



BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

DNC6

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Keynotes

Annette Knaut (Augsburg University)

Annette Knaut (Augsburg University) is a cultural scientist and sociologist. She is currently working on her 'Habilitation' at Augsburg University, Germany. In this work Annette develops a new imaginary of public spaces, called Transcultural Public Spheres, by re-reading and counter-reading common social science concepts of publics and spaces with postcolonial literature. Annette is engaged in different research networks of post- and decolonial thinking as well as discourse studies. Her research lies at the intersection of social science theory, discourse research, gender studies, as well as cultural and postcolonial studies.

Keynote lecture: Creating future imaginaries in a world of discursive upheavals. A sociology of knowledge approach to discourse.

Alister Miskimmon (Queen's University Belfast)

Alister Miskimmon is Professor of International Relations at Queen's University Belfast. His research focuses on strategic narratives and International Relations. He has published two books on these themes with Ben O'Loughlin and Laura Roselle entitled, *Strategic Narratives: Communication Power and the New World Order* (2013) and *Forging the World: Strategic Narratives in International Relations* (2017).

Keynote lecture: Where Next: imagining a future world order.

Michał Krzyżanowski (Uppsala University)

Michał Krzyżanowski is the Chair in Media & Communications at Uppsala University, where he is also Deputy Head of School of Informatics & Media and Director of Research at the Centre for Multidisciplinary Studies of Racism. He is known internationally for his interdisciplinary work on critical discourse studies of communication, media and social change with special focus on discourses and imaginaries of crisis, inequality, discrimination and exclusion. Michał is editor in chief of the *Journal of Language & Politics*, one of the leading journals in discourse studies. See also: <https://www.uu.se/en/contact-and-organisation/staff?query=N20-1042>.

Keynote lecture: Retrotopias & Past-to-Future Dis/Continuities: Temporal Scales in/as Strategies of Normalisation in Contemporary Illiberal & Neoliberal Discourse.

Ahmed Najm ABED (Polytechnic University of Valencia)

From a cognitive metaphorical interpretation to discoursal semantics interpretation: A sharp-turn identification in perfume advertisements.

The application of filmic metaphors is noticeable in perfume advertisements since it provides a perceptible message of how viewers perceive different meanings, using commercial brands as a visual landscape for marketing. Traditional cognitive metaphorical interpretations often focus on how metaphors tend to shape consumer perception at a cognitive level (Bort-Mir, 2020; 2021; 2022). This perspective, however, misses the more complex constellations of the different semiotic resources that contribute to the overflow of meaning-making processes. This paper argues that multimodal materials, such as tracking shots and diegetic and non-diegetic sounds, transfer emotional elements in identifying perfume advertisements. Such elements are crucial in filmic perfumes, providing an attractive and cohesive message that resonates with the viewer's desires. To this end, moving from a purely cognitive metaphorical interpretation to a discoursal semantics approach (Bateman et al., 2017), the paper thus provides an underlying cultural identification and interpretations that traditional cognitive approaches may miss.

Rhétorique de l'imaginaire et populisme autoritaire : Stratégies discursives dans l'islamisme politique

Cette communication vise à analyser les dynamiques imaginaires mobilisées par l'appareil populiste islamiste. Depuis deux décennies, le paysage politique arabe, en particulier marocain, a vu émerger un discours populiste autoritaire fondé sur une logique d'exclusion et de violence symbolique à l'encontre des élites, qualifiées de "corrompues" et d'"illégitimes". Ce discours tend à la mise à mort symbolique de l'adversaire, voire à sa déshumanisation, dans une visée strictement démagogique et électoraliste. Dans un contexte socio-politique marqué par une soif de démocratie libérale, la mobilisation de l'imaginaire permet au leader populiste de galvaniser le pathos collectif et d'asseoir son autorité politique. L'objectif de cette étude est de montrer que l'imaginaire ne remplit pas une simple fonction supplétive, mais un rôle central dans la légitimation du discours populiste autoritaire, contribuant à l'anesthésie de la pensée critique citoyenne.

Notre analyse s'articulera autour de deux axes. D'abord, nous proposerons une revue critique des travaux récents sur le discours populiste autoritaire (Cagnat, 2012; Charaudeau, 2010-2011 ; Roncière, 2011 ; Meryan, 2006 ; Dorna, 2002 ; Taguieff, 2002 ; Windisch, 1987, etc.), en soulignant le rôle central de l'imaginaire populaire dans la structuration du populisme autoritaire. Ensuite, nous identifierons une série de procédés langagiers (adages populaires, symboles religieux et mythiques, arguments d'autorité, rhétorique de la xénophobie et de la haine, métaphores percutantes, etc.) qui visent à structurer l'opinion publique et à exercer un contrôle social sous couvert du « politiquement correct ». Cette réflexion mettra ainsi en lumière la consubstantialité entre le populisme autoritaire et l'imaginaire collectif, révélant la manière dont ce dernier est instrumentalisé pour construire une adhésion émotionnelle et neutraliser le débat démocratique.

David ADLER (Universität Duisburg-Essen)

Building Capitalist Futures. On the Labour Imaginary and the Discursive Construction of Office Architecture

Capitalist organisations deal with uncertainty. Organisations are situated in an ever-changing environment and therefore they constantly have to deal with contingencies beyond their control. At the same time, the temporality of economic activity requires the anticipation of economic and organisational futures in order to maintain managerial agency. From a Marxist perspective, however, it can be argued that uncertainty also arises from the very core of the productive process: labour. While capitalist organisations can acquire labour as an abstract entity, this does not determine actual productivity. Thus, capitalist organisations develop socio-technical fixes that are supposed to not only transform labour's potential into actual productivity, but to do so in a reliable and calculable way.

Against this background, I will show how office architecture is discursively constructed as a technical means of realising and securing capitalist productivity. What is more, I argue that office architecture should not be seen solely as an 'objective' technology. Rather, it is supported by, and in turn supports, an imaginary of the productive potential of labour that is effective even when office architecture fails to deliver on its promise of efficiently and quasi-automatically harnessing workers' competences for the organisation. As such, I want to show how office architecture is discursively positioned not only to represent the economic potential of a particular organisation, but also to materially (re)present the imaginary of a reliable capitalist future.

Runping AHU (Beijing Normal-Hong Kong Baptist University),
Chuqiao LIANG (Beijing Normal-Hong Kong Baptist University);
Yatian ZHANG (Beijing Normal-Hong Kong Baptist University);
Jialing LV (Beijing Normal-Hong Kong Baptist University);
Chuyue SHEN (Beijing Normal-Hong Kong Baptist University)

The Effect of Imperative Slogans on the Cognitive Processing of EFL Learners in an International Higher Education Environment

Imperative statements, characterized by their conciseness and action-oriented nature, are frequently employed in crafting slogans for educational institutions, particularly within internationalized settings. However, the cognitive effects of such slogans on English as a Foreign Language (EFL) learners, specifically concerning attention allocation and memory retention, remain under-explored. This study investigates the cognitive processing of imperative slogans by EFL learners within the context of an international college (e.g., UIC). Employing a mixed-methods approach, combining content analysis of existing institutional slogans with a controlled experiment, the research examines how EFL learners engage with and respond to imperative slogans. Grounded in theories of selective attention and selective retention, the study explores the influence of imperative sentence structure on learners' attention and memory performance. The findings reveal a significant positive impact of imperative slogans on both attention allocation and information recall. This research contributes to a deeper understanding of the cognitive characteristics of EFL learners in internationalized educational environments and highlights the strategic potential of imperative sentence structures in institutional communication for information dissemination and behavioural influence.

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Carlos Enrique AHUACTZIN-MARTÍNEZ (Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla), Juana María RÍOS FRANCO (Universidad Tecnológica de Huejotzing)

Construcción del adversario en los debates electorales a nivel subnacional en México

El estudio focaliza la construcción del adversario en los debates electorales en México, considerando los estados que renovaron gubernaturas en 2024: Chiapas, Ciudad de México, Guanajuato, Jalisco, Morelos, Puebla, Tabasco, Veracruz y Yucatán. Con base en los aportes del análisis crítico del discurso, se recopiló un corpus con las versiones estenográficas de las intervenciones de los candidatos en el primer debate de cada entidad federativa, dado que constituye el momento inicial y más representativo de la confrontación de visiones y posicionamientos políticos de cara a la sociedad. Los ejes simbólicos del ethos y la base axiológica del pathos permitieron la codificación de los contenidos, en niveles macro y micro de la expresión verbal. Asimismo, los hallazgos del trabajo revelan la necesidad de los candidatos por lograr una identidad política positiva frente a sus opositores, adjudicando antivalores y rasgos antidemocráticos a los principales competidores.

Reactionary and emancipatory imaginaries of the people: Populism's transgressive aesthetics and performances of identity

This paper builds on recent developments in the critical scholarship in populism studies to discuss the two main ways the populist repertoire is mobilised to construct an imaginary for 'the people': (1) a reactionary imaginary relying on conservative ideology to articulate an exclusive and ethnically-bounded depiction of the people and (2) an emancipatory imaginary relying on progressive ideology to articulate an inclusive and creole depiction of the people.

Following the premises of the discursive-performative approach to populism, this paper shows how the classic divide between right and left serves as a foundation for diametrically opposed counter-hegemonic and radical depictions of the people, which both challenge the liberal status quo in opposing ways. To do so, the paper builds on the argument that populism is first and foremost characterised by its transgressive aesthetics (Zicman de Barros & Aiolfi 2025): populism disrupts the "distribution of the sensible" (Rancière 2000) by introducing an antagonism between people and elite, two discursive constructs whose meaning is contested.

'The people' in particular stands at the heart of democracy but its role remains limited in liberal practice to electing its representatives. Using examples drawn from contemporary politics, this paper examines the different ways the far right and the radical left re-politicise 'the people' by performatively constructing it in a respectively exclusive and inclusive manner. By highlighting how these populist performances of identity are grounded in different imaginaries, the paper discusses the similarities and differences between the collective subjectivities produced by populism when it is used by radically opposed ideologies.

Adam AIT BENLAASSEL (Université Mohammed V de Rabat)

L'imaginaire sanitaire dans la construction discursive des crises mondiales : Une analyse des discours de Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus lors de la pandémie de COVID-19

L'imaginaire sanitaire, en tant que cadre collectif de représentation des enjeux de santé (Castoriadis, 1999 ; Gilbert, 1994), joue un rôle clé dans la manière dont les crises mondiales sont perçues et affrontées. La pandémie de COVID-19 a constitué un moment de rupture où les discours institutionnels ont redéfini les perceptions collectives du risque et de l'urgence (Foucault, 1971, 2016 ; Lakoff, 2014). Cette étude analyse 13 discours de Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus, directeur général de l'OMS, prononcés entre janvier et décembre 2020, afin d'examiner comment ils ont contribué à façonner un imaginaire sanitaire global face à cette crise.

S'appuyant sur un cadre théorique combinant analyse du discours, sémiotique et communication politique, cette recherche explore trois questions fondamentales : comment ces discours ont-ils construit une perception collective de la crise mondiale ? Comment l'ethos scientifique (Charaudeau, 2020 ; Maingueneau, 2022) et la rhétorique de la solidarité (Amossy, 2021) ont-ils permis de coordonner les réponses mondiales ? Et comment ces imaginaires influencent-ils l'opinion publique (Salavastru, 2004) et la légitimité des actions politiques ?

En mettant en lumière l'interaction entre discours institutionnels, médias et imaginaires collectifs (Colon, 2023), cette étude éclaire les mécanismes discursifs par lesquels les sociétés affrontent les désordres sanitaires et légitiment les politiques internationales de gestion de crise mondiale.

Ebru AKGÜN (Vrije Universiteit Brussel & Universiteit Antwerpen)

(Re)imagining, (re)mobilising, (re)constructing nationalisms: A comparative analysis of political discourse during the post-disaster scenes of Belgium, Turkey and United States

Disasters create liminal and in-between scenes characterised by significant disruptions and uncertainty in the social order (Turner, 1969). Such scenes signify the transition from one social order to another, in which various forces converge to make sense of the situation and reattain the social order as quickly and feasibly as possible. As part of this recovery process, both old and new symbols are imagined, mobilised, and constructed (Turner, 1969; Berger & Luckmann, 1966).

In this way, rather than occurring in everyday and overt manifestations, national symbols take part in intentional and overt performances of the nationhood. Here, political discourse becomes a critical aspect of the (re)imagination, (re)mobilisation, and (re)construction of the (contested) symbols tied to the nation, as well reflecting and reinforcing related notions of ideology and power (Foucault, 1972). Within this framework, this doctoral research employs critical discourse analysis to investigate the (competing) idea(s) of nationhood that are (re)imagined, (re)mobilised, and (re)constructed through politicians' discourse. In particular, its analysis focuses on the post-disaster contexts of the flooding in Wallonia, Belgium, in 2021; the earthquake in Southeastern Turkey in 2023; and the wildfires in Hawaii, USA, in 2023.

Eva Dayane ALMEIDA DE GOES (Universidade Federal do Sul da Bahia – UFSB)

A pós-verdade nos discursos online sobre feminicídios no Brasil: Forjando narrativas hegemônicas

Esta pesquisa investiga como a mídia constrói discursos sobre feminicídios no Brasil, influenciando a percepção pública e reforçando estereótipos. Partindo da Análise Crítica do Discurso (ACD) e da perspectiva sociocognitiva de Teun A. van Dijk, analisamos 36 notícias dos maiores portais de notícias online - G1 e UOL (2020-2022). O objetivo foi identificar padrões narrativos que legitimam o necrofeminicídio, através da representação de vítimas e agressores. Os resultados revelam a culpabilização da vítima, a humanização dos agressores e a omissão de fatores interseccionais, como raça e classe social.

A ausência da menção à raça das vítimas apaga a desigualdade estrutural do racismo nos feminicídios. Essa abordagem revela como as narrativas jornalísticas moldam a percepção social sobre feminicídios, ora responsabilizando as vítimas, ora justificando os agressores, refletindo o impacto da desinformação e dos discursos ideologicamente orientados. A pesquisa demonstra como a mídia constrói uma “verdade seletiva”, influenciando a opinião pública. O conceito de verdade, nesse contexto, torna-se instável, sendo modulado por interesses políticos, ideológicos e midiáticos. A representação das mulheres vítimas e de seus agressores é frequentemente distorcida por enquadramentos noticiosos que reforçam estereótipos e desresponsabilizam as estruturas sociais pelo problema. Neste sentido, o trabalho apresenta implicações teóricas e práticas para o debate sobre verdade e pós-verdade no discurso, reforçando a necessidade de uma abordagem mais crítica e interseccional na cobertura jornalística para combater a perpetuação da violência contra mulheres.

Johannes ANGERMULLER (Open University)

Discourse as a socio-epistemic practice. The example of science controversies

In recent years, online hate speech has reached an unprecedented level, posing a serious threat to the deliberative quality of digital spaces and public discourse. This qualitative study, conducted in the context of my doctoral research, aims to explore the reception of hate speech on social networking sites (SNS) through in-depth interviews with individuals directly affected by such content. By applying the Hate Speech Model developed by Leets and Giles (1999) to the contemporary French digital context, the study seeks to examine how the model aligns with and must be adapted to current online dynamics. More specifically, the research investigates short- and long-term consequences, perceived motives behind hate speech, response strategies, and coping mechanisms. It draws on 21 qualitative interviews with victims, as well as two rounds of Delphi interviews with seven experts from diverse professional backgrounds. Particular emphasis is placed on comparing the subjective experiences of those impacted with the solutions perceived as effective by the selected expert interviews. In the context of the DiscourseNet Congress, I would therefore like to present the findings, particularly those related to how individuals respond to, and ideally should respond to, hate speech online.

États nomades d'Asie centrale et identité : passé et présent dans l'espace public

Actuellement, chaque État cherche à raconter une histoire qui doit attirer l'attention, captiver les esprits et convaincre : c'est la diplomatie publique et l'influence (Lequesne, 2021, Colon, 2023, Arifon, 2024). Les ressources utilisées se ressemblent souvent : elles comprennent l'usage de l'histoire, d'odyssées et de mythes et de valeurs, autant de termes complexes (Chapoutot, 2021, Ledoux, 2021, Gorshenina, 2014)... En effet, dans la compétition de perceptions en cours, la plupart des États cherchent à maximiser leur image, à toucher différents publics souvent autour d'artefacts culturels et d'un récit attrayant. En effet, la diplomatie publique et le soft power consistent à communiquer, à engager et à discuter avec des publics étrangers.

