh, on, heh, the table.
 04 Aud.: *((sound of nose blowing)) ((chatting))*

In alignment with a deliberative genre, the moderator takes a democratic stance, directing her speech towards the audience and inviting everybody to contribute to the discussion as well as continue it later in the informal space. However, she then ‘keys’ (Goffman 1986: 45–47) the discussion as a struggle by indexing indignation or anger (lines 2 to 3), which she achieves through stress, audible aspirations, and breathy laughter oriented towards the audience’s non-verbal behaviour. Her indignation is related to her observation that the *chlebičky* ‘sandwiches’ prepared by locals remain on the table, despite her having mentioned them *již tolikrát* ‘already so many times’ (lines 2 to 3). Her critical or accusatory stance is oriented towards the behaviour of the audience that has not yet touched the sandwiches prepared by locals; she evaluates this behaviour as inappropriate, positioning the audience as offenders. The moderator’s utterance is thus inherently ‘double-voiced’ (cf. Bakhtin 1984 [1929]: 194; see also Jaffe 2009: 10). Her democratic stance is entangled with an accusatory voice that adds a second layer of significance to it.

What did it mean that the visitors did not eat the sandwiches? There could have been a variety of reasons for this. Participants may not have liked the physical appearance of the homemade bread. Perhaps they did not like the yellow plastic box in which it was served. Or perhaps they were just not hungry? Another possible interpretation is that the visitors' behaviour was a sign of disgust oriented towards people who are identified or imagined as poor and 'impure', or "gypsies".

This is probable, because disgust towards food eaten by "gypsies" has a lengthy discursive history. Wigger (2014: 51), for instance, describes how the food eaten by "gypsies" was evaluated as 'disgusting' in encyclopaedias and lexicons. In the *Encyclopaedia Brockhaus*, for instance, one can read the following on "gypsies":

Their food is disgusting. Among the vegetables, they love onions and garlic, according to Eastern custom. Otherwise, all meat is welcome to them, even that of dead animals; therefore, a cattle epidemic is the most welcome event for them. (Brockhaus 1920, after Wigger 2014: 51, my translation)²⁹

Note that in this example, the 'disgusting' food eaten by "gypsies" is associated with disease. Bogdal (2011: 310) further shows how "gypsies" were associated with self-neglect, decay, dirt, and the danger of infection. As already mentioned above, disgust further concerns the things that have come into contact with what opposes the self. In this regard, Ahmed (2014: 83–84) reflects on Charles Darwin's description of an encounter with a native from Tierra del Fuego who had touched the food Darwin intended to eat. Darwin describes how during the incident, he felt disgust towards the food as well as the native individual:

[B]ecause disgust is a matter of taste as well as touch – as senses that require proximity to that which is sensed – but also because food is 'taken into' the body. The fear of contamination that provokes the nausea of disgust reactions hence makes food the very 'stuff' of disgust. (Ahmed 2004: 83)

As something that is related to the health of our body, which we try to protect from contamination by putting distance between a 'we' and a 'they', food is tightly linked to disgust. It is in this sense that disgust is closely related to social exclusion (see also Goodwin, Cekaite & Goodwin 2012: 16–25).

²⁹ 'Ihre Nahrung ist ekelhaft. Unter den Gemüsen lieben sie Zwiebeln und Knoblauch, ganz nach morgenländischer Sitte. Sonst aber ist alles Fleisch ihnen willkommen, selbst das von verreckten Thieren; daher eine Viehseuche für sie das willkommenste Ereignis ist (Brockhaus 1920, after Wigger 2014: 51).

Disgust is related to a historical border between an imagined 'I' and an imagined 'other', and thus closely associated with the idea of 'social exclusion'. This means that the moderator's accusatory stance oriented towards the nearly untouched food not only indexed the disgust supposedly felt by the audience, but also a frame of social exclusion and/or inclusion implying that some participants were excluding residents. The significance of 'social exclusion' indexed by the moderator thus does not attribute the responsibility for this exclusion to locals, but to external actors (see Chapter 6).

Politician Ivo Večeřa, from the party *Lepší a čistá Ostrava* 'Better and cleaner Ostrava' (LEČO), is the first to react.

Excerpt 7.12: Field, Bedřiška, public discussion, 31 August 2018 (my English translation below)

05 Več.: Dobrý den, moje jméno je Ivo Večeřa: jsem obyvatel hulvá:k? eh (3.0) eh velmi krátce c
 06 ((microphone whistles)) ((laughter in the public)) ve velmi krátce jsem taky zastupitel za
 07 Mariánské Hory a Hulváky, ale eh už velmi dlouho sleduji vlastně situaci na
 08 Hulvákách? a jsem VELmi velmi eh příjemně překvapen, že pan primátor vlastně taj tuble (0.75)
 09 aktivitu podporuje, protože to bylo jediné co jsem se jako velmi bál, že paní starostka má vlastně tu
 10 demolici, kterou se jako tak strašně ráda ošívá, předdomluvenou s magistrátem, což je taky její
 11 velké zápisadlo? a dále jsem velmi rád že ani jeden z architektů vlastně tady
 12 nenabídl demolici Bedřišky jako jo? eh dneska je ta Bedřiška na hranici bych řekl takové té
 13 stabilizovanosti jako nemůžeme si nepřipustit, že to tady je vyloučená lokalita? a jsou tady jako
 14 lidi velmi vyloučení, tak že jako přeju, aby vlastně eh se podařil vlastně ten plat to tady, plán to tady
 15 nějakým způsobem oživit, aby to jako byla jako cenna lokalita Ostravy? a paní starostky jsem se chtěl
 16 se chtěl zeptat. paní starostko, eh vlastně (0.25) ten stav který je tu dneska eh (0.25)
 17 eh je z Zachráněná stav jako velice havarijní, kdy dříve ta lokalita fungovala velmi: spokojeně,
 18 velmi: spokojeně, a já jsem se vás chtěl zeptat eh byl tohle váš jako úřel celou dobu od toho roku
 19 dva tisíce š/ šest, když jste rozhodla prostě úřel ani půjdou na Bedřišku a tak jsem rozhodla?
 20 abyste dovedla tuble tu lokalitu k demolici? děkuju.

05 Več.: Hello, my name is Ivo Večeřa: I am a resident of hulvá:k? eh (3.0) eh very briefly c
 06 ((microphone whistles)) ((audience laughter)) ve very briefly, I am also a representative of
 07 Mariánské Hory a Hulváky. But, for a very long time I've actually been observing the situation in
 08 Hulvák? And I am VEry, very, eh, pleasantly surprised that Mr Mayor actually (0.75) supports this
 09 activity, because this was the only thing [of which] I was really afraid that Ms Mayor actually
 10 prearranged the demolition, which she likes to tinker with, which she also
 11 vehemently denies. And moreover, I am very glad that none of the architects actually
 12 proposed the demolition of Bedřiška, yeah? Eh, today, Bedřiška is on the verge of some kind of
 13 stabilisation, I would say: I mean, we cannot ignore that this here is an excluded locality? And

14 people here are very excluded, so I hope that, eh, actually, the plan to actually, eh, the plan to
 15 somehow revive here succeeds, so that it becomes a valuable location in Ostrava? And I want to
 16 ask you, Ms Mayor, Ms Mayor, eh, actually, (0.25) the conditions that we have here today, eh, (0.25)
 17 eh, is s/ (SAVed?) conditions that actually are very bad, given that the locality used to function
 18 very: well. And I would like to ask you, eh, was this actually your goal the whole time since
 19 2006, when you decided that gypsies would go to Bedřiška so I decide
 20 to bring this locality to demolition? Thank you.

Acting within the genre of a struggle, or rather dissent as keyed by the moderator, he positions himself as an opponent of the official plans to demolish houses in the neighbourhood. He does this by indexing his own feelings towards the behaviour of (political) agents as relates to the neighbourhood. He thereby (dis)aligns with these agents, positioning them as either allies or antagonists. In lines 8 to 9, for instance, he says that he's *VELmi velmi eh příjemné překvapen* 'VERY, very, eh, pleasantly surprised' that the city mayor supports the planning workshop. In lines 11 to 12, he says that he's *velmi rád* 'very glad' that the architect's vision foresees a future for Bedřiška. The politician further disaligns with Janáčková, accusing her of having strategically planned to destroy the settlement by moving "*vikáni*" "gypsies" there (lines 10, 18–20).

Moreover, he evaluates Bedřiška (houses as well as people) as *vyloučení* 'excluded' (lines 13–14), lacking life and value in the present time (line 15). The latter represents a form of disorder that is directly produced by residents, who he evaluates as "*vikáni*" "gypsies" in antigypsyist language. It is hard to know whether he is referring to Roma residents with this stigma or if he distinguishes between Roma and so-called "gypsies" – but it is certain that he is not referring to non-Roma residents. Consequently, he splits the neighbourhood into two camps: "gypsies" and "non-gypsies". The latter seem to be the audience he is addressing.

The moderator reacts with a facilitating stance to preserve order and prevent conflict escalation, thereby indexing the value of work and expertise.