Comme l'Asie centrale n'est pas la région la plus connue du reste du monde, chacun des cinq pays qui la composent essaye d'être visible sur la carte. Pour cela, les politiques et actions culturelles forment une entrée concrète et immédiate pour des pays en quête d'identité et dont le fonctionnement reste parfois lié au modèle soviétique. Pour le Turkménistan avec le poète M. Fargi et pour le Kazakhstan avec les World Nomad Games, l'inscription voire l'instrumentalisation de la patrimonialisation par l'Unesco est un processus assumé pour développer un discours et projeter une image à l'international (Charillon, 2022, Cull, 2019, Peyre et Rouet, 2024).

Marco A. ARROYO-MATA (University of Costa Rica)

Relations and interconnections between the individual and collective memory: a multimodal analysis of the documentary *I'm Not Your Negro* (2016)

I'm Not Your Negro (2016) is a documentary film based on James Baldwin's unpublished essay *Notes toward Remember this House*, written in the 1980's. It delves into the lives of three African American Civil Rights Movement leaders, whose lives ended tragically. Given this particular exercise of creation, our main objective was to analyze the semiotic modes used to represent the lives of King and Malcolm X in the audiovisual adaptation of Baldwin's unpublished essay.

To achieve this, we took a multidisciplinary approach by employing categories from different fields. For instance, to delineate the spatial structure of shots related to the lives of King and Malcolm X, we used Thompson and Bowen's (2009) main categorizations to describe the visual field of the film. Secondly, Unsworth's framework (2006) was employed to determine the relations between the projected images and visual sequences with the accompanying textual locution. Lastly, to establish the paradigmatic organization of the visual sequences related to the lives of those historical figures, we employed Bateman & Schmidt's (2012) methodological scheme.

We concluded that the most recurrent shot is the close-up, which probably aims to create a greater subjectivity and a closer relationship between the viewers and the protagonists of the documentary. Vertical angles are used in very particular cases because they have a high subjective charge, so they tend to communicate very specific aspects, such as the notion that "the whites are strong, while blacks are weak". On the other hand, in the sections that describe the assassinations of both men, there is an interest in connecting their lives to the present and the fact that the struggles they were fighting for are still relevant and necessary.

Debora ARRUDA (Universidade Estadual do Ceará), Petrilson PINHEIRO (Universidade Estadual de Campinas)

O (novo) contrato midiático na plataforma Instagram: representação do imaginário de leitor sob escrutínio

Nesta pesquisa, discutimos a concepção de contrato midiático, a partir dos conceitos de representação discursiva e imaginário (Charaudeau, 2019), em textos platformizados no Instagram, mostrando como o leitor é moldado por essa plataforma. Para isso, analisamos o processo de semiotização (transformação e transação), a representação discursiva (identidade, relação e regulação), e os imaginários (referência e justificativa) De 120 *frames* multissemióticos retirados de *prints* de tela da plataforma Instagram.

Os *frames* selecionados foram divididos em seis grupos, cada um com vinte postagens sequenciais. Em seguida, os grupos foram separados em dois blocos – vinte postagens de três contas pessoais; e vinte postagens de três contas profissionais – e a cada postagem foi dada uma legenda temática. Os resultados mostram que estamos diante de um novo contrato comunicativo de leitura platformizada (Hissa, 2024) ambientado em um processo de semiotização, cujos parâmetros de identidade destinatário-receptor, de relação e de regulação, no que se refere à autoria e à responsividade, se alteram. O leitor dos textos na plataforma cria novas representações de mundo ao interagir com porções textuais fragmentadas, ordenadas e alinhadas à barra de rolagem de cada perfil criado em uma mídia digital hiper-individualizada. Esse novo contrato midiático aponta para tanto para novos imaginários de referência (gratuidade altruísta, revelação, denúncia) quanto para novos imaginários de justificativa de comportamentos (engajamento, transgressão, ocultamento, difamação, legitimidade).

As representações discursivas na leitura platformizada se dão por meio da fragmentação do discurso midiático saturado de informações, da constante ativação de novos referentes e do permanente estado de estimulação do leitor.

Letitia AULIT (UCLouvain), Anaïs Camille AUGE (UCLouvain);
Barbara DE COCK (UCLouvain); Coline RONDIAAT (UCLouvain)

Media representations of populism: a discursive analysis of causality and agentivity in Belgian French-speaking media

This paper analyses media representations of populism through a discursive analysis of causality and agentivity constructed in relation to the words *populism(s)* and *populist(s)*. Media discourse on populism has received considerable attention in research (see, e.g., Goyvaerts & De Cleen, 2020 regarding Belgium), highlighting the predominantly negative portrayal of this phenomenon in the media. However, existing research has mainly focused on collocation analysis and, to a lesser extent, metaphors.

In order to complement these approaches and reflect on the imaginaries conveyed by the media, this paper proposes to investigate what types of action are associated with *populism(s)* and *populist(s)* in articles produced by four Belgian French-speaking media (Le Soir, La DH, RTBF and Metro) in 2019, using a methodology developed in a large-scale interdisciplinary project. We first reflect on how each media contributes to constructing imaginaries of populism, relying on Shchinova *et al.* (2024) to identify the frequency of the term *populis**, and the main patterns of use. Building on this, we conduct an empirical case study on causality and agentivity by investigating which actions are performed with *populis** as subjects, and to what extent these actions convey different imaginaries of populism. Finally, we look into the evolution of these imaginaries by comparing the 2019 data with 2014 and 2024 data.

Denisa-Maria BÂLC (Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu)

(Re)shaping the Future: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Media Coverage on the Russian-Ukrainian War

The aim of this article is to analyze according to what criteria the image of woman is reflected in the news regarding the Russian-Ukrainian war in the Romanian mass media using content analysis, critical discourse analysis and imagology as research methods. The starting point of our research is the compilation of a representative corpus of 750 news related to the year 2022, from which we will analyse those containing keywords referring to the female gender in the title in order to highlight the approach used in the journalistic discourse to frame the image of women during military conflicts.

In our analysis we will consider three main directions: a representation of the image of the woman using the thematic classification and the concepts of *front line*, respectively *homefront*, a polarization of the image of the woman compared to the image of the man and a panorama of the way in which the two belligerent states: the Ukrainians and the Russians are reflected in the Romanian press from an ethnic and a gender outlook.

Carlos Edouardo BARBOSA (Universidade Federal de Pernambuco – UFPE), Evandra GRIGOLETTO

As formas do ser: uma análise da reconfiguração da imagem de si nos discursos de Bolsonaro

As figuras que ganham destaque nos meios sociais sempre tendem a polarizar opiniões, principalmente quando abordamos o campo político, assim, é nesse campo político que buscamos compreender melhor como se dá o funcionamento desse processo do imaginário acerca de uma figura que se polariza em completos extremos, de um lado temos um capitão conservador guiando o país, enquanto do outro temos um autoritário desejando a ditadura novamente. Melhor desenvolvendo este pensamento, abordamos a figura do ex-presidente Jair Bolsonaro, e como sua imagem opera em diferentes polos antagônicos no meio social. Para tanto, buscamos investigar como se dá a construção de sua imagem em seu discurso, partindo assim das formações imaginárias propostas por Pêcheux (1969) que evocam a colocação de “quem sou eu para que lhe fale assim?”, examinando como, em seu discurso, o ex-presidente retrata a si mesmo, buscando cristalizar sua imagem no meio social, compreendendo assim, a projeção das imagens dos sujeitos e do objeto do discurso em sua conjunção sócio histórica (ORLANDI, 2001). O que percebemos, inicialmente, é que o uso de mídias não tradicionais por um presidente, leia-se mídias sociais, utilizadas por Bolsonaro, operam em seu favor, criando uma imagem de acessível e de alguém próximo aos seus eleitores, sendo através desse movimento, no entrelace da ideologia e do imaginário que os sentidos e seus efeitos de evidência (GRIGOLETTO; SILVA SOBRINHO, 2018) acerca do democrático se transmutam e são ressignificados, normalizando a perversão que recobre um discurso, fere a democracia e se recobre de autoritarismo.

The polysemy of sustainabilities. Insights from the Social Studies of Economics

Under the conditions of technoscientific capitalism, imaginaries of sustainability are inextricably linked to and dependent upon ‘economic imaginaries’ (Jessop 2010). This is true not only of what is meant by ‘sustainability’, but also of the transformative pathways to more sustainable grounds. The specific characteristics of the relationship between economic and sustainable imaginaries are not fixed but rather subject to ongoing – and seemingly deepening – conflicts, as can be observed, for example, in the Green Growth vs. Degrowth debate.

In modern times, the academic discipline of economics has proven to be the most significant supplier of economic imaginaries. The emerging field of the Social Studies of Economics has developed a comprehensive understanding of the discipline’s general characteristics, including epistemic practices and rationales (Aistleitner, Kapeller, and Steinerberger 2019), its social structures (Lundberg and Stearns 2019), and its pivotal role in socio-political processes of economization (Maesse et al. 2021). Recently, the field has begun to assess the underlying imaginaries with which economics frames, shapes, limits and enables different projects for socio-ecological transformation (SET). One significant source of inspiration are attempts to stratify transformative policies and practices along conflicting economic paradigms (Wilgosh, Sorman, and Barcena 2022; Hausknost et al. 2017; Saitō 2024). The presentation will present an integrated meta-framework developed within this context and relate it to policies, everyday practices and institutional players aiming at ‘sustainability’.

Mobilisations antifranchaises et imaginaires politiques en Afrique francophone : une analyse des discours contestataires de Nathalie Yamb et d'Alain Foka

Les réseaux sociaux sont devenus des outils sociotechniques indispensables pour de nombreux mouvements sociaux, (Granjon 2017), renforçant leurs capacités de mobilisation et leur visibilité. En Afrique francophone, ils ont dynamisé les luttes dites "anti néocoloniales" et donné une plus grande visibilité à leurs acteurs, incarnés par des figures comme Nathalie Yamb et Alain Foka. Ces derniers s'illustrent depuis quelques années dans des mobilisations visant à dénoncer les inégalités et les déséquilibres qui émaillent les relations entre la France et ses anciennes colonies. Inspirées des traditions anticoloniales des années 1950-1960 (Frantz Fanon, Patrice Lumumba, Kwame Nkrumah) et de la philosophie anti-impérialiste de Thomas Sankara, ces dénonciations esquissent des visions alternatives d'une Afrique autonome et affranchie de la domination étrangère. Dans une approche pluridisciplinaire basée sur les théories du discours et de la communication, cette communication vise à mettre en évidence les imaginaires politiques que construisent les discours critiquant la politique française en Afrique. Elle mobilise les concepts d'imaginaire sociodiscursif (Charaudeau), de contre-discours (Angenot, Amossy), de performativité discursive (Kerbrat-Orecchioni) et de médiatisation des conflits sociaux (Ferron). L'étude s'inscrit dans une démarche qualitative et s'appuie sur un corpus de discours tenus par Nathalie Yamb (militante panafricaniste connue sous le pseudonyme de « la dame de Sotchi ») et Alain Foka (journaliste indépendant) sur YouTube. Ces discours feront l'objet d'une analyse énonciative pour mettre au jour les stratégies discursives et les postures de leurs locuteurs dans la création des imaginaires. Les dynamiques de leur circulation et de leur réception seront examinées à partir de l'ethnographie numérique.

Chiara BERTULESSI (University of Insubria, Como)

Envisioning the future on television: The discursive construction of sociotechnical imaginaries in Chinese documentaries

Science popularisation has long been a central component of the People's Republic of China (PRC) national strategy for scientific and technological development, serving both as an educational tool and a means of shaping public perception on these topics (Yin and Li 2020; Ren and Yin 2021). Its importance was also recently reaffirmed by the 2024 revision of the *Science and Technology Popularisation Law*, underscoring the state's commitment in this field.

This paper examines the role of Chinese state media in science popularisation, focusing on how it constructs and circulates discourses on the country's scientific, technological, and social development. Specifically, it analyses two docuseries, *Xiang xin chufa* 向新出发 (Heading towards the new) and *Zhongguo weilaishi* 中国未来时 (China flash forward), which aired on China Central Television (CCTV) in December 2024 and January 2025, respectively.

Drawing on the concept of sociotechnical imaginaries (Jasanoff and Kim 2009), this study situates these docuseries within the PRC leadership's broader strategy to promote science popularization while also considering them as media products that articulate and envision the country's innovation and developmental trajectory. Grounded in critical discourse studies, the analysis employs corpus- assisted and multimodal discourse analysis methods (Bednarek 2015; Ledin and Machin 2018; van Leeuwen 2018) to examine how these documentaries construct and circulate discourses on China's scientific, technological, and social transformation, articulating a specific vision of progress and a desirable future.

Adeliya BISSENBAYEVA (University of Navarra)

Manipulative and rhetorical strategies in Vladimir Putin's discourse: the case study Before and After the Crimean Annexation.

Russian Annexation of Crimea in February 2014 was widely criticised by the international community. As Vladimir Putin's discourse demonstrates, the event inevitably correlates with Ukraine's decision to apply for membership in the European Union (EU) (Rotaru, 2019). In 2014, due to the annexation, the relationship between the West and Russia rapidly deteriorated and the first sanctions against Russia were applied (Merezhko, 2015).

There hasn't been a study of Putin's manipulation techniques that legitimised his actions pre and post - annexation. Drawing on CDA (Critical discourse analysis), I would like to propose a study of a manually recovered corpus from 2012 to 2016, -in its original language-, to analyse the framing techniques and discursive manipulation that Putin used to legitimise his actions. I would especially emphasize the historical narrative that Putin uses to recreate the common past in the discourse of the present to legitimise his actions. Utilising van Dijk's analysis of manipulation and his triangulation method, I coded the most frequent techniques that the Russian president used in his speech (Van Dijk, 2006). Also, the contextual analysis was conducted to introduce the hearer to the case.

The study highlights, through examples, the technique of "Othering" directed at Ukraine and the collective West, particularly the USA, and examines how Russia has increasingly portrayed these agents negatively. It also provides insights into the framing strategies employed by Putin to reshape the audience's mental models, including the consistent use of specific methods to exploit events and the rhetorical techniques to legitimise Russia's actions while delegitimising those of others.

Martin BLESSINGER (Magdeburg-Stendal University of Applied Science)

Financial Imaginaries. The case of sustainable investing.

Imaginaries play an important role in modern economy and finance. Nevertheless, social studies of finance have just started to recognize their significance. Research exists about the importance of imaginaries for the investment process as projections of the future, which investors use to orient their actions (Beckert 2016) or about their role in the construction of financial crises (Komporezos-Athanasiou & Fotaki 2020). In addition, imaginaries can also be recognized as important for the way investors relate to themselves, how they see and produce themselves as ‘good’ investors – for the construction of the investor subject.

The proposed presentation picks up on that and provides insights from my SKAD-based PhD project on the model subject that can be found in German-language advisory literature on sustainable investing. I will discuss how these texts produce a subject position that calls on investors to act and produce themselves according to a particular model of (good) being. This model merges an imaginary of sustainability with certain questions of money use and responsibility into a specific form of an “ethical subject” (Michel Foucault): the responsible investor who, by investing money, participates in the production a better future.

Ewa BOGDANOWSKA-JAKUBOWSKA (University of Silesia in Katowice), Nika BOGDANOWSKA (University of Silesia in Katowice),

Right-wing populist imaginaries: A critical analysis of the “new” opposition discourse

The aim of the study is to analyze false imaginaries of the democratic coalition government and their actions created by the Law and Justice party. In 2023, after eight years in power, the Polish populist Law and Justice (PiS) party, and its coalition the United Right, lost the Polish parliamentary election. Not satisfied with the fact of becoming the opposition, they try to prevent the new government from restoring the rule of law and sabotage their attempts to ‘repair’ the country. Having broken constitutional order (e.g. freedom of the media and the independence of the legal system), they accuse the ruling coalition of the same breaches and the terror of the rule of law. The PiS discourse presents a distorted picture of the current political situation in Poland. The concept of political imaginaries employed here is based on the interpretation by Charles Taylor. He defines social imaginaries as “the way we imagine our society” (2002, p. 92); we imagine “how we stand to each other [...] how we relate to other groups” (2004, p. 25; see also Strauss, 2006). They are ideological constructs and conceptions of society created in accordance with political goals (Krzyżanowski, 2020; Zienkowski & Breeze, 2019). The theoretical framework of the analysis is the Discourse-Historical Approach, one of the main approaches to Critical Discourse Studies, developed by Ruth Wodak and her Vienna group. The data used in the study come from our corpus of Polish political discourse (e.g. political speeches, mass-media texts and visuals).

Waldemar BOJAKOWSKI (University of Wrocław)

Constructing the Future: Expert Discourse, Futures Thinking, and Market-Driven Governance

Expert communities - major consulting agencies, policy consultants, and brand consultants – play a crucial role in shaping the future through discourse. Positioned as key actors in futures thinking, these experts construct the future as a "future present," offering decision-makers guidance through "actionable insights" derived from selected "data points." Their authority is rooted not only in technical expertise but also in their ability to craft compelling narratives that render imagined futures tangible and inevitable.

This paper examines how expert discourse legitimizes its predictive power by analyzing linguistic resources, metaphors, and other discourse devices in reports, rankings, indices, and specialized magazines. Drawing on the Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse (SKAD), the author explores how these texts establish epistemic authority and shape perceptions of economic and social possibilities. Specifically, this study scrutinizes how consulting firms' discourse produces an impression of value through the strategic deployment of imagination, positioning their insights as indispensable for navigating capitalist futures.

By critically interrogating these discursive mechanisms, this study contributes to understanding how expert knowledge functions as a form of symbolic power, structuring how societies conceive and engage with the future. It sheds light on the political and ideological implications of expert-driven imaginaries, revealing how the future is not merely anticipated but actively constructed as a site of market-driven governance.

The Power of History: Mainstreaming and Pariahing of the Radical Right in EU Media's Coverage of the 2024 European Elections

Amid ongoing global disruptions in politics, the populist radical right (PRRP) is gaining popularity with voters across Europe. This research examines how history is used to 'mainstream' and 'pariah' of the radical right in the EU media's coverage of the June 2024 European elections. Emphasising the influence of historical narratives, the study draws on Bolongaro and De Cleen's (forthcoming) framework and integrates literature on the role of media in boundary maintenance between the acceptable and unacceptable within a democracy. The concept of imaginaries—shared visions of past, present, and future—plays a crucial role, as PRRPs often evoke specific historical contexts to legitimise their narratives. In turn, media outlets invoke historical events, particularly those linked to fascism or authoritarianism, to pariah these parties by framing them as threats to democratic values. This study also applies Daniel Hallin's (1986) model of media 'spheres'—'consensus,' 'legitimate controversy,' and 'deviance'—to explore how journalists categorise PRRPs, influencing public perception. Historical contexts shape the boundaries between these spheres, reinforcing distinctions between mainstream and marginal actors. The research analyses online news articles from Politico Europe, Euronews, and Euractiv. Findings suggest that while PRRPs are approaching the border between mainstream and pariah status, they remain largely framed as pariahs by media outlets. The corpus also indicates evidence of journalistic stance-taking, highlighting the tension between the rising radical right and the media's role as a protector of liberal democracy, with historical imaginaries playing a central role in shaping modern political discourse.

Sinem BOYRAZ (Université libre de Bruxelles & Université de Toulon)

Navigating online hate: how do users respond to hateful discourse?

In recent years, online hate speech has reached an unprecedented level, posing a serious threat to the deliberative quality of digital spaces and public discourse. This qualitative study, conducted in the context of my doctoral research, aims to explore the reception of hate speech on social networking sites (SNS) through in-depth interviews with individuals directly affected by such content. By applying the Hate Speech Model developed by Leets and Giles (1999) to the contemporary French digital context, the study seeks to examine how the model aligns with and must be adapted to current online dynamics. More specifically, the research investigates short- and long-term consequences, perceived motives behind hate speech, response strategies, and coping mechanisms. It draws on 21 qualitative interviews with victims, as well as two rounds of Delphi interviews with seven experts from diverse professional backgrounds. Particular emphasis is placed on comparing the subjective experiences of those impacted with the solutions perceived as effective by the selected expert interviews. In the context of the DiscourseNet Congress, I would therefore like to present the findings, particularly those related to how individuals respond to, and ideally should respond to, hate speech online.

Lina BRINK (Magdeburg-Stendal University of Applied Science),
Marlen Simone LÖFFLER (Magdeburg-Stendal University of
Applied Science)

Sex & crime imaginaries as micro-politics of knowledge. German debates about the regulation of prostitution

Sex work is repeatedly categorized as a field in which there is little reliable knowledge and the regulation of prostitution is therefore assumed to be particularly contested. Accordingly, knowledge policies that promote imaginaries of the reality of sex work play a decisive role in debates about its regulation.

The basis of the presentation proposed is a study in which documents (including draft laws, parliamentary debates, reports) and interviews with key actors in the regulation of prostitution in Germany were examined using SKAD, focussing on the ways in which knowledge about sex work is produced.

We summarize as 'imaginaries' those knowledge policies identified in the study, that appeal to the imagination of addressees and generate resonance by invoking inner images. Here, reference is made to certain situations, contexts or groups of people that are (presumably) outside the lifeworld of the addressees, but are visualized through various strategies. The knowledge policies move between the poles of concreteness and vagueness. In the context of the strategy of vagueness, it is precisely the reduction and restriction to allusions that stimulates the imagination of addressees. In the strategy of concreteness, on the other hand, the detailed design of images and the layering of different aspects tend to make demarcation and contradiction impossible.

The presentation concludes with a discussion of the extent to which the identified knowledge politics of the imaginary can be understood as specific to the sex work discourse or can be transferred to the investigation of other debates.

Nadège BROUSTAU (Université libre de Bruxelles), Florian
RODOT (Université libre de Bruxelles)

Alive and unknown: (mis)representations of victims and survivors of psychotrauma resulting from sexual and domestic violence in the French Belgian press

This presentation focuses on the representations and blind spots of psychotrauma in the coverage of sexual and domestic violence in the Belgian press between 2021 and 2025. Although the medical literature about psychotrauma has increased since the official definition of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and Secondary Traumatic Stress (STS) in psychiatry, especially following the Vietnam war (Freese, 2019 ; Damiani & Lebigot, 2015), social and media representations of this health issue are still blurred by reductive imaginaries. From misconceptions of traumatic situations like rapes or other life-threatening events to underestimation of their long-term psychological, physical and physiological consequences, victims and survivors have to deal with social invisibilities and misunderstandings that obstruct and undermine their path to healing (Josse, 2019; Roisin, 2015) and insight abilities (Jaafari & Marková, 2011). Stereotypes and lack of knowledge about psychotrauma in the public sphere also reinforce the altered image that non-specialists health professionals summon in their interpretive and diagnostic process (Kédia & Sabouraud-Séguin, 2020).

Using NVivo, our study is based on a mixed content analysis. The initial corpus consists of some 900 articles published in local and national French Belgian newspapers, from the “#BalanceTonBar” movement in 2021 until the aftermath of the Mazan rape trial in 2025. The results stress the predominant categories of meanings associated to trauma, the global short- term vision of traumatic events’ consequences, the detailed focus on aggressors contrasting with the portrayal of the victims, the tension between surprise and banality, and the obliterated symptoms and implications of psychotrauma in the media.

Natalia BRUFFAERTS (UCLouvain)

Aspects linguistiques et rhétoriques de la narration du trauma postcolonial : étude du cas d'*Allah n'est pas obligé* d'A. Kourouma

Transplantée sur le sol africain pour y être d'abord un outil de domination, la langue française fut subvertie et ensuite appropriée par ses nouveaux locuteurs et locutrices pour devenir capable de refléter un contexte socioculturel complètement différent. Dans les littératures postcoloniales, cette langue est devenue l'outil de narration du trauma postcolonial en mêlant la tradition orale et les techniques littéraires écrites. Cette analyse cherche à comprendre la manière dont le multilinguisme inhérent à la littérature postcoloniale nourrit un récit capable de transmettre l'expérience traumatique. L'étude est réalisée à partir du livre *Allah n'est pas obligé* (2000) de l'écrivain ivoirien Ahmadou Kourouma, dont le personnage principal est un orphelin contraint de devenir enfant soldat. Ses souffrances se laissent voir à travers les dérogations à la norme littéraire, qui produisent une narration composée de phrases abruptes ponctuées d'emprunts, de calques, de lexèmes relexifiés et de néologismes. La douleur et la rage s'y déchaînent à travers le grotesque et le sarcasme. L'usage des éléments lexicographiques en plusieurs langues dans un contexte inhabituel témoigne de l'éloignement du narrateur (« *ostranénie* ») par rapport à toutes les langues qu'il évoque. Le multilinguisme est également perçu au niveau de l'organisation textuelle à travers les mécanismes de cohésion et les dispositifs rhétoriques nourris par l'oralité. Ce n'est que cette langue orpheline, née d'un traumatisme, porteuse d'une rupture, mise au service d'une écriture et d'un imaginaire qui mêle récits oraux et écrits, qui permet au narrateur de dire l'indicible.

Laura CALABRESE (Université libre de Bruxelles)

Imaginaries of Totalitarianism in Everyday Discourse: How the Totalitarian Analogy Fuels Reactionary Narratives

Using Foucault's theory of discursive formations (Foucault 1968), we examine one of the central ideas underpinning contemporary reactionary discourse (Hirschman 1991): the notion that current Western societies are "totalitarian". This presentation addresses the trope of totalitarianism (Zizec 2007) as it emerges across various discursive formations in contemporary speech — antifeminism, anti-environmentalism, anti-vaccine rhetoric, as well as both left-wing and right-wing groups claiming a universalist legacy, such as the Yellow Vests movement.

The trope appears in various forms —denominations, copulative constructions, and nominal phrases— that enable effective reference ("féminazie", "khmers verts", "pass nazitaire", "le wokisme est liberticide", "la dictature en marche"). From a rhetorical perspective, it functions as an analogical argument, drawing a parallel between a contemporary situation and a historical event (Bourdon 2015). These analogies follow the structure "A is to B as C is to D," although they often leave the terms implicit, resulting in a degree of vagueness (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969).

We will begin by outlining and exemplifying the morphological and semantic patterns through which the trope manifests. Next, we will examine the social conditions and specific contexts in which the trope gained prominence, such as during the COVID-19 crisis and environmentalist demonstrations. Finally, we will analyze how the trope of totalitarianism helped normalize the belief that democratic societies are living under dictatorship, by investigating its role within reactionary discursive formations.

Still Here: Brazilian Democracy and Imaginaries of the 1964 coup d'état

Far from comprising a stable archive or a seamless reconstruction of bygone events, *imaginaries of the past* constitute an object of constant discursive struggle in politics and society. Particularly amid the current, widespread normalisation of politics of exclusion, a pernicious recontextualization of historical events and crises has (strategically) pre-legitimised ultraconservative plots (Krzyżanowski, 2019) and triggered “various formats of anti- and post- democratic action” (Krzyżanowski et al, 2023, p. 417). In this sense, this study aims to unpack the present endurance of imaginaries of the past by focusing on the case of Brazil, specifically exploring the contemporary salience of imaginaries of the 1964 *coup-d'état* that inaugurated a 20-year-long military dictatorship in the country. Despite its deadly toll, this authoritarian interim continues to trigger contention in Brazilian politics, as the New Republic has struggled to hold its perpetrators accountable while an ever growing far right has outright defended state crimes by the military. To assess contemporary disputes, this study analyses speeches by Brazilian presidents over the last 10 years (2015-2025) addressing anniversaries of the coup, while also exploring their coverage by the local legacy media. This investigation is informed by a discourse- historical approach to CDA, articulating assorted levels of critique and dimensions of analysis (e.g. Reisigl & Wodak, 2009). By doing so, this study proposes a reflection on the durability of imaginaries of authoritarianism in Brazilian politics and society, on their centrality in the current political debate and on their ramifications in the construction of possible futures for Brazilian democracy.

Paolo CASANI (University College London)

Contesting Technological Dominance: Unpacking the Ideology Behind Sociotechnical Imaginaries

This presentation critically examines the pervasive ideology of technology underpinning sociotechnical imaginaries. Technological advancements are frequently framed as inevitable and universally beneficial, a narrative that obscures their socio-political implications. Morozov's (2013) critique of technological solutionism highlights how this ideology detaches technological progress from its social contexts, presenting it as an apolitical force for good. Jasanoff's (2015) concept of sociotechnical imaginaries reveals these as collectively held visions of desirable futures, constructed and disseminated through discourse—language, symbols, and narratives. Resistance to these imaginaries arises when projected futures clash with individuals' lived realities. For instance, the rebellion against ULEZ cameras in the UK reflects how dominant imaginaries of surveillance and environmental responsibility are contested by communities who perceive these technologies as inequitable or intrusive.

Likewise, opposition to facial recognition technologies highlights anxieties around privacy and state overreach, demonstrating how sociotechnical imaginaries are shaped by competing discourses and broader societal tensions. Such examples underscore the emergence of alternative narratives when dominant technological visions conflict with everyday experiences. Sociotechnical imaginaries often reflect top-down visions promoted by dominant groups with vested interests. Organizations like the World Economic Forum propagate narratives aligning technological progress with collective good while sidelining dissenting perspectives. A critical digital humanities approach can interrogate how language and media encode power dynamics and ideological assumptions.

This presentation proposes a framework for democratizing sociotechnical futures, emphasizing participatory discourse practices that foreground equity and accountability. By connecting discourse theory with STS and critical digital humanities, it fosters greater scrutiny of the ideological underpinnings of technology-centered futures.

Reimagining Care: An Economic Imaginary towards democracy-as-becoming

This paper explores care as an ethical, political and organizational practice at the meso-level, engaging with economic imaginaries (Jessop, 2010) to discuss how care can be re-imagined as a foundation for democracy. While care is often discussed and framed in economized discourses, such as workforce shortages and market-driven caregiving, long-term care strategies—the feminist political economy has highlighted its (inter)relational, political, and transformative dimensions. This paper argues that care as an economic imaginary offers a way forward for democracy as a practical implication of critical feminist discourse-oriented debates. Care is inherently political, shaped by power, values, and economic structures (Mouffe, 2000;2005). As Joan Tronto (2024) argues, “care can serve both as a moral value and a foundation for the political success of a good society” (Parra Jounou & Tronto, 2024, p. 3). Discussing the imaginary of care align with democracy, drawing on radical democratic theory and Derrida’s notion of democracy as an iterative and dynamic process of becoming (Dick & Ziering Kofman, 2005).

This paper utilizes the cycles of care (Fisher & Tronto, 1990; Tronto, 2013; 2017) which proposes five stages—caring-about, taking care of, care-giving, care-receiving, and caring-with—as a framework for embedding ethical and political dimensions for democracy-as-becoming. Positioning care as ethical and political, this framework highlights the interrelatedness of people and community, offering an economic imaginary for organizing care for democracy. This paper invites discussion on how economic imaginaries shape care and how care, in turn, can transform socio-economic structures. It expands debates on democratic transformation by positioning care as an economic and political force beyond marketization for “re(embedded) the economy in society and nature” (Adaman et.al. 2003).

Clarisse CHARLIER (Université de Liège)

Éric Zemmour et l'imaginaire discursif du « Grand Remplacement » : analyse des meetings électoraux des présidentielles de 2022

Lors de la campagne présidentielle française de 2022, Éric Zemmour, journaliste et polémiste connu pour ses sorties remarquées sur l'immigration, les femmes ou l'insécurité, aura surpris plus d'un citoyen en annonçant sa candidature officielle. Investi sous l'étiquette de son parti *Reconquête!*, la rhétorique extrémiste et « événementialiste » (Geopfert, 2017) d'Éric Zemmour séduit, répugne voire intrigue en raison de sa rupture avec les propositions politiques inscrites jusque-là dans le paysage politique français.

Fervent défenseur de la théorie du « Grand Remplacement » postulant la menace d'un basculement civilisationnel lié à la substitution de la population française par des populations étrangères fondamentalement incompatibles avec les valeurs nationales (Camus, 2015), la rhétorique d'Éric Zemmour aura contribué au basculement des logiques de pouvoir initiales des élections présidentielles en 2022 (Llorca, 2022). Au cœur de la rhétorique du « Z » dialogue un panel d'imaginaires dichotomiques, tantôt passéistes et idéalisés, tantôt contemporains et catastrophistes (Alduy, 2022) contribuant à consolider l'ancrage réel du « Grand Remplacement » dans les représentations des électeurs.