Excerpt 7.13: *Field, Bedřiška, public discussion, 31 August 2018* (my English translation below)

21 Mod.: Děkuju za dotaz, já ještě [eh než předám (0.5)]=
 22 Aud.: [((applause))]
 23 Mod.: =než předám slovo, tak jsem možná
 24 chtěla ještě trošku vymezit rámec eh tedy diskuze protože (0.25) e:h my jsme tady na
 25 architektonickém workshopu který byl pořádán odborníky, takže možná, eh bychom eh byli rádi kdyby ty
 26 eh >dotazy podněty komentáře< směřovaly k té odborné stránce věci, a:
 27 případně eh tady na architekty odborníky eh kteří eh pracovali eh usilovně tři dny a: je
 28 otázkou jestli eh tedy budete nebo nebudete reagovat eh protože bychom už opravdu eh tu

- 29 *diskuzi vrátili zpět k té odborné stránce. Takže nechávám na zvažení.*
- 30 Aud.: ((baby whining and people chatting))
- 21 Mod.: Thank you for your question, I still [eh, before I give (0.5)]=
- 22 Aud.: [((applause))]
- 23 Mod.: =you the word, so perhaps
- 24 I should delimit the framework of the discussion, because (0.25), eh, we are here at a
- 25 planning workshop that was led by experts. So maybe, eh, we would be happy if those,
- 26 eh, >questions, suggestions, comments< were directed to the professional side of the matter a:nd
- 27 eventually, eh, here, to the architects, experts, eh, who worked hard for three days. A:nd it is a
- 28 question of whether or not you will respond, because we would really [prefer to] return, eh, the
- 29 discussion to the professional side. So, I leave it for [your] consideration.
- 30 Aud.: ((baby whining and people chatting))

The moderator thanks the former speaker for his question (line 21) but, to avoid conflict escalation, she *vymezit rámc* ‘delimit[s] the framework’ (line 24) of the discussion, rekeying the event as a professional gathering. She does this by indexing values of work and expertise, positioning architects (and perhaps students and the other participants) as experts. In the present antigypsyist context, these values come to signify not just order, but ‘modern’ order (see Chapter 1) – and as such, inclusion. She emphasises that the discussion is taking place as part of the *architektonickém workshopu* ‘planning workshop’ with *odborníky* ‘experts’ (lines 25 and 27) who *pracovali eh usilovně tři dny* ‘worked hard for three days’ (line 27), so the speaker’s comments should be oriented to the *odborné stránce* ‘professional side’ (lines 26 and 29) of the matter. In this way, she valorises work and expert voices to the detriment of political agitation or mere talk, which in this perspective has come to mean disorder. Then, the moderator gives the microphone to Janáčková, who had been addressed by the opposing politician.

The next speakers take up the positive evaluation of work and order. First, Janáčková aligns with the moderator’s manner of rekeying the situation. This also enables her to refuse to answer the former speaker’s critical question. In other words, she once again refuses dialogue.

Excerpt 7.14: Field, Bedřiška, public discussion, 31 August 2018 (my English translation below)

31 Janáč.: Dobrý den dámy a pánové. já? se nebudu vyjadřovat k dotazu pana zástupitele?
 32 protože si myslím, že to sem nepatří, eh já chci (0.25) poděkovat opravdu a upřímně poděkovat
 33 za práci (0.25) studentů kteří se s takovou vehemencí pustili do tak nelehkého úkolu. myslím to
 34 naprosto upřímně a otevřeně, jsem architekt, vím o čem mluvím,
 35 a: mrzí mě jen jedna věc. že: jste nepřišli za mnou, že jsme neřekli budeme si to třeba
 36 konzultovat. jo, protože (0.25) já se teď k tomu zrovna moc neumím vyjádřit. je to inspirativní
 37 ale nechci s toho pro sebe dělat žádné závěry ani pro náš obvod; eh budeme třeba
 38 na tom spolupracovat i nadále; ale v této chvíli prostě já to komentovat nebudu.
 39 eh, otázky pana Večere nechám bez odpovědi, to je zbytečné toto.
 40 Aud.: [((applause))]

31 Janáč.: Ah, good evening ladies and gentlemen. I? will not comment on the representative's question?
 32 because I think it does not belong here. Ah, I want (0.25) to thank, really and sincerely to thank,
 33 (0.25) the students for the work they tackled with such vehemency – such a difficult task. I mean it
 34 absolutely, honestly, and openly. I'm an architect, I know what I'm talking about.
 35 And I'm sorry for just one thing: that you didn't come to see me, that we didn't say we would
 36 consult on it together. Yeah, because (0.25) I can't comment on it right now. It's inspiring;
 37 but I don't want to draw any conclusions for myself or for the city district;
 38 Eh, we will perhaps continue to work on it together; but at this point, I will not comment.
 39 Eh, I'll leave Mr Večere's questions unanswered [as] that's futile.
 42 Aud.: [((applause))]

Janáčková emphasises the value of work by thanking students *opravdu a upřímně* 'really and sincerely' for their *práci* 'work' (lines 32–33), thereby indexing a 'modern' frame. At the same time, however, she once again assumes a paternalist stance: she positions herself as close to workshop participants by taking up her social position as an *architekt* 'architect', further characterising herself as speaking *upřímně a otevřeně* 'openly and honestly' to them (line 34). She simultaneously orients towards the behaviour of *student[ů]* 'the students' (line 33), saying that they should have come to see her and *konzultovat* 'consult' (line 36) over their work. This implies she had actually been open to discussion the whole time, and hence the students may have been deceived by the organisers (lines 35–36). In doing this, she infantilises them to a certain extent as they appear to be unaware of what they are doing and why. Moreover, she does not respond either to the politician's critical question or to the work of the students and architects (lines 33, 39; 37 to 38). Needless to say, even if the students and architects constituted the subject of her address, Janáčková was directing her words also to

other listeners to gain their approval of her definition of order and hence her idea about where the borders of inclusion and exclusion should be drawn.

After that, yet another politician directed his words towards the architects and students, or the audience and future electorate: the city mayor, Tomáš Macura. Macura takes a facilitating stance oriented towards the dissent-seeking voices of his colleagues, thereby positioning himself as the one who brings (deliberative) order.

Excerpt 7.15: *Field, Bedřiška, public discussion, 31 August 2018* (my English translation below)

- 83 Mac.: *Přátelé, eh (0.25) já děkuju všem, že jsou tady, akorát bych chtěl poprosit. opravdu by bylo*
 84 *velice snadné tady tohohle setkání využít k nějaké politické eh agitce, ale já to dělat nebudu a*
 85 *prosím všecky ostatní aby se toho zřekli. (0.5) my jsme tady za úplně jíním účelem. <jo*
 86 *a jestli tady budem jeden po druhém vystupovat jo a dělat si tady politické proklamace, tak je to*
 87 *úplně k ničemu, takže? my s paní starostkou vedeme nějakou diskuzi, ne na všem jsme shodnutí,*
 88 *možná že se shodnem, možná že ne ale za ZAměř me tady tohle to odpoledne a ten večer, tady*
 89 *eh těm šikovným lidem, kteří tady něco pro mě naprosto neuvěřitelného dokázali*
 90 *za ti tři dnyž můžeme se bavit o detailech, já si ještě rád na vás eh rád vezmu kontakt a*
 91 *věřím, že dostaneme i ty i ty podklady k další diskuzi, ale o tom tady dneska*
 92 *jsme a jestli se tady začneme hádat tak tak to rozpustíme jo, ale věřím že, věřím že ten smysl (jsem pochopil).*
 90 Aud. ((applause))

- 83 Mac.: Friends, eh (0.25), I thank everyone for being here. I just want to ask: it would really be
 84 very easy to use the meeting here for some kind of political, ah, agitation. But I won't do that and
 85 I am asking everyone else to give it up. (0.5) We are here for a completely different purpose. <yeah,
 86 and if we are going to appear here, one by one, yeah, and make political proclamations here, then it's
 87 completely useless, right? The mayor and I are having a discussion; we don't agree on everything –
 88 maybe we'll agree, maybe we won't – but let's FOCUS here, this afternoon and this evening here,
 89 uh, on the skilled people who have done something I think [is] absolutely incredible here
 90 in three days. We can talk about the details [and] I'm also happy to get in touch with you. And
 91 I believe that we'll also get those, those documents for further discussion. But that's what
 92 we're here for today, and if we start arguing here, then let's break it up, yeah. But I believe that,
 93 I believe that [is] the meaning (I understood).
 Aud. ((applause))

Displaying his frustration towards the discursive behaviour of his colleagues (see the stresses in his speech), the city mayor rekeys the situation as a deliberative discussion oriented towards the work being presented. After thanking everyone for attending the event (line 83), he *poprosit* 'asks' them

to renounce to every form of *politické eh agitce* ‘political, eh, agitation’, (line 84) *politické proklamace* ‘political proclamations’, (line 86) or *hád[ání]* ‘arguing’ (line 92). He further upholds the value of *diskuz[e]* ‘discussion’ (line 87 and 91). Aligning with the moderator, he then defines the *ZAmě[r]* ‘FOcus’ (88) of the discussion, thereby evaluating the workshop participants as *šikovným lidem* ‘skilled people’ and possibly including residents as well. He further evaluates the work they did *za tři dny* ‘in three days’ as something ‘absolutely incredible’ *naprosto neuvěřitelného* (lines 89 to 90). The audience reacts with applause. As the architect Tomáš told me during an interview on 30 August 2019, he experienced Macura’s intervention as a practice of bringing order to political agitation and other people confirmed this view. Consequently, Macura succeeded in positioning himself as the politician guaranteeing order.

To sum up, I have made four observations. First, I have shown that the moderator’s displays of anger indexed social practices of exclusion that, for their part, index disgust. This shows how disgust is closely entangled with a frame of social exclusion and/or inclusion. Secondly, I have shown how the politician from the LEČO Party evaluates residents and houses as ‘socially excluded’ thereby taking an antigypsyist stance that attributes the production of disorder to not just Janáčková, but also “gypsies”. It is unclear whether he uses this term as a synonym for ‘Roma’, that is whether he is referring to all Roma residents of the neighbourhood or not. Nonetheless, his plea to restore the houses reveals that his speech is actually directed towards “non-gypsy” residents, and therefore excludes all on whom this stigma can be projected.