Présentée sous la forme d'une analyse du discours (Maingueneau, 2017), cette communication s'attachera à déterminer les stratégies rhétoriques employée par le candidat, mais aussi à examiner la manière dont les mécanismes rhétoriques développés par Éric Zemmour alimentent les imaginaires ayant trait au « Grand Remplacement ». Par le biais de lectures rapprochées, une mise en rapport sera également effectuée avec les meetings des trois autres premier-es candidat-es des élections présidentielles de 2022 afin de comprendre en quoi les imaginaires investis par Éric Zemmour et la construction rhétorique de ces derniers occupent une fonction stratégique par rapport aux positionnements de ses adversaires.

Yu-Shen CHENG (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid)

Constructing ‘The People’: A Diachronic Analysis of Social Actor Representations in Taiwanese Presidential Discourse (1949–2023)

The definition of populism has long been debated for the varying historical contexts of its usage (Fuentes, 2020). While it is commonly accepted that the core notion lies in the dichotomy between the people and the elite (Mudde, 2004), LaClau (2005) proposes the concept of empty signifiers which allows a more flexible articulation of ‘the people’ with different social groups. Empty signifiers of ‘the people’.

Therefore, this research considers populism as a discursive strategy to construct the collective identity, or the imaginaries of the people, which is further elaborated by De Cleen (2019). To explore how the people are constructed differently over time and in varying political context, this study analyses Taiwanese presidential addresses (1949–2023) to examine diachronic changes of representations of the people during the democratisation.

As the language of the corpus is in Traditional Mandarin, which does not limit the sentence to a single S.V.O. structure, Universal Dependencies (UD), a cross-linguistic framework for morphosyntactic annotation (De Marneffe et al., 2021), will be implemented as a general scanning to extract dependency relations. The corpus then will be annotated based on a modified Social Actor Network (van Leeuwen, 2003) to investigate the signifiers used to refer to the people.

The integration of two layers of annotations offers a detailed analysis of how the social actors are used to define the people in the discourse diachronically and how these social actors are hierarchically organized in the sentences, revealing how language both reflects and constructs social realities (Hart, 2014:33). With the integration of syntactic and discourse analysis, this study offers insights into the role of language in constructing national identities.

Fabrizio DEFILIPPI (Université Paris Nanterre), Lucile DESMOULINS (Université Gustave Eiffel - DICEN-Idf)

Business think tanks acting as publishers : indirect corporate political activism to portray corporations as citizens (English)

Définis comme des organisations qui entendent participer à l'amélioration des politiques publiques grâce à la diversification des sources d'information, d'analyse, d'idées et de prospective des décideurs politiques et des citoyens, les think tanks peuvent recouvrir des formes organisationnelles variées. Dans une perspective cognitive, leur raison d'être est donc de peser sur les mentalités, les agendas politiques, les politiques publiques, et *a fortiori* sur les futurs possibles. Les discours de légitimation des think tanks insistent le plus souvent de manière concomitante sur des considérations gestionnaires et idéologiques (intérêt général, grandes causes et valeurs). Les think tanks valorisent leur raison d'être à travers des discours inscrits dans leur communication institutionnelle. Ils produiraient analyses, idées et préconisations à partir de méthodes rigoureuses, dans un effort d'objectivité, sur des sujets pertinents au sens d'essentiels.

Dans le contexte des crises de l'Anthropocène, les think tanks participent à la « bataille des imaginaires » pour la définition des trajectoires sociotechniques du futur proche, notamment en produisant des recommandations sur le développement de nouvelles technologies puissantes, la lutte contre le "retardisme", la numérisation de la société et la régulation de l'Intelligence artificielle. On va se concentrer sur un sujet au croisement de deux problématiques : l'anthropocène et l'intelligence artificielle à travers les notions de puissance et de responsabilité numérique qui sont au cœur d'une importante production textuelle (rapports, notes de synthèse, articles de blog). Les discours récents des think tankers français (2020-2025) constituent des terrains privilégiés d'études de l'émergence d'un discours épideictique incantatoire sur une IA à la fois puissante et responsable, entre frugalité et accélération.

La production et la reproduction du discours de haine par les nouveaux médias en Turquie : le cas de Ekşi Sözlük (réseau social en ligne turc) en tant que générateur de discours de haine contre les identités minoritaires

Le discours de haine en tant que préliminaire du crime de haine -même si le terme et son contenu sont équivoques toujours- est une réalité sociale de plus en plus délicate aujourd'hui, surtout dans les pays autoritaires comme la Turquie. Notre communication visant à expliciter les processus de production et de re-production de la haine, de la discrimination ou de l'exclusion sociale, dans et par le langage et le discours, essaiera de constater le rôle des nouveaux médias ainsi que des réseaux sociaux, dans ces processus-ci. Nous envisageons de révéler le discours de haine produit par les nouveaux médias, en étudiant le cas de Ekşi Sözlük, ce qui est un réseau social en ligne turc, un dictionnaire communautaire où les membres donnent leurs avis et définitions sur différents sujets. Le site, qui a été fondé en 1999, continue d'être l'un des dix sites web plus visités en Turquie, ce qui ne montre pas seulement sa popularité mais aussi son pouvoir de produire l'opinion publique. En analysant les discours haineux surtout contre les identités minoritaires, produits dans et par Ekşi Sözlük, nous essayerons de comprendre et expliquer le processus de consolidation de l'autoritarisme et le fascisme de chaque jour, ainsi que le « pouvoir des mots » comme dans le titre du livre de J. Butler. En passant par la théorie des actes de langage de J. L. Austin et l'interprétation faite dessus par J. Butler, et en nous profitant des approches critiques d'analyse du discours, nous visons d'explicitier la haine ancrée dans le discours et la langue, pour bien voir et montrer que 'dire c'est agir'.

Leaving the pandemic: a critical discourse analysis of the construction of futures in governmental discourse during the COVID-19 crisis

The COVID-19 crisis is remembered as a “historically distinguishable *era*” (Lundström, 2022: 6), during which the temporality of social activities underwent significant disruption. From the closure of stores to the imposition of curfews, the pandemic reshaped how temporality is constructed in political discourse. The crisis context necessitated a focus on immediacy and urgency while simultaneously constructing visions of the future through hypotheses and promises aimed to be fulfilled. Imaginaries of the future thus articulate expectations, anticipations and plans (Canto-Mila & Seebach, 2024). This study examines how the futures of the crisis and the post-crisis are constructed in governmental discourse during the pandemic.

Grounded in Critical Discourse Studies, (more particularly in the Discourse-Historical Approach (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016)) the research analyzes a corpus of 28 press conferences, delivered between 2020 and 2022. These press conferences constitute the official governmental communication on COVID-19 measures. The findings reveal an evolution in how futures are articulated. At the onset of the crisis, futures are framed as actionable goals through specific or general objectives and conditional scenarios designed to avert undesirable outcomes. Over time, the future transitions into a horizon of projection, encompassing potential post-crisis outcomes and aspirations for “better tomorrows”. However, as the public health situation remains unpredictable, the future becomes increasingly ambiguous, with no assurances, thereby influencing perspectives on (in)action (Mische, 2009). Ultimately, this analysis sheds light on how political discourse navigates the (un)certainties of the crisis, offering insights into the evolving imaginaries of the future during crises.

Le répertoire militant écologique ambigu de l'écriture sur Wikipédia pour influencer les imaginaires d'une planète habitable au futur

Les notices Wikipédia participent largement à l'information des publics et partant, au forgeage des référentiels qui guident l'action politique. Elles racontent des événements et fabriquent des identités autant qu'elles diffusent des acceptions de concepts aux dépens d'autres acceptions susceptibles de véhiculer d'autres conceptions du monde, d'autres conceptions du bien commun, d'un avenir désirable. Rares sont les visiteurs des notices de Wikipédia capables de juger de la qualité des définitions en les comparant à d'autres. Encore plus rares sont ceux qui prennent le temps d'explorer les profondeurs de Wikipédia, les versions diachroniques des définitions et leurs versions dans plusieurs langues, les points de tension manifestés par des ajouts et annulations successives, les pages de discussion et pages personnelles des auteurs. Peu importe l'activité dans le cadre de laquelle chacun s'inscrit, de rares personnes sont capables de se questionner sur la qualité et l'auctorialité complexe et singulière des notices consultées et prennent le temps de le faire et vont jusqu'à essayer de deviner entre les lignes des stratégies d'influence de militants écologiques.

Conjuguant les approches cognitives des politiques publiques et communicationnelles, cette proposition étudie la participation d'organisations militantes pratiquant le plaidoyer et de militants à la fabrique de notices Wikipédia en français. Elle se focalise sur une série de notices emblématiques par les polémiques qu'elles ont suscitées, qu'elles décrivent des ONGs de plaidoyer ou qu'elles aient été investies par elles de manière assumée ou non ainsi que par des sympathisants à leur cause. L'enquête netnographique se double d'entretiens semi directifs avec des contributeurs « engagés » désireux de peser sur les représentations du monde.

Think tanks patronaux et imaginaires d'une entreprise citoyenne

De longs rapports et livres publiés par des organisations qui revendiquent l'appellation de think tank plaident pour un ré-enchantement du rôle des entreprises dans la vie politique et sociale. Proches des lobbies, des ONGs pratiquant le plaidoyer, des clubs et des groupes politiques, ces think tanks patronaux sont constitués en association ou en fondation dont les membres sont des grands patrons, des hauts managers et des managers intermédiaires. Leurs discours institutionnels décrivent leur « raison d'être » comme étant de dynamiser « le marché des idées ». Ils prétendent à une certaine rigueur, mais affichent leurs préférences politiques. Les discours de légitimation insistent sur des considérations gestionnaires : améliorer ou optimiser l'allocation de ressources limitées. À l'international, ils entendent défendre et illustrer le caractère vertueux de la diplomatie *corporate*. L'argumentation de ces rapports et livres mobilise à la fois des actions relevant de la « responsabilité sociale et environnementale » des entreprises et, de manière plus inattendue, des actions de lobbying « citoyen », « durable », « responsable », de « lobbying autrement » ou de « good lobbying ». Elle insiste enfin sur les liens de symbiose reliant les entreprises aux territoires d'implantation de leurs outils de production, de leurs lieux de stockage, transit, vente, etc.

Les figures rhétoriques convoquées (écriture collective, polyphonie, marqueurs d'une forme d'auctorialité scientifique, éditorialisation littéraire, concession, énumération) doivent renforcer la promesse d'une capacité d'autorégulation des entreprises et de leur bienfaisance dans la vie publique et politique, notamment à travers le développement des salariés.

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Marcin DEUTSCHMANN ("Lucian Blaga" University of Sibiu)

Constructing the Turning Point: Media Discourses and the Reconfiguration of Social Imaginaries at the Munich Conference

This presentation aims to show how the Munich Conference 2025 is constructed in the media discourse as a pivotal moment in contemporary politics, and how this construction contributes to the reconfiguration of social imaginaries of the past, present, and future societies. Drawing on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and the theory of social imaginary this study examines what role language, ideology and narrative play in framing the conference as a transformative event within the broader landscape of (inter)national (dis)orders.

The texts collected from various media outlets were examined using qualitative methods. The sample includes paired outlets representing usually contrasted liberal and conservative perspectives from the United Kingdom (The Guardian Online vs. The Telegraph Online), and Poland (Gazeta Wyborcza Online vs. Rzeczpospolita Online). The study focuses on the linguistic markers, narrative frames, and rhetorical strategies employed in the media reports about the conference, highlighting how these discursive features mobilize collective memory and shape future-oriented imaginaries.

Findings reveal that media representations of the Munich Conference do not merely report events but actively participate in the construction of new socio-political realities. By mapping the discursive shifts across different ideological and cultural contexts, this paper contributes to understanding of how critical moments in international relations are both reflected in and drive changes in public imaginaries, with implications for media literacy and democratic discourse.

Ludic Freedoms and Constraints: Far-Right Metapolitics, Subjectivity and Discourse about Fictional Games

Positioning far-right influencers as digital metapolitical agents (Maly, 2023) this article examines how the unique context and structure of fictional gaming content facilitates, shapes, and constrains far-right discourse and subject formation. Unlike other interest-based metapolitical content—such as film reviews and cultural critiques—gaming content allows influencers to both perform identities within ludic spaces in ‘Let’s Play’ videos and engage with their audience’s shared experience of embodiment in video game critique. Influencers link gameplay to far-right narratives about masculinity, cultural ownership, nationhood, and historical revisionism, drawing on gamer grievances (Bezio, 2018; Braithwaite, 2016) and utilizing games’ ‘narrative architecture’ (Jenkins, 2004) to build far-right cultural imaginaries (Forchtner & Kølvrå, 2024).

The analysis demonstrates how the interaction of doing and talking within or about a fictional, ludo-narrative environment uniquely structures far-right discourse. While there is an ‘appropriation-reinterpretation’ dynamic akin to other forms of cultural criticism (Forchtner & Kølvrå, 2024), gaming content introduces a more complex interplay of freedom and constraint within the ludic space, which generates specific ideological antagonisms. When games align with far-right imaginaries, influencers can perform idealized subjectivities. When ludic structures disrupt these fantasies, commentary becomes more explicitly ideological, constructing antagonisms in which game developers and media elites are threats to idealized cultural imaginaries and the sanctity of gaming culture. These discourses interpellate influencers and audiences into shared subject positions—aggrieved men, gamers, or heroic truth-guardians – echoing Finlayson’s (2022) and Finlayson and Topinka’s (2024) insights into the rhetorical style and participatory nature of ideological entrepreneurship.

Pauline DUPRET (UCLouvain)

Les imaginaires du féminisme, entre mainstreamisation, récupération politique et pinkwashing.

Si la large diffusion de l'imaginaire féministe peut être vue comme un signe de réussite politique de cette formation discursive, elle génère également un fréquent sentiment de *désappropriation* dans les espaces contestataires dont elle est issue. Certaines de ces recontextualisations discursives vont être qualifiées de "récupération politique" ou de "pinkwashing". Dans cette communication, nous nous interrogeons sur ce phénomène de diffusion depuis sa dimension socio-discursive : y a-t-il des traits discursifs spécifiques de la récupération politique et du washing ? Pour répondre, nous proposons un modèle exploratoire. Nous identifions différents types de reconfiguration des discours contestataires, selon leur portée politique (ou leur perte/modification de portée politique). En effet, la circulation des discours féministes (c'est-à-dire leurs multiples recontextualisations) entraîne une augmentation de leur intelligibilité, de leur légitimité, et donc de leur *désirabilité*, alimentant à leur tour leur diffusion.

Cette augmentation de la "désirabilité" du féminisme peut donner lieu à :

- des *atténuations de sa conflictualité* allant jusqu'à (1) une **mainstreamisation** (neutralisation de la charge politique) du discours ; et/ou à un phénomène subséquent de (2) **washing** (instrumentalisation de la désirabilité du discours à des fins a-critiques, voire à des fins opposées);
- des *déplacements du nœud de la conflictualité*, par lequel le discours féministe est mis au service d'autres conflits, phénomène que nous qualifions de (3) **récupération politique**.

Nous dégagerons des caractéristiques discursives spécifiques propres à chacun de ces phénomènes, pour comprendre comment ils contribuent à redessiner l'imaginaire politique du féminisme et, plus largement, aux phénomènes d'émoussement de la portée politique de discours contestataires.

Esther DURIN (Institut des hautes études des communications sociales (IHECS))

L'actualisation de l'imaginaire post-fasciste dans la campagne des élections européennes de 2024 en France.

Le concept de post-fascisme connaît une inflation certaine dans les espaces médiatiques et scientifiques, avec un souci récurrent de catégorisation des partis et personnalités qui l'incarneraient. L'entreprise de définition du concept est dans ce cadre contrariée par l'hétérogénéité de ces acteurs. Plus encore, elle fait obstacle à l'appréhension du post-fascisme comme formation socio-historique sous-jacente.

Dans cette perspective, nous proposons de mobiliser la notion d'« imaginaire » pour analyser le post-fascisme dans sa fonction productrice du social. Le préfixe post-indique à la fois des continuités et des ruptures avec le fascisme historique, soulignant la plasticité de ces récits dans des contextes politiques contemporains. L'imaginaire post-fasciste s'actualise dans les relations socio-discursives, en relation dialectique avec d'autres imaginaires, notamment ceux du néo-libéralisme. Le modèle hégémonique et agonistique développé par Ernesto Laclau et Chantal Mouffe nourrit utilement cette approche du concept d'imaginaire et son analyse.