Thirdly, it has become apparent that as with the neighbourhood discussion in 2010, the practice of deliberation continuously risked turning into dissent – and in this particular case, into a struggle over political power and/or votes. As in Chapter 5, participants had to continuously monitor and correct the practices of other agents to preserve the dialogic-affective deliberative order. Protecting order also means preventing struggle and the interrogation of power relations to a certain extent. Thus once again, there is the question of balancing consent and dissent, or centralising and decentralising forces. It is in this sense that the centrality of the position of the facilitators or participants positioning themselves as producers of order becomes evident: how much ‘disorder’ can a particular order endure without collapsing? And how much ‘disorder’ is needed to assure democracy and justice? In this regard, participants engaged in the production of order assume a particular political stance towards the other participants they attempt to organise.

Interestingly, all of the agents adhered to the value of work and professionalism, which therefore can be said to be hegemonic. This observation is interesting, because the value of work is closely linked to ‘modern’ ideology – and thus with the figure of the “gypsy” who represents its ‘other’ and therefore needs to be excluded.

Conclusion: The (re)production of (anti-)'modern' (dis)order

In this chapter, I have been interested in 'dirt', disgust, and the (re)production of social (dis)order (cf. Douglas 1966; Ahmed 2014) in contexts of social exclusion and poverty. More specifically, my analysis centred on a participatory planning workshop with architects (see Chapter 6) and especially on the public discussion of the workshop outcomes that took place afterward. I have conceived of this discursive event as a democratic deliberative discussion (cf. Benhabib 1994; see also Reisigl & Wodak 2001) that emerged and is embedded within a broader dialogic-affective context. In this broader context, evaluations of 'dirt' and disgust entangle with more or less conscious practices of social exclusion meant to (re)produce (dis)order.

These practices of social exclusion can be more or less explicit, conscious, and strategic, and they entangle with practices of social inclusion in complex ways. Accordingly, I have shown that enforcement of Janáčková's segregationist policy involved communicating eviction plans directly and clearly, but also through very implicit or subtle strategies. Both lead to a social atmosphere of insecurity, distrust, conflict, and hence disorder. In response to this, some residents, social workers, and supporters actively fostered cooperation, trust, and hope between residents to unite them against the municipal district government's plans to destroy the neighbourhood. Accordingly, they brought an alternative vision – one that values houses and residents – up for discussion (cf. Anderson 1999 [1983]; Gero & Root 1990: 19; Markus & Cameron 2002: 114; see also Baro 2017). Tomáš Macura supported this inclusive vision within a 'modern' ideology that emphasises the value of work.

I have also shown that despite all the signs of initiative and hope, local unity remained fragile and a moment of negligence could lead very easily to conflict and distrust. In the present case, the practice of preparing and eating food turned out to be crucial: social workers and supporters organised all of the meals for students and architects in the garden of a single non-Roma family. Consequently, several Roma residents felt *jakoby vyloučení* 'somehow excluded'. As I explained, eating practices are closely related to disgust and social exclusion (Ahmed 2014; see also Goodwin 2006), or 'impurity' and 'dirt' in Roma and non-Roma cultures (cf. Douglas 1966; Hübschmannová 1993: 23). The fact that food is inserted into the body triggers fear of contamination and therefore disgust (cf. Ahmed 2014).

Feelings of disgust can further extend to what happens in relation to food, and it therefore permeates human relations across sociocultural groups as well: disgust separates an imagined 'we' from an imagined 'they'. In this regard, I have explained that 'modern' discourses associated "gypsies" with 'dirt' and 'danger' evaluating what they understood as the eating practices of "gypsies" as 'disgusting' (cf. Bogdal 2011: 310; Wigger 2014: 51). In the present context, disgust is

closely entangled with a historical border between an imagined ‘modern self’ and the stigma of the so-called “gypsy”, which continues to be projected onto people who evoke this image (see Chapter 1). In the given context, then, disgust is closely connected with antigypsyism and hence with a ‘modern’ frame of social inclusion and/or inclusion.

As I have argued, these entanglements of ‘dirt’, disgust, and social exclusion crystallised during the public discussion of the workshop results. Locals had prepared *chlebíčky* ‘little sandwiches’ for arriving guests. This typical Czech refreshment was homemade and therefore may have shown traces of human work pointing to the creators of the sandwiches. This may have triggered disgust in workshop participants, which is one possible reason why the food was left untouched at the beginning of the discussion. The moderator reacted to this observation by taking a critical or accusatory stance oriented towards the behaviour of the audience who declined to eat the sandwiches prepared by residents, thereby positioning them as participants in practices of exclusion and making them visible. Her comments contribute to a discussion about the meaning of and responsibility for social exclusion that continues with the next speaker.

In this regard, the politician from LEČO articulates an evaluative position that indexes two typical positions found in news media discourse (see Chapter 6). He evaluates the neighbourhood as a ‘socially excluded’ locality, attributing the responsibility for this situation to “gypsies” but nonetheless supports the idea to revive the neighbourhood and thereby values the work of the students and architects. In view of gaining electoral support, he directs his speech towards a “non-gypsy” audience, risking the exclusion of residents who are identifiable and/or identify as Roma – and hence dividing Roma and/or non-Roma residents.

The occurrence of dissent brings the idea of order to the fore. Who has the capacity to guarantee order? As I have argued, the moderator rekeys the discussion as a professional gathering, indexing values of work and professionalism. These values are taken up and defended by the municipal district mayor as well as the city mayor. But only the latter succeeds in positioning himself as the guarantor of the deliberative order and, by extension, the political order. It is especially interesting that there seems to be consensus among all participants regarding the value of work. No matter how obvious this may seem, it is noteworthy as this is a deeply ‘modern’ value around which they all align – one stating that somebody who works hard should be respected. As I have explained elsewhere (see Chapter 1), the ‘modern’ history of disciplining potential workers into the capitalist economy is closely related to the construction of “gypsies” (cf. Hund 2000: 21, after Scholz 2009: 25). Consequently and yet again, despite their potentially inclusive stance, the participants index an antigypsyist history on a scale beyond conscious meanings (see Blommaert 2015). To put it in Bakhtin’s (1981) terms, they ‘find the object at which [their speech] was directed [...] as already

enveloped in an obscuring mist – or, on the contrary, by the “light” of alien words that have already been spoken about it’ (276). Such an unconsciously evoked history may have affected relationships that were already marked by fragility. This observation aligns with the poststructuralist argument that meaning is largely unintentional and influenced by affect, which is also why the extent to which conflict can be rationalised and reduced to deontic meaning should be questioned (cf. Illouz 2023: 58).

So, what happened to the community after the event? There were many more protest events, activities, plans, and discussions that followed the politically successful planning workshop with architects during which solidarity among residents seemed very strong. But one of the breaking points in their common struggle over housing was the city assembly decision on 19 September 2018, wherein it determined to commission a detailed analysis of the technical state of houses and that no matter the results, residents should be enabled to remain in the neighbourhood (cf. Statutární město Ostrava, zastupitelstvo města 2018b).

Despite the decision, the fragility of the community became more and more apparent. Ada, who was initially meant to represent non-Roma residents, would increasingly become the centre of most activities. This was on account of not only the strength of her motivation and willingness to pour her heart into these activities (cf. Nadace Via 2019), but also her resources and ability to negotiate and communicate with public authorities. It was probably this observation or feeling that the Roma woman expressed during the community meeting on 24 September 2018, saying, *Kdyby pani [Ada] nebyla, tak by Bedřiška padla* ‘If there was no Ms [Ada], Bedřiška would fall’. At the time, however, social workers and supporters were focused on the creation of unity to the detriment of conflict resolution. It is also likely that everyone tried to satisfy the expectations disseminated in the story they narrated in public – that there was no space for conflict, which led to the superficiality of an apparent ‘peace’. But also, how should one talk about conflict in an environment in which antigypsyist patterns of explanation seem to be the rule rather than the exception (see Chapter 3)?

At a certain point, Avyaan actively tried to motivate residents to organise their neighbourhood again more democratically. On 2 June 2020, he sent me an SMS with pictures saying that Bedřiška had elected a new ethnically and gender-mixed council. Although everyone looked happy in the pictures, he later informed me that the community council did not last and he had been pushed out of the community by non-Roma residents. Bit by bit, activists and supporters also lost their natural access to the community – and so did I.

8 Who cares about social justice and democracy?

What happened then...

As already mentioned, the planning workshop with architects represented one of several protest activities and events organised by social workers, activists, and locals in the public space. It can be said to have had a significant impact on the outcome of the city assembly meeting on 19 September 2018, during which city representatives decided that a new and more detailed analysis of the technical estate of houses in Bedřiška would be commissioned – and that no matter the results, current residents should be enabled to stay in the neighbourhood (cf. Statutární město Ostrava, zastupitelstvo města 2018b: 57–63). Unfortunately, this was not the happy ending to the story. As Tomáš told me during an interview in Ostrava on 30 August 2019, the municipal district government declined to adapt its inflexible stance to the city assembly's decision and instead continued to insist that the neighbourhood needed to be demolished. This remains the case today (cf. Hronová 2022).

Consequently, municipal district representatives would continue to communicate and act in ambiguous ways (e.g., *Field, Bedřiška, notes*, 8 August 2019; 22–24 October 2019) stirring up feelings of fear, uncertainty, and distrust among residents. For instance, they decided not to re-rent or secure unoccupied housing units. They also continued to publicly misrepresent the neighbourhood on the official district website. And, rather surprisingly, regional online newspaper *Moravskoslezský deník.cz* 'Moravian-Silesian Daily.cz' would title a 2 October 2019 article *Ghetta Ostravy: Bedřiška, fekální exkurze v brlohu nejhorší spodiny* 'Ostravian ghettos: Bedřiška, fecal excursion in the den of the worst scum'. This evaluation of the neighbourhood not only ignored factual evidence, but (as I witnessed during a community meeting on 22 October 2019) deeply hurt the remaining residents of the neighbourhood. This gave rise to the organised protest events of 23 and 24 October 2019, wherein Avyaan and Frida literally gave back a piece of excrement as well as a little house, which children had crafted out of different materials, to the municipal district governor who had succeeded Janáčková (see, e.g., Ort & Schwarzwolf 2019).

A several years-long process of inspection, negotiation, and planning followed the decision of the city representatives in favour of the residents of Bedřiška. Social workers and supporters rightly worried that the trust of many residents in the city assembly's decision would crumble, and that many would move away as soon as they could find a viable housing alternative for their families (e.g., *Field, Ostrava, interview with Tomáš*, 30 August 2019; *notes*, 20 March 2019; *notes*, 22–24 October 2019). Residents, social workers, activists, and academics therefore continued to organise public

events and closed meetings to protest or offer support and possible solutions to residents and local authorities throughout the planning process. City representatives decided that the neighbourhood should be renewed in several stages and the community strengthened (e.g., City of Ostrava 2020). A working group was created under the authority of Mayor Tomáš Macura that led to the commission of an architecture project from the studio Re:architekti located in Prague. The project intended to preserve the genius loci of the place and enable residents to live out their days in the neighbourhood. At the same time, the creation of a social cooperative was debated.

Nonetheless, it was also decided that this prestigiously located neighbourhood needed to be ‘modernised’ – possibly even through resident participation in construction work – and place given to other types of residents; private investments would contribute to the realisation of the project (cf. City of Ostrava 2020). Many former residents had left already, and it remains an open question to what degree the new project plans to include housing for members of socially more vulnerable groups.

To assure resident ownership of the neighbourhood, the Department for Social Work at the University of Ostrava conceptualised the creation of a social cooperative that would empower residents to democratically control and organise the neighbourhood via an elected council. However, I was told by several people involved in the conception of this solution that a majority of residents refused this solution and preferred to remain under the authority of the municipal district. Apparently, neighbourhood relations were starting to resemble the pattern I had experienced while working for the rehousing project in Brno, wherein non-Roma tenants refused to cooperate with Roma ones.

What had happened to this community of neighbours willing to fight against the municipal district for a right to their homes? I can only trace a possible answer to this question informed by what I heard from people I spoke with at a distance or during visits. Once all of the democratic alternatives had failed, Ada took over leadership of most activities (and this despite a chronic illness that presented daily challenges, even with climbing the stairs to her apartment). In an online news article in the 22 December 2022 edition of *Moravskoslezský deník*, titled *Zachraňuje ostravskou osadu Bedřiška. Jsem taková Matka Tereza, popisuje žena* ‘She saved the Ostrava settlement of Bedřiška. I’m such a Mother Teresa, describes the woman’, Ada’s voice is quoted telling the reader that she is „[...] tak trochu údržbářka, sociální pracovnice, komunitní pracovnice, bič na úředníky, mluvčí, účetní, prostě taková univerzální Matka Tereza.“ (Hronová 2022) ‘[...] a bit of a maintenance worker, a social worker, a community worker, a whip for officials, a speaker, an accountant, just such a universal Mother Teresa’.

It is increasingly evident that Ada will very likely have to find people to help her in the future. I was told that it was mostly non-Roma residents who helped her out to a certain extent. However, they conflicted with Roma residents who felt disadvantaged and complained that some non-Roma residents were posting racist slurs on Facebook. Moreover, rumours circulated that the latter had joined forces with municipal district representatives. All of these events were signs that index the deterioration of trust and solidarity between neighbours, between Roma and/or non-Roma residents.

9 Conclusions

A future entangled within antigypsyist-aporophobic languages – a past legacy

Víte že Romové pracujou, starají se o rodinu, o děti. Lidi by se neměli hned odsuzovat, ale měli by mít nějaký respekt určenej osobě, a ne hned házet jeden na druhého špínu.
(Field, Bedřiška, focus group discussion, 22 September 2018)

‘You know that Roma work; they take care of their family [and] their children.
People should not judge each other carelessly,
but should have some respect for the person
and not immediately throw dirt at each other’.

The quotation above entextualises the voice of a young Roma man participating in a focus group discussion that I had organised at the community centre in Bedřiška with help from locals and social workers. He was reflecting on a question I had asked about what needed to be done so Roma and non-Roma people could live together in relative peace. As can be seen from the quotation, he points out that people should not judge each other carelessly and instead carry a certain amount of respect for others. Most striking, at least in terms of the present interest in emotion and affect, is the metaphor *hned házet jeden na druhého špínu* ‘immediately throw dirt at each other’ that the young Roma man uses to express his experience with prejudiced discourse.

This expression fuses two semiotic fields or fields of experience: the field of social norms or morals with the field of ‘impurity’ or a lack of cleanliness. In the first, perhaps more explicit sense, the expression enabled the young man to say that a judgmental accusation is akin to someone carelessly disrespecting him. In a more implicit sense, the expression alludes to an interaction with the earth (or one’s material surroundings) that results in not only getting dirty, but also an incapacity to properly stay clean in ways that comply with valid hygiene norms. The latter meaning therefore evokes images of mine workers as well as the idea of housing conditions that make cleaning oneself safely and properly difficult. Pushing this meaning even further opens up questions about what sun-tainted skin, or natural skin colour, can mean (see Hund 2017: 63–72).

As Douglas (1966) put it, ‘dirt offends against order’ (2) and therefore must be cleaned up, assimilated, or placed at safe distance – that is, excluded. But what kind of order excludes people whom it calls ‘impure’, ‘uncivil’, or ‘dirty’? And how can we reduce prejudiced discourse and the practices that it legitimises? To use Fraser’s (2001) words, what can we do to lessen misrecognition

and maldistribution with which the former activity intertwines in complex ways? How can conflictual relations between members of different sociocultural groups, such as Roma and/or non-Roma people, be transformed into relatively peaceful ones on both interactional and structural levels?

To uncover answers to these questions, this critical discourse-ethnographic study (e.g., Wodak 2009; Heller, Pietikäinen & Pujolar 2018; Blommaert & Jie 2010) investigated the political struggle of a former miner's settlement, a mixed neighbourhood and socially excluded locality in the city of Ostrava, which residents refer to by the woman's name *Bedřiška*. In 1998, this neighbourhood located in the municipal district of *Mariánské Hory a Hulváky* became the target of the municipal district government's new housing policy. The new policy saw the segregation of mainly Roma residents from the municipal district's centre to its margins, and *Bedřiška* was one of these marginal places.

This moment marked the beginning of the neighbourhood's political struggle for a primary need: access to decent housing. I selected this case study as it seemed different to me in the sense that, unlike what I had experienced when working for a rehousing project in Brno, there was understanding between Roma and/or non-Roma locals. In other words, residents were willing to cooperate to defend their right to a decent home against the municipal district government (it was only later that I realised that they may have been united simply by this common enemy). This particular case study thus promised to contribute possible answers to the general questions posed above.

Normatively speaking, I adopted an idea of dialogue that goes beyond a conception of understanding based on an ideal of reason-based communication or an inclusive argumentative discourse that presumably would lead to a just consensus or agreement (e.g., Habermas 2016). Instead, I put affect at the centre of my concerns. That, among other things, enabled me to navigate the borders of deliberative practices. This is not to say that it is not important or legitimate to think about reason-based communication as a potential ideal model worthy of striving for to ensure a fair, transparent, and critical public discourse. But it seemed to me that, particularly in contexts of social exclusion and/or poverty, such requirements are often illusory given the severity of problems caused by the deprivation of primary needs experienced by some (see, e.g., Das 2007; Lear 2008) that more privileged people (myself included) often struggle to understand. A normative requirement that is too strict can lead to the exclusion and silencing of voices that are nonetheless essential if one wants to understand and resolve conflict as well as acknowledge injury, inequality, or trauma (see, e.g., Fraser 1989; Young 1997; Busch 2020a).

Consequently, the extent to which dialogue can be rationalised and reduced to deontic meaning should be interrogated (cf. Illouz 2023: 58). From an ethnographic perspective, this research also aimed to contribute to a thought process about a deliberative model that is more inclusive as it avoids excluding the positive effects of language use that go beyond seemingly affect-free speech (cf. von Scheve 2009: 245–248) right from the start – but still considers ‘understanding’ or ‘peace’ as an ultimate goal (see, e.g., Said 1979: xxxiii; Black 2008; Reisigl & Wodak 2001; Steiner et al. 2017; Fairclough 2018).

Summary of thesis and main findings

The present research focused on *semiosis* – on dialogue and life (Bakhtin 1981 [1975]; Peirce 1992a [1894]; Barrett-Fox 2016), unanimity and struggle in contexts of social exclusion and/or poverty, specifically as regards Bedřiška. In terms of all of the relevant topics and subtopics that emerged throughout the research process, a metaphor I found fruitful to ‘think with’ is one of threads of ‘skein[s] of wool that a cat played with’ (Heller, Pietikäinen & Pujolar 2018: 16): where did these threads or trajectories lead and how would I interweave them?

Whereas Chapter 1 was mainly about explicating key concepts and categories and embedding my analysis into the (discourse) history of antigypsyism in Europe and the Czech Republic, Chapter 2 offered an analytical framework to grasp *dialogic-affective entanglements within (historical) contexts and (material) space*. To grasp affect and emotions (e.g., Slaby & von Scheve 2019) in discourse, I argued that ‘affect’ and (social) ‘cognition’ (von Scheve 2009), and ‘affect’ and ‘discourse’ (Wetherell 2013) are always closely intertwined. I operationalised these ideas primarily through the use of two analytical instruments. The first was Busch’s (2012b) revisited form of ‘linguistic repertoire’ and ‘stancetaking’ (Du Bois 2007). I argued that Busch (2012b) embeds the idea of linguistic repertoire into heteroglossia, polyphony, and personal experience (see also Vološinov 1976). In this light, individual human bodies appear as enacting their habitus formed by their biographical experiences of entangled ‘voices’ and ‘languages’ (Bakhtin 1981 [1975]: 263; Blommaert 2008a: 18). These, in turn, involve different positions, histories and categories within which participants experience and (re)produce the world.