D'un point de vue méthodologique, nous croiserons l'approche praxématique (Robert Lafont) et la théorie du point de vue (Alain Rabatel) afin d'analyser l'actualisation discursive de l'imaginaire post-fasciste dans les discours politiques et leurs reprises médiatiques pendant la campagne des élections européennes de 2024. Les éléments thématiques articulés dans la formation discursive post-fasciste émergent par figements de la dialectique du même et de l'autre, dont nous analyserons les traces textuelles, notamment dans le système énonciatif et les points de vue représentés. L'étude des usages des temps grammaticaux nous permettra également d'appréhender le régime d'historicité dans lequel s'inscrivent les discours analysés.

Irina DUSHAKOVA (State University for the Humanities),
Natalia DUSHAKOVA (State University for the
Humanities)

Navigating through ‘new technologies’: how a religious leader connects past and future through innovations

Based on the approach of social shaping of technologies (Campbell 2010) that brings back the social into the intensive process of digitalization, the talk will be devoted to the way the head of the Russian Orthodox Old-Rite Church, Metropolitan Cornelius makes sense (frames) of “new technologies” since his enthronement in 2007. While a religious leader has a role of navigating religious communities in times of uncertainty (Campbell, Teusner 2011), research-wise this type of data allows scholars to reflect on the role of public statements compared to other genres (as understood by Wodak 2007) in creating imaginaries (Taylor 2003; Calhoun et. al. 2015). Data corpus consists of the messages in the Russian media and the ones published on the official website of the ROOC. Data was collected both manually and using one of the most complete and constantly updated media databases “Medialogia”. The authors analyze the corpus based on the four-part frame model proposed by R. Entman.

The study shows that Metropolitan Cornelius frames a number of significant technologies as neutral (for example, communication and information technologies), shifting the emphasis to the motivation and consequences of their use, while leaving others invisible. Negative framing in most cases refers not to the technologies themselves, but to other phenomena or events (for example, globalization), into which technologies are inscribed as constituent elements. In contrast to the “new” ones, “advanced technologies” are framed by the religious leader as part of the history and culture of the Old Believers.

Eleonora ESPOSITO (Universidad de Navarra), Silvia SEMENZIN

Women's Activism Online in Italy Claiming Spaces, Navigating Misogyny, Reimagining Feminisms

This study examines technology-facilitated gender-based violence (TFGBV) targeting feminist influencers, or “influactivists,” on Instagram in Italy. Through a feminist ethnographic approach, semi-structured interviews with four prominent feminist influactivists reveal how digital platforms both empower activism and expose women to misogynistic abuse, harassment, and coordinated attacks from manosphere communities, media personalities, and mainstream influencers. This is further enhanced by an in-depth Social Media Critical Discourse Studies (SM-CDS) analysis of hostile and violent comments and interactions. TFGBV manifests through verbal abuse, mass-reporting, and hyper-sexualized harassment, aiming to silence feminist voices and reinforce societal resistance to gender equality.

The study highlights the profound impact of this violence on activists’ mental health, digital engagement, and self-expression, often leading to self-censorship. While influactivists adopt strategies of resilience—such as digital self-protection, community building, and content moderation—they receive little institutional support from social media platforms. The research also explores internal tensions within feminist digital activism, where neoliberal pressures and cultures of perfectionism shape visibility and scrutiny. Ultimately, this paper highlights the paradox of digital feminism: while online activism fosters feminist discourse, it also reinforces gendered vulnerabilities. Addressing these challenges requires stronger solidarity networks and systemic interventions to combat online misogyny and sustain feminist political participation.

The Imaginary behind the content generated by IA influencers as a mirror of contemporary society

Influencers are a major social phenomenon in contemporary world, especially for the impact they have in marketing. The content they publish reflects their opulent lifestyle, but generally show no awareness of their privilege: they are mainly focused on the link between happiness and material wealth. Nowadays this imaginary is also present in the content generated by IA influencers, such as AITANA and Lil Miquela. Our contribution aims to explore the way these IA generated influencers have been designed to enter the social media discourses (especially on Instagram) and to interact with the followers.

Adopting a multimodal approach and a qualitative methodology, we have been specifically looking into : 1. The type of image (the setting, the theme associated to wealth) 2. The type of caption (use of the first person pronoun, expression of feeling and personal opinions, thematic link with the elements in the picture) 3. The type of comments and interactions of the followers (are they displaying the same verbal behaviours adopted when they talk to human influencers ?)

Our first results show that images, captions and their interactions mimic the settings and the themes of human influencers (there is a focus on several marketing categories: fashion, fitness, journey, food and beverage) and integrate elements of the real world, such as products of specific trademarks. Followers tend to interact with the IA generated content as if they were human beings: a high rate of positive evaluative adjectives has been observed. Finally, the feeling of interacting with a real person is strengthened by the recurrent use of the first person and of emojis in the captions. Thus, the IA generated content reproduces the features of human influencers' discourses and integrate them into the same imaginary they have created, to make up a plausible character.

Thomas FRANCK (Université de Liège)

Energy Transition: A Contemporary Mythological Discourse. The Francophone Media Discourse (2022-2025): From Macro to Micro Analysis

As part of my postdoctoral research, I am investigating the mythologies surrounding the concept of "energy transition" (see Atkins 2023; Fressoz 2024; Nipper 2024; Magalhães 2024). My methodological framework is grounded in French discourse analysis, with a particular focus on enunciative theories (Rabatal 2020), the study of formulas (Krieg-Planque 2009), and social discourse analysis (Angenot 2014). The objective is to identify recurring topoi, phraseologies and argumentative structures in Francophone media discourse, particularly in the national press, while also extending this analysis to other genres that contribute to broader social discourse (see Anquetil and Duteil 2024). My previous research has examined formulas associated with colors, neologisms such as "Capitalocene" and "Anthropocene" and the discursive chains linking "renewable energies" with nuclear power. For this conference, my aim is to outline the major trends in contemporary social discourse (2022–2025), spanning the period from the aftermath of the COVID-19 pandemic and the onset of the war in Ukraine to the present. In addition to this macro-level analysis of Francophone social discourse, I will conduct a more micro-discursive study of a specific political discourse: the administrative discourse of the City of Liège (Belgium). Examining how this administration manages urban spaces through the lens of energy transition will provide insight into how governing bodies communicate their strategies for managing space, resources, and transportation.

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Karol FRAN CZAK (University of Lodz)

Discourses of Fear in the Debate on the War in Ukraine: A Polish-German Comparison

The paper aims to analyze the differences in the portrayal of the war in Ukraine in Polish and German public discourse and to examine their impact on relations between the two countries. The key research questions address the fundamental differences in war imagery in the media of both countries, the intensification of these discourses during different periods, and the role of “discourses of fear” in shaping public opinion. The paper also explores what characteristics these discourses of fear have in the context of the war in Ukraine and what significance they hold for contemporary Polish and German public debate.

According to the perspective of social constructionism, widely used in studies of Polish and German public discourse, the term “fear” is understood here as a discursive means of shaping the image of reality rather than as an emotional state experienced by individuals. In other words, the paper focuses on the state of public debate in Poland and Germany, not on the psychological state of Polish and German societies. The paper will focus on how the media name, define, amplify, or downplay threats to the future of Poland and Germany that are defined as related to the war in Ukraine.

The primary methodological framework is framing analysis—a perspective focused on examining interpretive schemes that serve to define important social issues, including crisis situations such as war. Such situations go beyond everyday routines and, in the public eye, require explanation. The empirical research involves a corpus of press materials, radio broadcasts, podcasts, and social media commentary collected between 2022 and 2025.

Shan GAO (Université de Marie et Louis Pasteur)

« Tiktok Réfugiée » sur Rednote : imaginaires confrontés, vérifiés et reconstruits ?

Début 2025, face à l'interdiction imminente de TikTok¹ aux États-Unis prévue pour le 20 janvier, les utilisateurs américains ont pris l'initiative de migrer vers 小红书 (xiǎo hóng shū ou Rednote), une plateforme chinoise combinant textes, images et vidéos, comparable à Instagram. Contrairement à TikTok qui opère avec deux versions distinctes. Rednote n'existe qu'en version unique, originellement conçue pour le marché chinois. Cette configuration a facilité l'inscription d'utilisateurs étrangers, les immergeant dans un environnement numérique aux pratiques et usages essentiellement chinois. Ces internautes américains, se définissant eux-mêmes comme "TikTok réfugiés" (TikTok refugees), ont créé une situation sans précédent dans le paysage des réseaux sociaux numériques (Cardon 2011 ; Ellison et Boyd 2013).

Dans cet écosystème spécifique, diverses formes d'échanges interculturels ont émergé entre utilisateurs chinois et américains. Notre recherche se concentre sur un phénomène particulier : le « 赛博对账 » (Sài bó duì zhàng). Il s'agit d'échanges directs entre ces internautes visant à confronter et vérifier leurs représentations mutuelles influencées par les médias, les discours publics et d'autres sources d'information de leurs pays respectifs, un phénomène révélateur des imaginaires sociopolitiques.

Notre étude s'appuie sur un corpus de posts collectés sur Rednote durant la semaine du 12 janvier 2025, période d'intensification de ce phénomène suite aux tensions géopolitiques concernant TikTok. À travers une analyse de discours numérique avec une approche écologique (Longhi 2020 ; Paveau 2012 , 2017), nous envisageons à examiner les imaginaires qui s'articulent et se confrontent sur la plateforme Rednote. Nous émettons l'hypothèse selon laquelle les interactions transculturelles médiatisées par cet environnement sociotechnique contribuent à reconfigurer les échanges d'imaginaires, facilitant potentiellement l'émergence de représentations collectives hybrides issues de ces dynamiques interactionnelles. Notre analyse vise contribuer à une meilleure compréhension des processus discursifs qui façonnent nos perceptions mutuelles et nos imaginaires sociopolitiques dans un contexte mondial en mutation.

Sara GARCÍA SANTAMARÍA (Universitat de València), Paolo COSSARINI (Universidad Europea de Madrid)

Witch Imaginaries and Sexual Assault: The Far-Right and Male Victimization at the Women's Soccer World Cup

"I am not going to resign" ("No voy a dimitir" , in Spanish), repeated Luís Rubiales, former President of the Royal Spanish Football Federation (RFEF), in his first public speech. Rubiales had forced a kiss into player Jenni Hermoso during the medal ceremony following Spain's victory at the 2023 Women's Soccer World Cup. The kiss was televised and watched live by 10 million viewers worldwide. The 'evidence' was quickly digitized and the footage was immediately uploaded to X, reaching nearly a million views until FIFA deleted it for violating broadcasting rights. Some judged the kiss as shameful and inappropriate, while others saw sexual assault. Irene Montero, then Minister of Equality, was one of the first politicians to react to the kiss on social media: "It is a form of sexual violence that women suffer daily, which has been invisible so far and which we have normalized" (The Associated Press, 2023).

After an unconvincing apology, Rubiales stated that the kiss was consensual and declared himself a victim of 'social assassination' perpetuated by 'false feminists' who were carrying out a 'witch hunt' against his persona. Following Rubiales' statement, this paper analyzes how Spanish conservative newspapers mobilized the archetype of the witch in their coverage. The data has been analyzed through a reflexive thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2018). The articulation of witch imaginaries was achieved through a thematic articulation of women as (1) liars, (2) killjoys (Ahmed, 2023) and Cultural Marxists. These witch imaginaries served as a way of advancing far-right gender wars (Dickel and Evolvi, 2023), portraying men as victims of dangerous women, in their dual role of deceitful witches and wicked witch hunters.

Mary Lynne GASAWAY HILL (FRSA St. Mary's University)

Speech Acts of the Imaginary: Truth, Post-Truth, and Memory

This paper explores the complex dynamics of truth and post-truth in contemporary discourse by excavating a discursive keystone of the social imaginary: the speech act. Across the shifting landscape of public conversation, speech acts facilitate the production of both facts and “alternative facts,” which in turn germinate in ideological echo chambers that amplify truth and post-truth through social media.

To navigate the challenges of skepticism, manipulation, and polarization for meaningful dialog, I operationalize Austin's Speech Act Theory (SAT) as a lens to focus on the fundamentals of the speech act, to wrestle with how it can be honored or manipulated at the micro-level and then reproduced at scale to generate truth and post-truth dynamics. Examples to be analyzed include Donald Trump's social media posts regarding January 6.

The social imaginary depends on stable discourse routines, grounded in collective memory, that reflect honest intention and result in expected consequences. However, in the era of post-truth, actors distort and exploit such routines to shape popular opinion by appeals to emotion and personal belief rather than by objective facts or reason. Such distortion and exploitation jeopardize not only the collective memory that undergirds our rule of law, feeds our understanding of history and seeds our conversations, but also the production of future memory. SAT provides a framework to explore this dynamic by prompting analysis of the actual performance of speech acts, themselves, the choices and intentions behind them, and their subsequent effects.

Paola GIORGIS, Ivanka MAVRODIEVA, Olena SEMENETS (Taurida 'V. I. Vernadskiy' National University), Bilyana TODOROVA (South-West University "Neofit Rilski")

Re-designing an imaginary past to construe imaginaries for the present – and the future A cross- cultural perspective

“Who controls the past controls the future; who controls the present controls the past” (George Orwell, 1984)

The re-writing of historical past as a rhetorically manipulative strategy to fit contemporary ideological and political agendas has been a constant in the history of humanity since the earliest times. Closer to our centuries, from the imagined Teutonic destiny incarnated by the Führer (Klemperer LTI, pp. 244-245), to the erasure of the past – where the erasure is forgotten, and the lie becomes truth (Orwell, 1984, p.77) – many have been the literary works and the studies that have shown the discursive construction of social and political imaginaries (e.g., Charteris-Black 2011; Wodak 2015; Krzyzanowski 2020) based on a reconstructed and tailored past (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983).

In our contribution we will present instances from three different countries (Bulgaria, Italy, Ukraine) to discuss and problematise (idyllic and/or imagined) constructed imaginaries of the past as presented in public and political discourse. We will analyse how they steer and shape contemporary social identities and subjectivities with specific imaginary significations that evoke sentiments of fear or nostalgia, or trigger divisive attitudes and hostile reactions.

We will discuss these issues presenting some entries (e.g., nostalgia, tradition, sacrality, political trolls) from the transcultural public space of the In Other Words (IOW) dictionary, an online free resource that problematises words that in different contexts and countries (re)produce different forms of Otherness. By presenting the entries we will consider the rhetorical strategies mobilised to construe specific imageries that contribute to shape controversial sentiments and attitudes in Bulgaria, Italy, and Ukraine.

Triantafyllos GKARAGKANIS (Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca & CY Cergy Paris Université)

Digital Pathways to Integration: Social Media Use by African Immigrants in Hungary

Social media is pivotal in sharing updates on migration and integration-related news. Multiple platforms such as Facebook and WhatsApp have gathered a lot of attention from immigrant communities that attempt to distribute vital information surrounding legal and bureaucratic affairs in their host country. On that note, this study explores how African immigrants in Hungary utilize social media to navigate challenges within a new social environment. Thanks to focus groups conducted in Budapest with the participation of immigrants with diverse backgrounds during the first quarter of 2025, the study also aims to identify the particularities regarding information accessibility and information-seeking behaviors.

Initial results from the qualitative analysis of the field research indicate that differences in social media usage depend on the ties of the countries of origin with European states that used to be colonial powers. At the same time, it is evident that immigrants with linguistic and cultural backgrounds from North Africa share more similarities with the Arab-speaking communities than those with a homeland from Central or Eastern Africa. Among others, personal experiences vary because of several factors, namely period spent in Hungary and relatives or friends residing in the same country. Additionally, dominant narratives require a more thorough analysis by including ethnic groups worldwide.

Ultimately, the research findings from this study can be the foundation for tracking migrant behaviors in a sociopolitical context governed by an anti-migration agenda. The latter unveils a nuanced perspective on media discourse by embedding sociocultural anthropology to address complexities in the Hungarian society.

Joseph GOTTE (Université Paris-Est Créteil)

A future beyond collapse? Discussion about “imaginaries” among ecological intellectuals

Given the international nature of this conference, this proposal is drafted in English but may also be presented in French if this is more appropriate.