To grasp the expression of affect and emotion in dialogue, Du Bois’s (2007) ‘stance triangle’ turned out to be a second fruitful instrument. I argued that participants in discourse orient towards objects (whether material, abstract, and/or affective) within a sociocultural and historical ‘context’ (Hanks 2006) and ‘space’ (Jaworski et al. 2010; Thurlow 2019), which they then evaluate. In so doing, they (dis)align and position themselves and others within discourse, interaction, and the social field (e.g., Davies & Harré 1990; Bamberg & Georgakopoulou 2008; Spitzmüller, Flubacher

& Bendl 2017). Patterned ways of experiencing form a sort of attitude or ‘stand’ (Jaworski & Thurlow 2009: 221) or rather, they become matted as a specific *dialogic-affective entanglement* imprinted into the body or on our sensory system. This is a sort of emotional or *dialogic-affective stance* that reflects *dialogic-affective experience* – it indexes a personal yet shared outer world (e.g., Lacan 1977).

In Chapters 3–8, I presented my empirical research. Whereas some chapters focused on news media discourse, others centred on the analysis of video or audio recordings. However, all chapters combined different sources of data in line with the principle of triangulation.

In Chapters 3 and 4, I focused on political and news media discourse at the local, regional and national scale. More specifically, I was interested in how print news media mediated the voices of participants in discourse, thereby legitimising as well as challenging the exclusion of people living in Bedřiška – especially (impoverished) Roma people – from both the city centre and an imagined nation. Based on a discussion of the term ‘social exclusion’ and Wetherell’s (2015) conception of affective-discursive practice, I have argued (see Chapter 3) that taking a *dialogic-affective stance of social exclusion* means constructing a relation of distance and detachment on a vertical as well as horizontal axis. Stances of social exclusion disalign with an Other who is simultaneously positioned as inferior to the superiorly positioned self, which typically happens through ‘misrepresentation’ (Balibar 1991b [1988]: 19) or misidentification. As to the effect of such stances, I argued that they legitimise exclusion from an ‘imagined community’ as well as from ‘central’ spaces to ‘ghettos’ (see Anderson 1999 [1983]; Touraine 1991).

Chapter 3 presented a diachronic analysis of news media coverage between 1998 and 1999. I argued that the municipal district government legitimised its housing policy using a hegemonic antigypsyist language. Official political discourse evaluates the target group of the policy as *nepřizpůsobivý* ‘unadaptable’ and *neslušný* ‘uncivil’, differentiating them from *slušný* ‘decent’ citizens in order to legitimise segregation. The seemingly innocent catchall term ‘decent’ indexes ‘modern’ civilisational discourses that historically excluded so-called “gypsies”, their Other. I further argued that the objectified voice of the municipal district government assumes an *authoritarian* and *paternalist stance of social exclusion* characterised by the entanglement of two contradictory languages: a seemingly generous and caring language interweaves with a sort of classism or *aporophobia*, ‘un sentimiento de miedo y [...] una actitud de rechazo al pobre, al sin medios, al desamparado’ (Martínez Navarro 2002: 17; see also Cortina Orts 2017), that is a feeling of fear and ‘contempt for the poor, the rejection of the person who takes but cannot give back, or at least seems unable to give back’ (Cortina Orts 2022: xxi). These evaluations are further racially ethnicised as Roma and/or “gypsy”. It is worth noting that Hellgren & Gabrielli (2021) argue similar findings found in the case of non-western migrants and Spanish Roma. Finally, I argued that aporophobic feelings

of fear and rejection of the poor as well as poverty also characterised the objectified voices of long-term residents with whom textual voices invite readers to sympathise. In general, I show how the news media mediates a polyphonic hegemony that aligns with categories and evaluations of Roma, or a part of this group, as “gypsies”.

In Chapter 4, I presented a textual analysis of two print news media texts: an interview with the municipal district mayor and then-Senator Liana Janáčková and an editorial written by journalist and Romani activist Jarmila Balážová. I analysed how the senator accounts for her overtly racist statements voiced during a meeting with Bedřiška residents that, upon publication, were widely discussed at a national level in 2007. I pointed out that Janáčková did not use the occasion to apologise for or explain what she said in order to restore common-sense behaviour (cf. Scott & Lyman 1968: 46; Goffman 1971: 117). Instead, she reimagines the nation as an ethno-national space (cf. Anderson 1999). Janáčková does this by reaffirming a *defensive-nationalist stance* that interweaves a populist and nationalist language with one of hate oriented towards all Roma or some part (the so-called “gypsies”) as well as a post-socialist democratic elite (cf. Ahmed 2014; Rabinowitz 2022). At the same time, she orients a language of love towards an ethnic Czech nation. In this spirit, she further legitimised the exclusion of humans she evaluates as ‘uncivil’ Roma from a solidary community. According to her, the state should care for ‘decent’ Roma people only. Non-Roma citizens facing problems very similar to those of impoverished Roma people are not mentioned in her discourse, creating an illusion of equality among non-Roma people who occupy very different social positions; in other words, real social contradictions are disguised (cf. Balibar 1991b [1988]: 37–67).

In the same chapter, I further analysed a written response to the senator’s discourse by a journalist and Romani activist. I showed how the journalist’s voice expresses her experience of Janáčková’s racist voice as the *loss of a civic political home and language*. She describes the shift from a civic-national frame to an ethno-national frame in a language of insecurity, fear, and scepticism, indexing distrust. The textual voice of the Romani activist further responds to these feelings by taking a *critical civic stance*, upholding a civic language and intertwining it with one of *trust*, or rather *hope* and *initiative*.

This brings me to Chapter 5, which was about trust and/or distrust (Luhmann 2014; Lewicki, McAllister & Bies 1998). Along with Chapter 7, this chapter focused on situated interactions in the neighbourhood community. I presented an analysis of a facilitated neighbourhood meeting organised by a community worker in response to a 2010 arson attack on a Roma family in the neighbourhood. More specifically, Chapter 5 allowed me to understand *deliberative practice* as a *dialogic-affective genre* in which *distrust* as an evaluative relation to the world (which includes feelings

of fear, scepticism, and vigilance) permeates all contextual layers. As such, it significantly influences semiosis.

I further showed how distrust is closely linked to ‘dissent’ (Gruber 1996). On the one hand, I argued that the combined effects of distrust and dissent give rise to a *spiral dynamic* that results in the omnipresent risk of conflict escalation; mechanisms to transform or balance out distrust become all the more important in this regard. On the other hand, it is also true that distrust may play a vital role for the deliberative order by evoking a *frame of distrust* in which other participants control, evaluate, and judge the behaviour as well as the personality of participants regarding their compatibility with (and loyalty to) a commonly defined aim. The critical question arising here is how can it be ensured that this evaluative process is just? Hence, it is hard to know whether distrust plays a functional or dysfunctional role in community building. All participants, especially the facilitator, must carefully evaluate the critical balance of trust and/or distrust, consent and/or dissent, in every given moment anew. So, how can these critical moments be recognised?

The discursive event I analysed in Chapters 6 and 7 took place ten years after the event discussed in Chapter 5. Whereas Chapters 3–5 presented an analysis from a historical perspective, the event analysed in Chapters 6 and 7 involved my own participation. The empirical focus of these two chapters was a planning workshop with architects that took place from 28 to 31 August 2018 in Bedřiška. The planning workshop represented one event among many (protest) activities that was nonetheless key in changing the political order of things.

In Chapter 6, I argued that the dialogic-affective struggle over the future of the neighbourhood was embedded within a *frame of social exclusion and/or inclusion*. I categorised voices into three typical *chronotopic evaluative positions*. These positions are argumentative (cf. Blommaert 2015: 112) in that they open up a path for a very specific future of Bedřiška. The first evaluative position is strongly associated with the voice of the municipal district mayor, Liana Janáčková, and it constructs the neighbourhood as a wasted space. Both houses and residents are evaluated by means of what I called *signs of ‘social exclusion’*, such as waste scattered about. The responsibility for exclusion is attributed to residents while past and present efforts at inclusion are ignored. This ‘petrified relation’ (Fabian 1983: 143) prompts the conclusion that houses need to be demolished and residents exchanged for more ‘decent’ ones.

The second chronotopic evaluative position is strongly associated with the voices of residents and city Mayor Tomáš Macura. It emphasises the past and present agency and transformative capacities of residents, which is why it is argued that they *zaslouží* ‘deserve’ to stay in the neighbourhood. This second *civic and/or civil position* contrasts with more *critical positions* voiced in the alternative magazine *A2* and suggested by the alternative position elaborated by students and

architects during the planning workshop in Bedřiška. This third chronotopic evaluative position shifts the roles and responsibilities within the frame of social exclusion and/or inclusion. This time, it is not residents but the municipal district who is seen as responsible for the social exclusion of citizens – and hence for their inclusion as well.

Chapter 7 focused on the same discursive event as Chapter 6, but put the entanglement of signs of ‘dirt’, disgust, and the production of (dis)order(s) at the centre of concern. More specifically, it centred on how these themes crystallised during the deliberative discussion that took place at the end of the participatory planning workshop. Relying on different sources of data (e.g., interviews, pictures, notes), I constructed a context of social exclusion and/or poverty in which different actors maintain or create (dis)order in more or less (un)conscious ways. This context embedded the deliberative political discussion that I focused on afterwards.