This presentation examines the discourses of French, Belgian and Swiss intellectuals who warn of a possible planetary collapse for ecological reasons. Although the theme of collapse seems to hinder the ability to imagine a future, the notion of the “imaginary” seems to have some success with these intellectuals. Considering that the doxic imaginary – of consumption, progress and modernity – is gradually crumbling due to the environmental disasters it has caused, the speakers express the need to invent “new imaginaries” that would be compatible with planetary boundaries. These new imaginaries, described as “desirable”, aim to move away, at least to some extent, from the apocalyptic and survivalist imaginaries with which they are often associated.

One of the aims of this presentation is to explore the articulation – not to say the synonymous relationship – between the uses of “imaginary” and “narrative” in the discourses examined. It attends to discuss the definitional difficulties this raises from the perspective of discourse analysis and narratology. It will also attempt to understand how the imaginary of collapse is to be understood beyond what is said about it by those involved and what semiotic, argumentative and pragmatic forms it relies on. Further analysis will address the hypothesis that the use of the term “imaginary” might be an unnamed description of ideology.

This work is based on a PhD thesis and a qualitative study of a corpus of 86 books of different genres, 50 videos available online, and 11 documentary films and series published since 2015. It is complemented by the results of 32 interviews and 32 observations.

Between journalism and political communication: how far-right parties communicate through journalistic genres

During the current fourth age of political communication (Blumler, 2016), (journalistic) media production has become increasingly democratized. Technology, once exclusive to professional journalists (Carlson, 2017), is now widely accessible, challenging the notion of journalists as gatekeepers (Vos, 2020). While politicians from across the spectrum benefit, the far right seems to have been particularly adept at leveraging social media platforms and affordable technical equipment (Gerbaudo, 2018), further complicating its paradoxical relationship with legacy media (Haller & Holt, 2019). This has given rise to a variety of blended political communication genres within a complex hybrid media system (Chadwick, 2017). As politicians produce their own media content or hire former professional journalists to do so, Bauer et al. (2022) highlight the need for a richer vocabulary to distinguish between different kinds of partisan media. Aiming to contribute to this effort, Grönegräs et al. (2025) propose the term pseudo-journalistic political communication, describing political parties and actors making use of journalistic genre elements in their communication.

This article examines the production of such communication by two far-right parties: the German Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) and the Belgian Vlaams Belang (VB). Both create political communication formats that resemble journalism, including 'news websites', 'talk shows', and 'news apps'. Semi-structured, qualitative interviews are conducted with two groups: (1) experts with inside knowledge on the production context of political communication by VB and/or AfD, such as journalist and academics (n=10+10); and (2) current and former employees of VB and AfD, particularly those who are or have been involved in the production of the parties' political communication (n=10+10). The interviews are meant to provide insights into the professional routines of the employees, whether they primarily understand themselves as journalists or political communicators, and how they position themselves and their parties in relation to legacy and (right-wing) alternative media. The data will be evaluated through a thematic analysis and a social network analysis. Six expert interviews on the VB have been conducted, with all remaining interviews concluding by July 2025, enabling preliminary results to be presented at the conference.

DIVYA G.S.

The Art of Existence: Neoliberal Imaginaries and Gendered Subjectivities in IT Workspaces in Kerala, India

This paper explores the gendered subjectivities of women IT professionals in Kerala, India, focusing on how they navigate the intersecting demands of neoliberal workspaces and patriarchal social structures. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork in Technopark—one of India's first IT hubs—this study examines how women's subjectivities are shaped by discourses of meritocracy, competence, and empowerment while being simultaneously constrained by class, caste, and familial expectations that are peculiar to the Indian society. Subjectivity formation is not a linear process but an ongoing negotiation shaped by structural inequalities and workplace imaginaries. Using insights from Foucault's discourse and power, Lefebvre's spatial analysis, and Butler's performativity, this paper conceptualizes these negotiations as an art of existence—a practice of skillfully maneuvering within structures of power without necessarily dismantling them. Women employ a spectrum of strategies, from compliance and resistance to pragmatic tactics like strategic lying and partial disclosure, to maintain careers, manage familial responsibilities, and carve out autonomy. For instance, marriage, often viewed as a restrictive institution, is reinterpreted by some as a tool for delaying societal pressures or securing professional freedom. Similarly, negotiations over dress codes, mobility, and financial independence highlight the complex ways in which women recalibrate their roles within patriarchal and neoliberal frameworks. This study shows how subjectivities emerge through an interplay of resistance, agency, and adaptation, revealing the contradictions embedded within neoliberal imaginaries of gender and work.

Keywords: Subjectivity, Discourse, Gender

Lyubov GUREVICH (Moscow State Linguistic University)

The concept of the imaginary in the field of discourse studies: the truth and illusions of human cognition

Many fields place a high value on the idea of the imaginary, which is reflected in how it is understood and used. According to sociology, the social imaginary is a creative and symbolic aspect of the social world that allows people to represent their collective lives in social discourse and to construct models of human coexistence. Political philosophy creates its own special way of seeing and recreating the model of political life and the conflicts of society. In psychoanalysis, the imaginary is an illusory representation of oneself and how an individual interacts with other people and society. In media studies, the imaginary is considered an independently existing system that creates and preserves cultural meanings. The imagination is presented in this system through a variety of mediums that are used to capture and convey cultural experiences. Thus, discourse theorists and analysts should pay attention to the idea of the imaginary because it has unique characteristics in various fields.

In this discussion, particular attention is paid to a theoretical framework that explains the ways and origins of the imaginary within the framework of reality. Why does the true reality exist alongside an illusion reality? Why does our brain occasionally fail to distinguish between these two extreme realities? How do illusions and reality coexist in our minds? The suggested report for discussion addresses these issues as well as other issues of the topic.

Archibald GUSTIN (Vrije Universiteit of Brussels & University of Liège)

“Parties like Vlaams Belang are the biggest defenders of women’s rights”: a critical study of Vlaams Belang's sexual exceptionalism

This paper studies the presence of femoracism in Vlaams Belang’s gender discourses by highlighting how the Flemish far-right party articulates its gender politics with its security agenda, racializing gender violence and removing patriarchy from the discussion. It then emphasizes how Vlaams Belang constructs Islam as a totalitarian and sexist “political religion”, and how this Islamophobic discourse has allowed the party to present itself as the “biggest defender of women’s rights”. Third, this contribution replicates this analytical process to tackle the construction of homoracist discourses by Vlaams Belang, i.e., discourses denouncing the homophobia of Muslims, making it possible to depict West European countries as an LGBTQ heaven. On this basis, the paper then seeks to build a theoretical framework demonstrating how both femoracist and homoracist discourses, while being racist and patriarchal, enable the construction of illiberal forms of (racialized) heteropatriarchy.

Studying Imaginaries in Political Studies: A Methodological Framework

There is an increasing interest in imaginaries among scholars in social sciences. Imaginaries are important clusters of political meaning (Taylor 2004), playing a key role in constructing alternative worlds that we are invited to enter and inhabit (Hatzisavvidou 2024). Political communities collectively envision their futures, and this collective practice of imagining influences the desirable and possible changes within any given society. Such imagined futures drive modern economies (Beckert, 2016), motivate sociotechnical developments (Jasanoff, 2015), and orient decisions for socio-ecological transitions towards more sustainable societies (Argüelles et al., 2017, p.31); they thus occupy an essential space in the social sphere, shaping ideas and discourses that constitute practices and decisions within it. However, political studies scholars lack clear methodological guidelines for conceptualising and systematically studying political imaginaries.

This paper aims to offer a conceptual and methodological framework that addresses this gap. The paper proceeds in two steps. First, it presents and analyses the findings of a scoping review of how scholars in humanities and social sciences approach the study of imaginaries methodologically. The findings of this analysis are then used to establish that, considering the importance that the study of imaginaries has in better understanding how political communities and their futures are constructed, it is crucial to address the gap in studying political imaginaries. Therefore, the second step of the paper is to offer a minimal definition of political imaginaries and introduce a methodological framework that shows how we can analyse political imaginaries. The paper argues that although ‘discourse’ and ‘imaginaries’ are distinct categories, a systematic analysis of political imaginaries requires a methodological approach that centres discourse and employs tools of discursive analysis.

Imke HENKEL (University of Leeds)

News as imagined community: An analysis of news texts and audience focus groups in the UK and Germany.

News media have been imagined as essential for democracy ever since the professionalization of journalism that developed in step with the rise of modern mass media as commercial enterprises (Schudson, 1978). According to this prevailing view, news fulfil the essential democratic function of providing accurate information that enables citizens to participate in politics on the basis of well-informed rational decisions (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2014). Consequently, enquiries into how democracy benefits from journalism – or not – have predominantly focused on how journalism delivers information and, on its failure to do so, investigated ‘information pathologies’ such as disinformation, lack of trust, and news avoidance (de Bennett & Livingston, 2018; Bruin et al., 2021; Toff et al., 2021).

However, while studying the pathologies that harm the democratic function of news, research has rarely interrogated the assumed democratic value that supposedly has been lost through the ills of the digital news environment. This paper draws on older traditions in communication research, notably James Carey, acknowledging that there is more to news than providing information.

As a case study, I analyse news stories that were published during Covid-19 on mainstream ‘elite’ websites in the UK and in Germany, including BBC News, The Times, Sueddeutsche Zeitung, or Tagesschau.de (N=672), and focus group interviews with British and German audience members (N=26), using Grounded Theory. Building on Charles Taylor’s concept of social imaginaries (Taylor, 2004), I find that news texts produce social imaginaries of a – democratic – public sphere, while audiences use news to imagine their social identity and belonging.

Benno HERZOG (University of Valencia)

Critique of Power and Normative Critique: On the Blind Spots of Poststructuralist Discourse Analysis

Poststructuralist discourse analysis has been instrumental in exposing the contingent nature of seemingly natural social arrangements and taken-for-granted knowledge. Through genealogical critique, it has demonstrated how social relations and dominant knowledge—what is perceived as "truth"—are shaped by configurations of power. Consequently, the critique of power has become central to poststructuralist discourse analysis, often positioning itself in opposition to explicitly normative forms of critique. Moreover, this approach has been used to interrogate emancipatory norms, revealing that dominant norms are rarely universal but often White, European, male, and bourgeois.

However, this mode of critique remains external or "weak" (Angermuller), as it relies on assumptions about social reality that lie beyond the scope of discourse analysis itself. My presentation examines the blind spots of this analytical framework, particularly when confronted with conflicting social discourses regarding assumptions about reality or "context." I argue that this limitation manifests in two key ways: (a) discourse analytical critique risks becoming a reductive critique of power, focusing only on one construction of reality—predefined as dominant—while neglecting alternative perspectives; and (b) it fails to acknowledge its own normative implications. To illustrate these points, I will analyze case studies from contemporary social and political debates, demonstrating how poststructuralist discourse analysis, when uncritically applied, may obscure rather than illuminate the complexities of social critique.

Darryl HOCKING (Auckland University of Technology)

Anticipatory Discourse in Artistic Practice: Language, Desire, and Future Imaginaries

Art has long been a site for the negotiation of social and political imaginaries, offering speculative visions that shape how societies understand both their present conditions and potential futures. However, while much attention has been given to the visual and material dimensions of artistic practice, the nature and role of anticipatory discourse—the ways in which artists verbalise their future work before its material realisation—remain underexplored.

Drawing on a corpus of artists' talks, interviews, and written statements, and employing the analytical resources of corpus-assisted discourse analysis (Gilling et al., 2023), this presentation explores how artists articulate their intentions, conceptual directions, and aesthetic aspirations through discourse, positioning language as a fundamental component of creative world-making. Central to this exploration is the role of desiderative language, used to articulate artistic desire while also framing the creative process as an emotionally fulfilling and exploratory act, reinforcing the deep connection between art, passion, and future imaginaries.

Using examples from renowned artists, such as Sol LeWitt, Andy Warhol, and Ed Ruscha, along with young contemporary artists, this presentation argues that such anticipatory discourse serves multiple functions, for example, articulating creative intent, establishing conceptual boundaries, guiding the transition from idea to material form, but also rationalising future creative imaginaries by connecting them to present and past concerns.

Sheng-Yu HSIEH (National Taiwan Normal University)

Decoding the Echo: Language Dynamics in Echo Chamber vs. Non-Echo Chamber Political Interviews

The echo chamber effect has been widely studied (Bastos et al., 2018; Wang et al., 2020). It refers to groups of like-minded individuals reinforcing shared perspectives within biased media spaces, shaped by human tendencies and networks of influence (Samir Sheikh, 2020). While research has examined its role in polarization (Sunstein, 2001), little attention has been given to how conversations unfold within and outside echo chambers, particularly in political interviews on topics such as cross-strait relations, housing policies, and public perceptions of political figures. This study investigates how conversational dynamics differ between echo chamber and non-echo chamber political interviews in Taiwan. It analyzes (i) an interview with former TPP leader Ko Wen-je by a DPP-affiliated host (non-echo chamber) and (ii) an interview with President Lai Ching-te by a pro-DPP host (echo chamber). Using Conversation Analysis (CA), discourse patterns in both interviews were compared, with data transcribed following Du Bois' (1993) conventions. Key differences emerge in simultaneity, fishing, and responses. In echo chambers, interviewers unintentionally overlap, while in non-echo chambers, they interrupt to assert power. Echo chamber questions tend to be face-saving, whereas non-echo chamber questions are face-threatening. Interviewer responses in echo chambers align with interviewees, while in non-echo chambers, they show misalignment or silence. These findings support previous studies on polarization (Grömping, 2014; Himmelboim et al., 2013; Parmelee & Roman, 2020), demonstrating that echo chambers reinforce like-mindedness, whereas non-echo chambers deepen divisions through conflict. Ultimately, this study highlights how conversational structures contribute to political polarization, shaping public discourse in Taiwan.

Thomas HUYGENS (Université Libre de Bruxelles)

Imaginaries of historical dynamism and the legitimation of power: The role of temporality in “Xi Jinping thought”

This study explores the conceptualisation of historical dynamism in Xi Jinping's thought and its implications for legitimising the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) positions and actions. Through the critical discourse analysis of a manual published by the Central Propaganda Department, this article mobilises the concept of ‘imaginary’, inspired by the philosophy of Cornelius Castoriadis and contemporary literature, to highlight the ‘social imaginary significations’ emanating from the case study, to decrypt its ideological mechanisms and situate them in their social-historical context.

The methodology employs RAF (Representation, Affects, Finalities) triangulation using lexicometric and psychometric tools with TXM and LIWC-22, alongside an analysis grid integrating nominations, predications, argumentations, operator-schemes and perspectivation.

The results suggest a linear and gradual vision of history, seen as a people shaped process assigning to the CCP the ‘historic mission’ of achieving ‘national renaissance’, whose success is based on continuous economic development, shared prosperity and stability, justifying the establishment of a security system based on political and economic safety. Moreover, this ideological structure postulates that the form of historical determinism promoted tends to reduce the proletariat to the role of mere executor of a predetermined historical operation whose meaning remains ‘logically confined’ in the interpretation given by the CCP.

Finally, this imaginary, oriented towards the present and the future, aims to legitimise the CCP's action around a shapeless-totalising concept, to unify the diverse expectations of an increasingly fragmented Chinese society while ensuring the durability of the Chinese capitalist model through the implementation of a security framework.

Thomas JACOBS (UCLouvain Saint-Louis Bruxelles), Kelly VOSSSEN (UCLouvain Saint-Louis Bruxelles), Lydie DENIS (UCLouvain Saint-Louis Bruxelles)

Rethinking (de)politicisation: going beyond a moralistic research agenda

The concepts of politicisation and depoliticisation are employed in different fashions across diverse literatures (e.g. Comby, 2015; Pepermans & Maesele, 2017; Němcová, 2024; Weitkamp et al., 2024), making their definition complex and contested. Across this wide variety of theoretical approaches, a common denominator is the moralization of (de)politicisation - it is often argued that (de)politicisation is inherently a good or a bad thing for society. Progressive thinkers such as Chantal Mouffe (2018) may for instance see politicisation as intrinsically positive as it promotes social change, while conservative politicians such as John Major and Nick Clegg (2020) have construed the stabilising force of depoliticisation as something fundamentally positive.