What I found was that a practice as ordinary as (not) eating food in someone’s house can unwittingly evoke a ‘modern’ antigypsyist frame (see Bogdal 2011: 310; Wigger 2014: 51). This may have subtly infiltrated the trust among neighbours that activists and social workers had tried so hard to strengthen in order to foster cooperation. Practices of social exclusion emerged during the deliberative event on the workshop outcomes, when many guests declined to touch the sandwiches prepared by residents. This materialisation of antigypsyism and embodied feelings of ‘modern’ disgust became a visible sign of social exclusion (see also Chapter 6). It is thus possible that the seemingly harmless practice influenced, consolidated, or ‘enregistered’ (Agha 2007b; see also Spitzmüller 2013; Silva & Lee 2021) unintended meanings, posing serious problems to practices of trust-building in community work.

I further argued that what I framed as a deliberative discussion became the subject of reframing as dissent (see also Chapter 5) and also as a struggle for electoral voices (*blasy*). The question of order therefore became central at some point in the interaction. Who had the resources to guarantee order? The moderator indexed the values of the (architects’) work to key the discussion as a professional meeting. Interestingly, all subsequent political participants aligned with this value, which I argue is central to ‘modern’ discourse. Both the municipal district mayor and the city mayor aligned with it, but only the latter succeeded in positioning himself as the guarantor of the deliberative and political order, by extension – a *civic/civil order* in which somebody who works and engages politically should be respected or rewarded for their work.

So, what happened after this event? As I concluded in Chapters 6–8, the planning workshop contributed to the decision of city representatives that the neighbourhood should become a ‘modern’ place to live. The construction of new buildings and the renovation or renewal of old ones would preserve the *genius loci* of the place. Residents should be rewarded for their work and

political engagement – they should be enabled to stay – and private investment would contribute to the realisation of the project (cf. City of Ostrava 2020). A working group created under the authority of Mayor Tomáš Macura led to the decision to commission an architectural project. To assure resident ownership of the neighbourhood, the Department for Social Work of the University of Ostrava conceptualised the creation of a social cooperative intended to empower residents through democratic control as well as organise the neighbourhood via an elected council.

Several years of inspection, negotiation, and planning followed the city representatives' decision taken in favour of the residents on 19 September 2018. Throughout this process, the municipal district government declined to adapt its inflexible stance and continued to communicate and act in ambiguous ways. The result was that local trust in the city assembly's decision crumbled. Residents, social workers, activists, and academics continued to organise public events and closed meetings to protest or offer support and possible solutions to residents and authorities throughout the planning process. Nonetheless, the fragility of the community grew more and more apparent; dissent took over, translating into the failure of all democratic initiatives. The ethnically and gender-mixed community council elected by residents failed and Avyaan was the first to be pushed out of the community – as he recounted, by non-Roma residents. Since then, Ada had assumed sole leadership in the neighbourhood with some help from mainly non-Roma residents. Later, a majority of tenants refused to create the social cooperative that would serve to guarantee the future sustainability of the existence and functioning of the neighbourhood community. Instead, they chose to remain under the administration of the municipality that had planned their eviction.

To conclude, the city of Ostrava and other involved actors finally decided that engaged citizens 'deserved' to finish out their days in the neighbourhood; houses that were in good condition should be renovated and integrated into the development of a 'modern' housing estate that makes space for more affluent residents (cf. City of Ostrava 2020). This compromise can be characterised as 'modern' or even neo-liberal in the sense that, despite the apparent willingness of most stakeholders to include locals in the new housing project, profitability was placed at the heart of the project. This came at the expense of democratic community and social justice: instead of supporting the initial plans of residents and their demands to leave the neighbourhood as was – to let them look after their houses and care democratically for their neighbourhood community – involved agents more or less intentionally enforced a different solution. Attempts to organise the neighbourhood more democratically failed, and the planning process did not prevent most residents from leaving.

It therefore seems an open question how the project wants to guarantee the sustainability of the neighbourhood community and contribute to the integration of Roma people into majoritarian society. From a social justice perspective, then, the achieved compromise can be characterised as

‘bad’ in that it maintains a ‘modern’ – and hence antigypsyist – social order while squandering an opportunity to repair past mistakes involving the segregation of Roma residents out of city centres and majoritarian society and the inclusion of all Roma people (cf. Zanetti 2022: 51–53). Nonetheless, the overall quality of the compromise in terms of social justice can be assessed only after the still-uncertain realisation of the project. It will depend on the extent to which implementation of the project provides for social housing, guarantees participation, and puts the social inclusion of Roma and other vulnerable groups at the heart of its concerns. Once again, the implementation of such measures requires (local) political support; in April 2023, Mayor Tomáš Macura (ANO), who had offered political support to residents, was succeeded by Jan Dohnal (ODS).

Discussion of results

What does the case of Bedřiška teach us about relations among sociocultural groups in contexts of social exclusion and/or poverty? More specifically, what does it tell us about relations between those who identify and/or are identifiable as Roma and those who do not? Indologist and founder of the Romani studies programme in the Czech Republic Milena Hübschmannová titled her 1993 monograph *Šaj pes dovakeras – Můžeme se domluvit*, which can be translated as ‘We can come to an agreement’ – ‘We can come to an agreement’. Given the experiences I collected in the field and the findings of the present study, one might ask how she could choose such an optimistic title. Even though her monograph does not turn a blind eye to stereotypes or the illusion of civilisational superiority, she remains optimistic.

Her confidence can be explained by the spirit of optimism characteristic of the time when she wrote her book. The iron curtain had just fallen and many believed that this event marked ‘the end of history’ (Fukuyama 1992). Romani culture was finally recognised by state authorities and could be publicly lived by those who wished to do so. Hübschmannová also published her book before neo-Nazi incidents became a daily occurrence in the late nineties. This was before right-wing extremist marches, street fights, and demonstrations against Roma residents in Janov, Varensdorf, and other cities occurred; before Roma school children had to be protected on their way to school; and before the arson attacks on Natálka’s family and others. The book was published before inter-group relations again improved a little, as author and Rom Patrik Banga (2022: 213) recently assessed in his biographical account *skutečná cesta ven* ‘The real way out’.

Here, I pose Hübschmannová’s (1993) question anew: can we understand each other and/or can we come to a just agreement? The case of the socially excluded locality of Bedřiška shows that agreement and cooperation among neighbours is possible even when they identify with different sociocultural groups. This is especially true in the case of conflict escalation and the endangerment

of a primary need (housing) by a common enemy, such as the municipal district government and its housing policy. However, solidarity among locals seemed to crumble in parallel with their political success or, put differently, in parallel to the political failure of the municipal district government. But even long before their political success, some tenants were regularly forced to leave the neighbourhood and it can be assumed that this fate was especially likely for the most vulnerable residents.

My analysis has shown that the long (discursive) history of exclusion and negation continues to pattern interactions and institutions through the present day. Which forces foster democracy and justice, and which do not? What are the languages of inclusion and/or exclusion, and whom do they include and/or exclude? To reflect on these questions, it makes sense to recapitulate the stances, emotions, categories, languages and/or ideologies that I found relevant to the case analysed here. To a certain extent and degree, these can be assumed to be common to and still present in contexts of social exclusion and/or poverty in a predominantly Czech-speaking space. However, it is important to note that the imagination of such a defined space constitutes a simplification. This is because people speaking different languages and/or discourses influence each other and are not tied to a space (cf. Appadurai 1990; Blommaert 2008).

I observed how the mediated objectified voices of municipal district governors assumed an *authoritarian-paternalist stance* to legitimise segregation (see Chapter 3). They intertwined a seemingly generous and caring language with classism and/or an aporophobic discourse (cf. Jackman 1994; Cortina Orts 2017). At the same time, they ethnicised it in racist terms (cf. Essed 1991) to index a hegemonic *antigypsyist ideology*. As already noted, aporophobia in particular characterised the objectified voices of long-term residents and probably even objectified voice of a Roma representative (see Chapter 3). The textual voice of news articles invited readers to empathise with the struggle of long-term residents and align with their position. The authoritarianism inherent in the municipal district's stance is further evident in the inflexibility of its position towards resident protests.

In Chapter 4, the municipal government then assumes a *defensive-nationalist stance* that links a populist and ethno-nationalist language with one of hate oriented towards the great majority of Roma as well as a post-socialist liberal or civic elite. At the same time, it orients a language of love towards members of an ethnic Czech nation (cf. Ahmed 2014; Rabinowitz 2022). As Balibar (1991 [1988]: 45–54) notes, nationalism plays a role in binding lower classes to upper classes as it conceals real socio-economic differences between members of different sociocultural groups. This is especially true for ethno-nationalism.

I further argued that participants in the political struggle reacted and responded to the municipal district government's stance in various ways. I read the Roma journalist's response to Janáčková's racist discourse as an experience and loss of an imagined political home and language. She entextualised her experience in a language of *insecurity* and *distrust*, but also reaffirmed her *civic stance* by linking a language of initiative and hope to civic values (see Chapter 4). I showed how antigypsyist hate and physical violence provoked a *distrustful stance* towards politicians and neighbours among Roma citizens. This type of stance constitutes an evaluative world relation that indexes feelings such as fear, scepticism, cynicism, wariness, watchfulness, and vigilance; it positions other participants as defendants, accusing them of untrustworthiness in relation to the expected order of things (cf. Lewicki, McAllister & Bies 1998; Luhmann 2014).

Simultaneously, neighbours, the community worker, and what I called the camera's voice assumed a *democratic stance* towards (discursive) events, indexing democratic values such as equality, participation, compromise, and joint decision-making. The actions of residents and their supporters were characterised at a later stage by a *democratic protest stance*, or a language of initiative and hope in a discourse that contradicted the municipal district mayor's hegemonic interpretation of the term 'social exclusion'. Finally, print news media presented a textual voice that initially often seemed to align with the voice of political power, but later began to take a more *critical stance* as it included the voices of other participants. The voices of supporters also often took a critical stance towards political actors and their policies, which seemed linked to distrust.

The research thus shows that emotions relevant to contexts of social exclusion and/or poverty include *disgust*, *hate* and *fear*, *distrust* and *trust* – or rather *hope* and *initiative*. Whereas a language of disgust and fear seems to pattern the (discursive) practices of mainly non-Roma participants, distrust seems to characterise the (discursive) practices of Roma participants and their supporters. For Roma participants, feelings of *insecurity*, fear, loss, and *trauma* are further relevant. Hope and initiative seem to characterise (discursive) activities of residents and their supporters across ethnic boundaries. Hate, in particular, is especially characteristic of political discourse.

What, then, are the typical ideological positions that characterise this struggle over decent housing? And what does this tell us about the broader dynamic of the conflict? I argued that the struggle over the image and the future of Bedřiška took place within a *frame of social exclusion and/or inclusion*. This frame is entangled with a language of dirt and disgust as well as embedded within a broader '*modern*' ideology – and hence, *antigypsyism* (see Douglas 1966; Bogdal 2011). But what shapes can antigypsyism take?

In the municipal district government's *authoritarian and ethno-nationalist position*, antigypsyism takes the form of classism and ethnicised aporophobia interwoven with a defensive ethno-nationalism,

that is, love for an ethnic Czech community coupled with hate against Roma people and a post-socialist civic or liberal elite (see Essed 1991; Ahmed 2014; Hund 2014; Cortina Orts 2017; Rabinowitz 2022). Terms such as ‘unadaptable’ and ‘uncivil’ characterise this discourse as ‘modern’ (cf. Bogdal 2011). However, interdiscursive links with national socialist racist discourse are also apparent. As Balibar (1991 [1988]: 51) notes, (ethno-) nationalism manifests its latent force of exclusion and negation in its greatest depths, but also in very ordinary ways; civic values such as the equality of all citizens are being relegated to ideological margins. In this context of meaning, it becomes clear how it was possible to segregate Roma residents from city centres to city margins (e.g., a former mining settlement) and/or to so-called hostels, where they continue to live in inhumane conditions at inflated prices (cf. Kupka, Walach & Brendzová 2021) or, put differently, where they are exploited for profit as if they were non-human. This phenomenon is commonly called ‘business with poverty’, and one can add ‘ethnic identity’, or exploitation within an ‘ethnic economy’ (see, e.g., Flubacher 2020).

The *post-socialist*, ‘modern’ or *liberal position* typically taken by city Mayor Tomáš Macura (but also many Bedřiška residents and other actors) emphasises how residents have worked hard and engaged politically and therefore *si zaslouží* ‘deserve’ to remain in their houses in their neighbourhood. This position does not break with antigypsyism, but exemplifies how it functions to assimilate people into a civic and civil order – and hence into ‘work’ within a capitalist economy (cf. Hund 2014). Historically speaking, this position implies that people who cannot or do not want to assimilate (so-called “gypsies”) do not deserve any respect. This assumption aligns with discourses about poverty in other countries (see, e.g., Gunders 2012; Paugam et al. 2017).

Sandel’s (2020) political theory, published under the telling title *The tyranny of merit: What’s become of the common good*, challenges extreme forms of such discourse in the United States. As a remedy, he suggests the promotion of a *broad democratic equality of condition*. This refers to a situation that goes beyond the equality of opportunity in promoting a multiplicity of common civic and cultural institutions, public spaces, public libraries, transport, health care, etc. – that is, spaces where people from different cultural, social, and political backgrounds meet and mutually exchange their knowledge and lifestyle. In a similar spirit, economist Amartya Sen (1999) promotes the idea of *development as freedom*. He argues that people should be empowered with the capability to do the things they need to realise their preferred life trajectory. Sen’s thoughts led to introduction of the Human Development Index by the United Nations in 1990.

In the case of Bedřiška, a more *critical or democratic position* is represented by academics, activists, supporters, community workers, and by students and architects during the planning workshop. This position was the only one that shifted roles and responsibilities within the frame of social

exclusion and/or inclusion (see Chapters 6 and 7). It considers the municipal district, not residents, responsible for the social exclusion of its citizens. This position additionally promotes the participation and empowerment of residents (see also Chapter 5). However, empowering residents means leaving them with the choice of how they want to organise themselves (or not). As concluded above, the majority of residents rejected a social cooperative and instead decided to remain under the authority of the municipal district. And even if they had decided to assume responsibility for their community, it remains an open question as to what would happen to the more vulnerable members of the sociocultural groups to which locals belong.

What seems to shine through the web of discursive practices is what might be called an *antigypsyist and/or aporophobic dynamic*. This dynamic leads to the preservation of an (ethno-national) capitalist, ‘modern’ order to the detriment of democratic community and social justice. In terms of democracy, it can be said that the organisation of “gypsies” as a sociocultural group was often historically imagined as untransparent and uncontrollable, which is why “gypsies” had to be controlled. ‘Non-gypsies’ located at the lowest level of the social hierarchy were often made complicit in their control. Still, this did not mean that they could not be pushed to the margins of society and become “gypsies” themselves (cf. Bogdal 2011: 26). As for Bedřiška itself, the municipal district government did not let the neighbourhood organise itself freely and instead engaged external social workers to manage the community centre. Democratic solutions initiated during the second phase of resident struggles for housing further failed. It is probable that distrust (and hence a need to control) and discipline coupled with aporophobia contributed to the failure of these democratic initiatives. *Antigypsyism* and *aporophobia* appear to belong together like two sides of a coin (see also Hellgren & Gabrielli 2021), whereby aporophobia not only signifies fear of the poor but also fear of poverty.

How, then, can one respond to antigypsyism and/or aporophobia to create democratic and socially just relations? Reflecting on the practice of care for the poor, Cortina Orts (2022) takes up the Greek term *hospitality*, which she derives from the Latin *hospitare* ‘to receive a guest’. This latter term retains the meaning of the Greek word *filoxenia* ‘love or affection for strangers’. The term is of interest here because it is traditionally associated with vulnerable people, such as pilgrims and beggars. In the ancient world, in ‘the East’ and ‘the West’, domestic hospitality – providing aid, shelter and protection to strangers – was an everyday virtue. In fact, it was a sign of civility and people had to account for a lack of respect for this value (cf. Cortina Orts 2022: 144).

Mutual aid also plays a central role in Romani culture. According to Servika Roma customs, empathy and aid should be offered to unexpected visitors as well as community members lacking physical or psychological needs (cf. Wagner & Wagnerová n.d.: 2). From a historical perspective,

there is reasonable ground to assume that Roma practised this civic virtue towards non-Roma vagabonds and homeless people (cf. Hund 2017: 63–72). In Bedřiška, Roma residents used to host other Roma who had become homeless (see Chapter 3). As I came to learn, this practice is very common among Roma people facing a housing crisis. It is also a practice that evoked aporophobia among non-Roma residents in Bedřiška who feared that their neighbourhood would become a ghetto. And as I have argued, this emotion was stirred up by political discourse.

Cortina Orts (2022) argues from a philosophical perspective that *universal hospitality* is a civilised response to our aporophobic brain. But is it justified and sensible to expect a neighbourhood community organised as a social cooperative to care for people who lack a decent home? It seems accurate for a national community (or rather society as a whole) to support such an endeavour by taking responsibility for the social inclusion of all Roma into majoritarian society, such as through the provision of social housing. Similarly, Tronto (2013) argues that care should be located at the centre of democratic political life and include the voices of people concerned. That is, we should care democratically while creating a caring democracy (see also Spiesschaert 2005; Černá & Gojová 2023).

Caring and trusting in the dialogic-affective transformation of a past legacy

This thesis has investigated dialogic-affective practices in contexts of social exclusion and/or poverty. Against the backdrop of the present findings and their discussions, it is clear that the (democratic) activities and interventions undertaken by politicians, journalists, social workers, activists, and residents were influenced by histories and trauma (especially antigypsyism and/or aporophobia) that reached far more deeply than the explicit conflict. On the one hand, political or economic actors strategically evoke past worlds to gain yet more power. On the other, potentially forgotten or suppressed conflicts and dialogic-affective histories continue to pattern present efforts to resolve those conflicts.

As a researcher or professional in the field, one therefore finds oneself somehow in the position of Benjamin's (1991) angel of history: caught up in a catastrophic storm of development, flying backwards while looking at heaps of ruins piling up in front of her but unable to remain to revive the death and patch the ruins (cf. Benjamin 1991: 697–698). How can one respond with such a situation? We can acknowledge this problematic antigypsyist legacy and attempt to understand these traces of the past, or we can turn our bodies around and continue in the struggle towards development. Or, in the spirit of Bakhtin, we can do both simultaneously, analysing and practicing, in dialogue.

It is now evident that activities targeting contexts of social exclusion and/or poverty should consider dealing with (past) conflict. In this way, they can help to build trust within communities.

When coming to terms with the Roma Holocaust in the Czech Republic, the Museum for Romani Culture, for instance, administers two memorials (one in Lety u Písku and another in Hodonín u Kunštátu) that are open to visitors, including school classes. In the Museum of Romani Culture in the city of Brno, visitors can learn about the history of (Czech) Roma people and visit exhibitions on the subject. The Museum further envisions a social and community centre that will be open to the general public in Prague.

When it comes to working with neighbourhood communities and dealing with conflicts among residents, more transformative approaches may be more effective in some cases – at least in the long run. The transformative model of mediation, for instance, approaches conflict as an interactional crisis. In the mediation process, the mediator is meant to support shifts in empowerment and recognition in ways that transform old patterns of interaction between participants from destructive to constructive (cf. Baruch Bush & Folger 2005). In terms of the empowerment of communities, the notion of transformative justice could potentially provide some inspiration for conflict resolution and trust-building in certain contexts. The term refers to practices and theories aimed at changing social systems from within by involving and transforming communities in cases of interpersonal violence (cf. Brazzell 2019; Dixon & Piepzná-Samarasinha 2020).