This paper critiques this moralistic tendency in the scientific literature, arguing that it essentializes (de)politicisation and overestimates the importance of moralization as a discursive strategy – disregarding other strategies such as rationalisation, authorisation, normalisation and so on (Van Leeuwen, 2007; Kryzanowski, 2022). The extant literature often reduces (de)politicisation to a single moralized effect, overlooking its complexity and underestimating the diverse consequences to which it may give rise. Instead of a moral perspective, this panel advocates for a strategic understanding of (de)politicisation (Jacobs 2022). This approach conceptualizes (de)politicisation as describing the political effects and outcomes, both intended and unintended, of discursive strategies. The goal of such an approach is to map these diverse consequences and understand the interactions of the discursive strategies that gave rise to them. By considering (de)politicisation as strategic tools, we can analyse their effects and interactions in all their complexity without being limited by a focus on moral judgments.

To illustrate the value of this strategic perspective, we examine two empirical cases: the imaginaries (Taylor, 2004; Browne & Diehl, 2019) of climate change among youth activists and the public health measures put in place during the COVID-19 crisis. These cases demonstrate that all (de)politicisation has complex political consequences, highlighting the need for a nuanced, strategic analysis that complements and thus moves beyond moral evaluations. Ultimately, this panel seeks to refine (de)politicisation as analytical tools, demonstrating their potential to provide fresh insights into political change from a discourse-analytic point of view.

Niki JOHNSON (Universidad de la República)

Gender-biased discourse of political representation and the democratic imaginary in Uruguay

Uruguay tops democracy rankings in South America and the public imaginary of the country as very democratic compared to its neighbours is strong. However, Uruguay's performance falls short on what is now globally recognized as an important indicator of democracy: women's political representation. Women's presence in political posts remains persistently low, despite a favourable normative environment and strong public support for women politicians. While previous studies focused on gender-based power dynamics emerging from the interaction between structural, institutional and contextual factors, there remains a significant gap between rates of women's political representation and their advancement in other areas of Uruguayan society which these studies fail to explain. Starting from the Foucauldian concept of discourse as socially constitutive relational systems of meaning and practices, which define "relatively bounded social knowledges" (Bacchi & Rönblom 2014) and legitimate certain subject positions while excluding others, this article draws on Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory and employs analytical tools from Bacchi's work on "problematizations" and Lazar's feminist discourse praxis to explore the gendered discourses that inform the ideas, institutions and practices of democratic political representation in Uruguay. Through analysis of multiple texts from documentary and oral sources, my research shows that, within a political imaginary that construes Uruguay's political and electoral system as exceptionally democratic, the hegemonic discursive constructions of political leadership and representation perpetuate male dominance in politics, marginalizing feminist counter-discourses and blocking legal change, as well as limiting the practical effects of reforms to the institutions of political representation when these are introduced.

Mário JUNGLAS-MUNIZ (Universidade Federal do Ceará),
Maria Elias SOARES (Universidade Federal do Ceará), Janaica
GOMES MATOS (Universidade Estadual do Piauí)

As recategorizações nas redes referenciais: as facetas da desinformação

Nosso trabalho tem o objetivo de estudar o fenômeno da desinformação através das marcas referenciais de (re)categorização construídas em rede nos textos. Para tanto, propomos uma interface entre a Linguística Textual, em perspectiva sociocognitivo-discursiva, e os estudos da Comunicação. Fundamentamo-nos na sugestão de Wardle (2020) e Wardle e Derakshan (2019) sobre os tipos de desordem informacional, os quais tomamos como parâmetro para identificarmos as manifestações da desinformação, cujo fenômeno relacionamos, em certa medida, às estratégias de referenciação, como as anáforas (Koch, 2004; Cavalcante *et al.*, 2022; 2023) construídas pelas redes referenciais (Matos, 2018). Estas são arquitetadas conforme as intenções e motivações do produtor do texto, cuja autoria pode ser anônima, mas pode obter um longo alcance e rapidez de compartilhamento, de modo a produzir a desordem informacional, ao imprimir uma aparência de legitimidade aos leitores disfarçada de notícias verídicas (Fante, Silva e Graça, 2020). A metodologia desta pesquisa é de cunho qualitativo, descritivo-explicativo e documental, permitindo-nos reconstituir a montagem da rede referencial pela análise intertextual de 06 postagens divulgadoras de notícias falseadas em redes sociais e dos 06 textos geradores destas notícias. Com isso, realizamos o mapeamento dos referentes construídos de modo explícito ou implícito, mediante o entrelaçamento de sentidos na constituição de redes de referência, nos textos de desinformação.

Rongyao KANG (The Hong Kong Polytechnic University),
Dechao LI (The Hong Kong Polytechnic University)

Competitor Imagined: A Diachronic Analysis of Chinese Discourse Quoted in U.S. Security Assessments on China

Quotations are crucial in international politics, shaping perceptions and constructing strategic narratives. This study conducts a diachronic discourse analysis of quotations drawn from Chinese discourse as cited in the U.S. Department of Defense's annual *Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China* reports (2002–2024). By examining how Chinese rhetoric are strategically incorporated over two decades, this research traces the evolution of U.S. representations of China and interrogates the socio-political forces driving these shifts. Methodologically, the analytical framework combines quantitative text analysis (such as activity indexing) with qualitative discourse analysis, focusing on three dimensions: longitudinal quoting patterns, meta-data strategy deployment, and translation evolution.

The preliminary findings reveal several key trends: (1) Quotation volume has risen steadily (301% increase in 2020), strongly correlating with report length expansion ($r=0.80$), signaling intensified U.S. focus on Chinese rhetoric; (2) Verbal activity rates in quotes have declined (-57% over 23 years), reflecting the Pentagon's shift toward adjectival rather than action-oriented framing of Chinese discourse; (3) Metalinguistic quotatives (e.g., "describes") now strategically frame Chinese statements as ambiguously calculated, constructing an image of rhetorical craftiness; (4) Evolving translations of key terms (e.g., "major power") reveal interlingual power struggles, demonstrating how lexical choices reflect and reinforce political contests. These trends align with geopolitical shifts, including leadership transitions and the institutionalization of strategic competition frameworks post-2017. By mapping how quotational practices mediate U.S.-China power dynamics, this research advances methodological approaches to critical security studies and underscores the consequential role of cross-linguistic representation in shaping adversarial imaginaries.

Umut Yener KARA (WZB Berlin Social Science Center)

Exploring Futures in Action with Computational Methods: AI Futures in Turkish and German News Media and Policy Discourse

Recently, there has been a marked increase in interest within the social sciences and humanities regarding the study of future perceptions and imaginaries, especially in relation to future-oriented public issues like the climate crisis and artificial intelligence. However, despite efforts at theoretical integration and synthesis across different disciplines (Bazzani, 2023; Beckert & Suckert, 2021; Mager & Katzenbach, 2021; Pentzold et al., 2020), this emerging field -particularly in empirical applications- remains somewhat fragmented and inconsistent. Drawing on Mische's (2009) work on the "dimensions of projectivity," which delineates various modes of future engagement, I contend that more systematic and focused conceptualizations and empirical operationalizations are necessary to gain a clearer understanding of the dimensions, dynamics, and types of future-oriented narratives. Furthermore, inspired by a subsequent study by Mische (2014) that suggests the "logical next step" is to employ automated text analysis methods to reveal various temporal patterns in future-oriented discourses, I suggest that these methods offer a promising yet still largely unexplored methodological avenue. This paper presents my current efforts, applicability, and the utility of this approach in the context of an ongoing comparative project that examines imaginaries and future visions of artificial intelligence in Turkish and German news media and policy discourse. Preliminary findings suggest that certain dimensions of Mische's projectivity framework, such as reach and sociality, can be effectively operationalized using NLP techniques like Named Entity Recognition, PoS tagging, and network analysis; and this approach holds promise for revealing differences in future engagement and imaginings between the countries being compared.

Achilleas KARADIMITRIOU (Panteion University, Athens),
Michalis TASTSOGLU (National and Kapodistrian University
of Athens)

Disentangling past, present and future on newspaper front pages: The Palestinian question from the perspective of discourse analysis

According to the media systems typologies established by Hallin and Mancini (2004), Greece and other Southern European countries (such as France, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, Malta, and Cyprus) are categorised within the Mediterranean or Polarized Pluralistic model. This classification entails that they have traditionally developed intimate relations with the political power (Papathanassopoulos, 2007), affecting how they cover current affairs, including wartime events. In the case of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Greece has shown support for Israeli interests, with the Greek administration seeking to present numerous arguments regarding its relationship with Israel. However, Greek newspapers have exhibited a division in their stance on the Palestinian issue, notably as Israel increased its assaults on civilian populations and public infrastructure following the Hamas attack on October 7th. The present study sets out to undertake a critical analysis of the media discourse surrounding the Palestinian question.

In order to achieve this objective, the study will focus on answering two research questions: firstly, how is knowledge about the past, the present and the future of the question being constructed? Secondly, which is the use of metaphors when they describe the intensity of each side's practices? Thus, we implement a combination of Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 2003; Gee, 2011) and Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse (Keller, 2024) coupled with Metaphor Analysis (Mussolff, 2012). Research findings indicate that the Greek media has thus far been reluctant to portray the Israeli hostilities in a manner consistent with the coverage of the events of October 7th.

Marge KÄSPER (University of Tartu), Merje MILISTE (Tartu Ülikool)

Représentations figuratives des menaces et des attentes liées à l'intelligence artificielle dans les médias de vulgarisation scientifique estonien.

A la croisée des projets de recherche focalisant sur les métaphores d'envergure social et sur les imaginaires de l'ordinaire de la crise, l'exposé examinera les imaginaires métaphoriques conceptualisant dans la presse l'avenir proche de nos sociétés sous le signe de l'intelligence artificielle (IA). L'exposé présente les représentations figuratives de l'IA soit en tant que machine, soit en tant qu'entité humanoïde dans des articles éducatifs du portail estonien novaator.err.ee, afin d'analyser le langage métaphorique évolutif utilisé pour décrire l'IA et son impact sur les pratiques d'enseignement et de rédaction académique (cf Anderson 2023).

Le corpus a été constitué en utilisant le terme « tehisintellekt » et ses synonymes estoniens, avec les mots-clés « école » et/ou « éducation », couvrant la période de novembre 2022 à juin 2024. Dix articles ont été analysés en détail pour identifier les métaphores décrivant l'IA. Face à des personnifications délibérées (Dorst 2011), nous discutons des usages pédagogiques, heuristiques et modélisants des métaphores (Ascher 2005) dans le contexte médiatique estonien (Kövecses 2020).

La représentation de l'IA varie dans notre corpus d'un GUERRIER conquérant à un AIDE domestiqué, l'IA étant décrite comme un « ROBOT métaphorique », un BOUTON DE VOLUME, un FOUR, etc. Dans la première période, où l'IA était encore EN ROUTE, diverses métaphores pédagogiques la personnifient pour dissiper les peurs et autres aspects liés à ce sujet. Une fois ARRIVÉE, la discussion concerne davantage les pratiques éducatives. Certaines propositions heuristiques reconceptualisent ces pratiques, mais la nature métaphorique de l'intelligence ARTIFICIELLE est désormais acquise.

L'imaginaire anthropocénique : Analyse sociopragmatique du devenir-climat de l'homme.

Il y a plus de quarante ans Bateson (1979/1984) posait la question suivante : « Quelle est la structure qui relie le crabe au homard et l'orchidée à la primevère? Et qu'est-ce qui les relie, eux quatre, à moi? Et moi à vous? Et nous six à l'amibe, d'un côté, et au schizophrène qu'on interne, de l'autre? Comment cela tient-il ensemble? La réponse à ces questions est difficile et peut sembler tout à fait vide; elle est pourtant d'une importance capitale pour vous et pour moi. À ce tournant de l'histoire, je crois même qu'elle est importante pour la survie de la biosphère tout entière qui, comme vous le savez est menacée. » (p. 16).

Notre contribution 1) présente et applique l'analyse sociopragmatique du discours inspirée de Deleuze & Guattari, 1980, 1981/2003; Deleuze & Parnet, 1996) à un corpus d'énoncés ordinaires sur ce que fait et subit le climat (un contenu/des choses) d'une part et de l'autre des propositions de sens commun concernant l'environnement et le climat (une expression/des mots) afin 2) d'identifier la structure spécifique qui les relie, c'est-à-dire la machine de communication qui en produit la réalité sociale avec 3) ses différents imaginaires (lignes d'intégration, cadres et points de vue/voix) et 4) le devenir-climat de l'homme/le devenir-homme du climat fonction de la ligne de fuite produite par cette machine de communication.

Reiner KELLER (University of Augsburg)

Imaginarities in the Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse (SKAD)

“If social actors define some imaginary as real, it is real in its consequences.” The multiple connotations of the term ‘imaginary’ vary according to linguistic and socio-cultural contexts. It might refer, for example,

- to a kind of projected collective imagination with regard to technological-social futures;
- concrete image memories and symbolisations of social phenomena within universes of discourse;
- or even the general human capacity of ‘thinking and feeling beyond the concrete situation’.

The various uses of the term “imaginary”, especially for analytical purposes, have a long tradition in the social sciences. Within the framework of SKAD, too, some studies have dealt with corresponding phenomena. However, what is missing here – as perhaps in discourse research as a whole – is a systematic explication and anchoring of the concept in the methodological- conceptual framework of this approach. Drawing on theoretical considerations and empirical studies, the contribution will present a conceptual proposal that ties in with the traditions of the interpretative paradigm. In that, it firstly elaborates the particular shape of the phenomenon and secondly discusses the challenges that the term presents for discourse research in general, especially when it is perhaps hastily used as an ‘explanatory factor’ for past, present and future social events, without being able to show whether, how and at what level such imaginaries are processed and become consequential. In response to that, the presentation discusses the complex, fragmentary and conflictual character of the corresponding phenomena.

Pasko KISIĆ-MERINO (Karlstad University), Antonia STANOJEVIĆ (Tilburg University)

New-Age Fascism: Exploring the Convergence of Neoliberalism and Patriarchy in Silicon Valley

Genderphobic discourses, propagated by prominent right-wing and far-right politicians in the US, were a mainstay of the grievance-laden and *enjoyment*-inducing discourses of Donald Trump's 2024 presidential campaign. These discourses, which virtue-signalled child-bearing, 'traditional families', and the "protection of children", framed gender non-conformity as not only morally deviant but also as a civilisational threat to the masculinist fantasy of 'inherent' national greatness. Crucially, the streamlining of these narratives was affectively and materially conditioned by the techno-mediatic, financial, and rhetorical support of late modernity's neoliberal ecosystem and laboratory: Silicon Valley. This dynamic is evidenced in the interplay between Elon Musk's active pandering to Trump's campaign through the conflation of efficiency, capitalism, pronatalism, and patriotism, and the financial backing of reactionary moguls like Marc Andreessen and Peter Thiel.

In this article, we adopt a Lacanian approach to analyse how Silicon Valley's ecosystem conditioned and facilitated the mainstreaming of genderphobic narratives during the 2024 Trump campaign, and how this process signifies the transmutation of neoliberalism within exclusionary discourses. The underlying discourse organising the discursive-affective assemblage of Silicon Valley is that of lost enjoyment to 'feminised' liberal modernity: that women owe/threaten (White) men and that the promised techno patriarchal utopia and recapturing of long-lost enjoyment or 'American wholeness' requires a 'renewal' or 'correction' – best enshrined in Trump's new slogan, 'take America back'. This genderphobic, excessive, enjoyment-infused 'correction' is not political *movement* (change, progress) but instead mirrors and feeds the undead-like, post-political *inversion* of movement that characterises the unbecoming yet obscenely relentless body of neoliberalism.

Dimitris E. KITIS (Liverpool University)

Conceptual history: The case of gentrification

In this presentation, I examine the conceptual history or genealogy of 'gentrification' from its inception to its current varied uses and interpretations. Using the Oxford English Dictionary's third edition illustrative quotations database as a diachronic corpus of English, I employ a corpus-assisted and cognitive linguistics-inspired critical discourse analysis to trace the genealogy of the term within the broader field of related terms. Within the critical and discourse analytic framework, my primary tools of analysis are metonymy, conceptual metaphor, and semantic prosody. By disentangling the emergence of this ideologically-laden term, the study enhances our understanding of how class-struggle discourse has evolved from the late Middle Ages to the Enlightenment and late modernity. It is argued that a robust definition of 'gentrification' – which foregrounds the displacement of low-income residents – depends on historicizing the phenomenon, i.e., tracing its roots in concepts, practices, and values. Moreover, such a discourse history is essential to prevent the appropriation or, at least, de-semanticization of the term and the 'naturalization' of the phenomenon that the urban sociologist Ruth Glass, who coined the term, was seeking to represent/highlight.