Critical sociolinguistics can contribute to the analysis of dialogic-affective practices, democracy, and justice from the perspective of language. This is in order to understand and critique sociocultural circumstances (see, e.g., Flubacher 2020) as well as to inform future practice that strives to remedy social exclusion and poverty. Critical sociolinguistics can investigate care in discourse involving community work and more individualistic approaches to social work; are these practices democratic and just? Care, affect, and habitus are closely tied to the idea of ‘ordinary ethics’ (Lambek 2010: 1–36), a dimension of human action pointing to the complexity and inconsistency of human action and cooperation. This is particularly true in contexts of injustice, hope and deep affective involvement (see, e.g., Das 2007; Lear 2008). Goodwin (2021) further calls ‘for ethnographic investigation of justice and care in language and gender research’ (249). Moreover, it is important to continue to critically care about public discourse and histories of discrimination through a thorough analysis of democratic practices, especially in relation to trust and/or distrust (see, e.g., Wengeler 2019; Belosevic 2020) from a linguistic perspective.

But, most importantly, it is vital to enter into dialogue with the multidisciplinary field of trauma studies to understand the influence of past histories on the experience of antigypsyist discursive practices and aporophobia in the present. Busch and MacNamara (2020) provide an introduction to trauma studies and demonstrate the role that language, or its absence, may play in the experience of trauma (see, e.g., Busch 2020a). As several authors have shown, community, storytelling, art,

and poetry play an important role in this regard (see, e.g., Busch 2020b; De Fina, Paternostro & Amoruso 2020). Trauma touches spheres of what is conventionally ‘unsayable’, but finds expression in other areas, such as imagery language giving voice to the experiences of social exclusion and/or poverty (see, e.g., Busch 2016; Busch 2020b). Similarly, it would be of interest to investigate how the dialogic-affective experience of visual signs, sounds, smells, and even touch can involve antigypsyism and/or aporophobia.

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Abstracts

Abstract in English:

This thesis centres on the connection between language use, language experience and social justice in the Czech Republic. Specifically, it considers how a neighbourhood community of Roma and/or non-Roma people strove for safe and decent housing in contexts of social exclusion and/or poverty. In 1998, the municipal district government of Mariánské Hory a Hulvaky (a municipal district of the city of Ostrava) instigated a new housing policy that saw primarily Roma residents being segregated from the district centre to its margins – the former working-class neighbourhood Bedřiška was one such marginal place. In the present thesis, I investigate how the municipal district government legitimised its (discursive) practices of exclusion at the local as well as the national level. In relation to this, I also consider how residents and other participant experienced these practices, and how they organised themselves to confront and oppose them.

I approach my empirical case study from a critical discourse ethnographic perspective. My learning process involved several stays in the field, and the collection of different forms of data from 1997-2020 (print news media reports; interviews and focus group discussions; audio(visual) recordings of meetings and presentations; posters and pictures; my field notes, etc.) The triangulation of these various forms of data enables me to trace the historical trajectory of Bedřiška by means of five sub-studies. To understand the dynamic between unanimity and/or dissent in contexts of social exclusion and/or poverty, I conceive of semiosis as a dialogic-affective practice in which both centralising and decentralising forces emerge and interact within context, time and space. Living interaction is embedded in sociocultural and historical, as well as material contexts, whereby participants are affected by, interpret, and enact discourse, giving rise to emotional or rather lived experience. In this regard, I am particularly interested in acts of stancetaking. More specifically, the concept of dialogic-affective stances enables me to bridge affective, deliberative, and ideological levels of discursive practice to show how participants' voices index evaluative positions within a polyphonic and heteroglossic frame of social inclusion and/or exclusion and thereby (re)produce their own and others' (linguistic) habitus, histories, and social (dis)order.

I argue that the future of the neighbourhood of Bedřiška is entangled in a more than six-hundred-years-long dynamic of exclusion, in which antigypsyism intertwines with aporophobia, that is, the fear of poverty and the poor. More specifically, I argue that municipal representatives took an authoritarian-paternalist and later a defensive-ethnonationalist stance to legitimise the segregation of Roma to the former miner's settlement. Such a hateful voice of power invited people who identify with majoritarian society to align with the nationalist perspective and become complicit in discriminating practices, but it also stirred up insecurity, fear, and distrust. Other participants assumed civic/civil or radical democratic stances to deny and counter the hegemonic discourse of those in power and to foster trust or hope in a better future. They entangled these values with a language of protest, initiative, and hope.

I conclude that in order to change antigypsyist–aporophobic dynamics in sustainable ways, social agents engaging in the work of social inclusion should consider (also critically) more transformative approaches to conflict resolution and community work, as these are able to transform conflict in more profound ways. The present thesis further calls for a sociolinguistic investigation of trust and/or distrust, as well as (discursive) practices of care, democracy, and social justice.

Keywords: Antigypsyism, housing politics, critical sociolinguistics, affect, emotions, stancetaking

Abstract in German

Im Fokus dieser Dissertationsarbeit steht der Zusammenhang zwischen Sprachgebrauch, Spracherleben und sozialer Ungleichheit, und zwar im Kontext der sozialen Exklusion und Verarmung der Roma in der Tschechischen Republik. Insbesondere wird untersucht, wie eine Nachbarschaftsgemeinschaft von Roma und nicht-Roma nach sicherem und menschenwürdigem Wohnraum strebte. Anknüpfungspunkt für dieses Vorhaben ist die Wohnpolitik des Bezirks Mariánské Hory a Hulvaky (einem Stadtbezirk der Stadt Ostrava), die im Jahr 1998 vorsah, dass vorwiegend Roma Bewohner_innen vom Bezirkszentrum in randständige Lokaltäten – wie beispielsweise die ehemalige Bergbausiedlung Bedřiška – segregiert werden sollten. In der vorliegenden Arbeit untersuche ich, wie die Bezirksregierung ihre (diskursiven) Ausgrenzungspraktiken sowohl auf lokaler als auch auf nationaler Ebene legitimierte. In diesem Zusammenhang betrachte ich unter anderem, wie Bewohner_innen und weitere Diskursteilnehmende diese Praktiken erlebten, und wie sie sich organisierten, um ihnen entgegenzuwirken.

Ich untersuche die gewählte empirische Fallstudie aus einer ethnografisch-kritischen Perspektive. Dazu absolvierte ich mehrerer Feldaufenthalte, u.a. in der Siedlung Bedřiška und führte eine Datenerhebung verschiedener Materialien aus den Jahren 1997 bis 2020 durch (Medienberichte; Interviews und Fokusgruppendifkussionen; audio(visuelle) Aufzeichnungen von Beratungsgesprächen und Präsentationen; Poster und Bilder; Feldnotizen etc.). Die Triangulation dieser verschiedenen Datenformen ermöglicht es mir, die historische Entwicklung von Bedřiška anhand von fünf Teilstudien analytisch nachzuzeichnen. Um die Dynamik zwischen Konsens und/oder Konflikt in Kontexten sozialer Ausgrenzung und Armut zu verstehen, begreife ich Semiose als eine dialogisch-affektive Praxis, in der sowohl nach Zentralisierung als auch nach Dezentralisierung strebende Kräfte innerhalb eines bestimmten Kontexts in Zeit und Raum entstehen und interagieren. Lebendiger Dialog und emotionales Erfahren sind eingebettet in soziokulturelle, historische sowie materielle Kontexte, in denen Diskursteilnehmende Diskurse erfahren, interpretieren, und als Handlungsressourcen weiterverwenden. Genauer gesagt ermöglicht mir die Idee von dialogisch-affektiven stancetaking Akten, affektive, deliberative und ideologische Ebenen der diskursiven Praxis zu verknüpfen, um zu zeigen, wie die Stimmen der Diskursteilnehmenden bewertende Positionen innerhalb eines polyphonen und heteroglossischen Rahmens sozialer Inklusion und/oder Exklusion indizieren und so ihren eigenen (sprachlichen) Habitus, (eigene) Geschichten und soziale (Un-)Ordnung (re)produzieren.

Ich argumentiere, dass die Zukunft des Viertels Bedřiška in einer mehr als sechshundertjährige Dynamik der Exklusion verstrickt ist, in der Antiziganismus mit Aporophobie, d.h. der Angst vor Armut und den Armen, verflochten ist. Genauer gesagt zeige ich auf, wie Gemeindevertretende eine autoritär-paternalistische und später eine defensiv-ethnonationalistische Haltung einnahmen, um die Segregation der Roma in die ehemalige Arbeitersiedlung zu legitimieren. Diese Machtpolitik lud Menschen, die sich bis anhin mit der Mehrheitsgesellschaft identifizierten, dazu ein, eine ethnonationalistische Perspektive einzunehmen und sich an diskriminierenden Praktiken zu beteiligen, und sie schürte Hass, Unsicherheit, Angst und Misstrauen. Andere Diskurteilnehmer_innen antworteten mit stancetaking Akten des Widerspruchs und Protests, die sie mit einer Sprache des Vertrauens verstrickten. Diese Akte gingen mit der Indexikalisierung von demokratischen Werten oder Positionen einher.

Meine Analyse macht ersichtlich, dass stärker transformativ ausgerichtete Ansätze zur Konfliktlösung (auch kritisch) in Betracht gezogen werden sollten, um antiziganistisch-aporophobe Dynamiken nachhaltig zu verändern, da diese Ansätze eher in der Lage sind, Konflikte in tief gespaltenen Gesellschaften zu bearbeiten. Die vorliegende Arbeit unterstützt darüber hinaus die soziolinguistische Untersuchung von Vertrauen und/oder Misstrauen sowie von (diskursiven) Praktiken der Fürsorge, Demokratie und sozialer Gerechtigkeit.

Keywords: Roma, Wohnpolitik, kritische Soziolinguistik, Affekt, Emotionen, stancetaking