Reflections on Foucault: The imaginary in discourse

In my paper, I search for traces of the concept of the imaginary in Foucault's work, with reference to the concept of discourse and his understanding of power. This search is guided by two understandings of the imaginary: First, I define it as tacit knowledge in a society (Anderson 1983; Taylor 2004), which is shared in the form of narratives, myths, images, monuments etc. Second, the term refers to symbolically charged meta-concepts that stabilize discourses (White 2008; Somers 2008; Knaut 2014).

In a first step I expand the common interpretation of Foucault's concept of discourse by linking it to the above-mentioned understandings of the imaginary. This linkage allows for better explaining why discourses are resistant to change. Imaginaries stabilize discourses against societal, political, and cultural resistance.

In a second step I read Foucault's concept of power as a transformative, emancipatory force. This shifts the focus to relational power structures and possibilities of discursive change. Such a reading of power allows for better understanding, how discourses enable transformations.

Based on this understanding of Foucault's concepts of power and discourse, I explore their potential for empirical analyses of transformations and resistance. To this end, I discuss their incorporation in 'The Sociological Approach to Discourse Analysis' (SKAD) (Keller 2024): How can SKAD be used to focus on the (simultaneous) stability of discourses and their transformation potentials. How can the outlined understanding of the imaginary support this?

Adam KONOPA (University of Gdańsk), Artur LIPIŃSKI (Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań), Adam MICKIEWICZ (Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań)

Right wing populist mnemonic practices and its opponents. Policy-making process on decommunization of public space in Poland.

An inherent feature of every political regime is the reinforcement of its own version of history through the commemorative practice of naming public utilities (Azaryahu, 2011: 484). Alongside political and economic transformations, one of the key tasks for post-communist countries was reckoning with their non-democratic past and constructing new collective identities based on reimagined historical narratives. However, only Ukraine (2013) and Poland (2016) introduced laws mandating municipal authorities to rename public utilities that bore names associated with the old regimes (Fabiszak & Brzezińska, 2020: 85). In Poland, these renaming efforts met with skepticism from local inhabitants and other stakeholders (Ochman, 2025). At the same time, they became a significant mnemonic practice for the populist right-wing government, which built its identity on anti-communism as an ideological rejection of the previous regime on both moral and nationalistic grounds.

The paper investigates how the memory of communism and its manifestations in public space were institutionally constructed through state legislation. It aims to analyze the legitimizing discourses and their delegitimizing counterparts used to justify or contest specific political and legal decisions regarding commemorative practices in public spaces. The data includes the 2016 decommunization act, its respective amendments, transcripts of parliamentary debates (including committee discussions), and documents from other state institutions involved in the policymaking process between 2015 and 2017 (e.g., General Attorney, ministries). Methodologically, we present initial insights from the analysis of the policymaking process behind Poland's decommunization law, employing the Discourse-Historical Approach (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, 2009), van Leeuwen's legitimation framework (van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999; van Leeuwen, 2007), and the Systemic-Functional analysis of historical discourse (Coffin, 2006).

Michael KRANERT (University of Southampton), Constanze Spieß

The metapolitical project of the German far right and its influence on German political discourse

The programmatic publications of right-wing thinkers and thinkers such as Alain de Benoist, Henning Eichberg and Carl Schmitt show that the ideas and concepts represented by right-wing movements today, as well as strategies for implementing these ideas, have been articulated since the 1970s (see Pfeiffer 2018, Zorn 2018, Weiß 2017). They currently manifest themselves in various forms of publication in Germany, that are centred around the “Institute für Staatspolitik” and the publisher Antaios, founded and led by right-wing intellectual Götz Kubitschek. Its magazine “Sezession” is a platform for radical right thinking, in which articles on concepts such as ethnopluralism, population exchange and remigration have been distributed and propagated since its first publication in 2003. Among other things, it bluntly exposes the activities of the new right in the pre-political sphere and the linguistic and rhetorical strategies pursued. Based a corpus “Sezession” texts, publications from Antaios, and a strategy paper of the AfD, we will demonstrate how the discursive strategies formulated in these organs have now found their way into the thinking of the far-right AfD. In a second step, we will then show in an analysis of a corpus of speeches and election materials from the German elections in 2025 of both the AfD and the mainstream conservative party CDU, how the competition at the right normalism border (Link 2019) of the political spectrum successfully normalises the discursive shift to the right (Wodak 2015).

Jan KRASNI

On the Imaginary of the Truthful AI. Discourse of AI-Generated Scientific Truth

This paper examines the intersection of artificial intelligence (AI), science, and the post-truth phenomenon, recognizing AI as an actant, an active participant in generating scientific truth (Floridi, 2025; Latour, 2008), not just a tool, and employing notions of discourse, apparatus, and of post-truth. The talk explores how AI, discursively constructed as a 'maximally truthful' entity—epitomized by Elon Musk's vision of AI that 'loves humanity'—shapes the production of scientific truth in a post-truth era. Through Foucault's notion of discourse, the study analyzes how AI is positioned as an objective truth-seeker, thereby legitimizing its outputs within scientific and public spheres (Foucault, 2002). Agamben's apparatus approach helps illuminate the network of technologies, institutions, and media that underpin AI-generated knowledge (emphasizing or downplaying its role), revealing the power structures at play, where AI acts as a co-actor with humans in a techno-social process (Agamben, 2009). The paper further investigates the role of imagery, particularly techno-optimism, in fostering utopian imaginaries of AI that influence trust and credibility (Carroll et al., 2024; Liehner et al., 2023). Drawing on case studies from various disciplines and making this very paper a case study, this talk illustrates how AI-generated findings are constructed, contested, or manipulated amidst post-truth debates (Krasni, 2020), with truthfulness contingent on mitigating human-induced biases. This analysis contributes to the panel by unpacking how AI's truth-seeking capacity, as both a human and non-human endeavor, reflects, challenges, and drives post-truth dynamics, offering a critical lens on the interplay of technology, discourse, and legitimacy in scientific knowledge.

Amélie KUTTER (European University Viadrina in Frankfurt (Oder))

Governmentality and subjectivity of sustainability transition: assessing imaginaries of the European Green Deal

Since the adoption of the UN Agenda 2030 and the Paris Agreement in 2015, the transition to more environmentally sustainable modes of production and consumption has become a politically driven project of social change, often referred to as the 'sustainability transition'. It has been instrumented in government programmes around the world, including in the European Union's European Green Deal (EGD).

The purpose of this paper is twofold. First, the paper adopts a social imaginary perspective to assess how the EGD projects sustainable transition. The paper shows that EGD documents equate 'sustainability' with climate neutrality. Sustainability is read through a 'techno-fix' imaginary of a climate-impacted future (Celermajer et al., 2024), suggesting that investment in climate-neutral innovation, incentivised by EU governance, will do the job. This climate imaginary is articulated with the economic imaginary of single market competitiveness, actualised in the vision of a post-fossil economy of scale and the expansion of 'green' markets (Bongardt & Torres, 2022). Second, the paper seeks to move beyond the elusive notion of 'imaginary' and provide a deeper understanding of the EGD through the lens of governmentality studies (Lemke, 2012) and the political sociology of governance (Le Galès, 2011). It is shown that the governmental rationality of goal-setting and policy integration that is characteristic of UN sustainability governance (Biermann, Kanie, & Kim, 2017) is endorsed by the EGD and enacted in a wide range of instruments. They invoke the responsible subject, who strives for climate-responsible self-conduct, and the entrepreneurial subject, who ventures climate-neutral innovations (Kutter, 2024).

Amelie KUTTER (European University Viadrina in Frankfurt (Oder))

A threat to food security! Mobilisation against the restoration of nature during the campaign for the 2024 European Parliament elections in Germany.

Controversies over climate policy have become the subject of more principled political struggles. In the run-up to the 2024 European Parliament (EP) elections, several EP political groups and their national parties began to campaign against EU legislation related to the European Green Deal, which they had previously supported, signalling opposition to sustainability transition as a political project. An instructive example is the social media campaign launched by the European People's Party against the EU's Nature Restoration Law. It relied on communication and discourse strategies usually associated with the far right's stance on climate, such as calculated provocation and the juxtaposition of flawed ideology of state intervention against the authentic common sense of the accustomed 'homeland' (Forchtner, 2019; Gruber, 2024). The incident raises the question whether far-right discourses on climate have found wider resonance.

Using the example of German parties' election campaign materials, the paper examines 'discourse strategies of plausibilisation' (Kutter, 2020, chapter 3.1) that popularise opposition to EU climate policy through implicit means. Based on this critical discourse analysis, the paper attempts to deconstruct social imaginaries of nature-human relations employed. It shows that while most plausibilisation relies on allusions to party-specific imaginaries that ensure complicity with the imagined voter, there are overlaps in imagining nature as an exploitable resource as well as in populist rhetoric. This paper could go to the panel 'Normalising imaginaries of the radical right? The case of gender, migration, and climate'. It will use the CriDis rubric 'snapshot'.

Marta KWASNIEWSKA (Jan Kochanowski University in Kielce)

From Cult to Crusade: How Religious Metaphors Shape Conservative Climate Imaginaries

Conceptual metaphors as understood by Kövecses (2017) have significant discursive implications. Thus, the metaphor of religion in the context of climate change discourse is assumed to have a similar type of implications on conservative climate imaginaries. A study conducted on the internet articles released by Fox News (a conservative American news media outlet) revealed a number of metaphorical expressions referencing religious practices, beliefs and stereotypes. All of them were used to shape the readers' imaginaries of climate.

The material investigated in the study was extracted from a hundred articles relating to the problem of climate change that were published in recent years on Fox News. The methodological approach that was adopted was based on both qualitative and quantitative methods. The tools made available by data analysis software, as well as corpus linguistic tools (Deignan, 2005) were used to identify the potentially-metaphorical keywords that were later examined with the use of a manual Metaphor Identification Procedure (Steen et al., 2011). The expressions identified in the data referred to religious concepts, discrediting the urgency of climate change as matters of belief, not fact.

In conclusion, this study sheds light on the metaphorical representations of environmentalism in terms of religion and their discursive implications. The findings demonstrate the rhetorical strategies employed in the media discourse surrounding climate change, aiming to diminish the urgency of the issue and discredit scientific knowledge. Understanding these metaphorical representations is essential for critical analysis of climate change discourse and for fostering informed public engagement (Armstrong et al., 2018).

When the local meets the global: viral world dissemination on social media

This research aims to trace out how a local event can have a world impact on global discourses that disseminate freely on social media platforms. An original speech act enacted in a post on a social media platform can be quoted by users all around the world. This is particularly exemplified when a short video becomes viral and gives birth to a series of reenacted speeches.

This dissemination of digital discourses on social media often relies on memes that are iconotextual forms of discourse that have emerged as quintessential elements of social media culture, blending humour, critique, and social commentary. Typically, a meme combines an image, text, or video clip with a recognizable template or format, creating a shared language of humour and expression. With translations of text contents from one language to another, memes can easily disseminate around the world by erasing geographic borders and contributing to a universalised vision of a global culture.

This research will analyse how the combination of memes and embedded videos can disseminate a local event and turn it into a mainstream viral post. We have chosen the amazingly popular “Hawk Tuah” video initially posted on YouTube. This paper will show how this local event turned out to be a global event based on the remanence of a “discursive moment” (Moirand, our translation) thanks to the global onomatopoeic value of the “Hawk Tuah” phonological production that goes beyond a local area to become a world-famous gimmick. The corpus will involve posts published on X, Instagram, and TikTok.

Arturo Lance PORFILIO (University of Valencia)

Recognition struggles, between emancipation and assimilation. The role of hegemonic discourses on racial discrimination. The Spanish Roma People's case.

From the theoretical frames of recognition theory, critical race studies and discourse studies, this work aims to analyse the important role that social struggles for changing hegemonic discourses on vulnerable minorities like Roma People (our case study) have on recognition struggles. Discourses that generally incorporates negative representations of those minorities and groups.

The central idea is that these negative representations of the Roma, (as happens with every "other") are generally based on the assumption that their practices, behaviours, beliefs, and in general, "ways of being", are unworthy, undesirable and or non-valuable. The hypothesis that will be defended is that this logic of "evaluating" the alleged Roma's practices, behaviours, beliefs, and "ways of being", serves as a strategy of reification that reproduces a negative perception of the Roma People, and hinders every struggle for recognition. Also, this presentation will explain how the negative and racist representation of certain minorities like Roma People in hegemonic discourses, doesn't consider how these minorities, such as the Roma, may actually be, either as individuals or as a group, knowing that there is no essential way of "being Roma", or any other identity (gender, nation, ethnic identity, etc.).

Lastly, a final aim of the presentation will be to discuss what possibilities remain nowadays to vulnerable minorities and subaltern communities, like Roma, in their struggle for recognition. We will present the limits and problems inherent to emancipatory struggles that follow the way of recognition. Discussing the complexity that its logic of negotiation and dialogue encapsulates and presenting complementary –and divergent– theorisations to the idea of recognition, that lead to different outcomes in what relates to either social transformation, or the reproduction of a stablished social order.

Lei LIANG (University of Modena and Reggio Emilia)

A Corpus-Based Appraisal Analysis of Social Media Discourse on Chinese and Italian Operas: Posts and Comments in English

Cultural heritage is a significant treasure of humanity, reflecting the diversity and richness of human history. According to UNESCO, Italy and China are among the countries with the highest number of world cultural heritage sites. Italian and Chinese operas, as vital forms of intangible cultural heritage, represent the unique artistic and cultural traditions of their respective countries. With the rapid growth of social media platforms such as YouTube, Instagram, Facebook, X, and TikTok, these platforms have become central to promoting and communicating cultural heritage to global audiences.

This study explores the discursive, linguistic, and multimodal characteristics of posts on Chinese and Italian operas in English on social media. It examines posts and comments collected over six months using hashtags like #ChineseOpera and #ItalianOpera, incorporating both text and multimodal content. Using Appraisal Theory, the study investigates the linguistic and evaluative patterns in audience comments and how these shape the reception of both operas. The analysis reveals distinct linguistic and emotional patterns: Italian opera often utilizes visually engaging content and global branding, resulting in higher audience engagement. In contrast, Chinese opera focuses on cultural authenticity but faces challenges in engaging a global audience.

The study compares the similarities and differences in how both operas are represented and discussed in English on social media, including both posts and comments. The findings suggest that social media holds great potential for preserving and promoting cultural heritage, offering insights into how cultural traditions can be communicated more effectively and fostering cross-cultural understanding.

Hatty LIU (The London School of Economics and Political Science)

Techno-orientalist imaginaries of China in journalism

Escalating tensions between China and the US call for new understandings of how knowledge of China's economic and technological capacities is produced in international public discourses. In English, news reports of Chinese technology, such as following the January release of chatbot DeepSeek, have produced techno-orientalistic imaginaries of China—a racialized discourse of technological hyper-competence, alongside an essential incompatibility with normative “Western” ethics and ideology that historically informed discourses of technological advances (Morley & Robins, 1995; Turner, 2013)

This project provides a historically and socially situated account of this techno-orientalist knowledge of China, tracing how three discourses within journalism (Chinese AI, telecommunications, and green technologies) are rendered coherent and plausible within this interdiscursively constructed imaginary. It draws from, but aims to transcend, critical discourse analysis (CDA) by focusing on the “how”: the processes by which symbolic forms and narrative and phenomenal structures co-construct one another, inform, and condition the horizons of one other's meaning across time periods, news texts, and even different genres of text-popular literature, film, and games, which have a history of Asianizing their fictive “dystopias” (Bahng, 2015). Without reducing knowledge to a hidden ideological agenda or an embodied idea of authorship, this project finds sympathy with SKAD (Reiner, 2011, 2018) and narrative/mythological approaches (Kelsey, 2012) to the discursive construction of reality: by considering discursive artifacts as “social actors” that collectively produce their own universe of referential knowledge, and producing a thick description of how this reality maintains its coherence over time and global power shifts.

Recontextualising Collective Identity in Diplomatic Discourse: The role of the Body Politic Metaphor in Representing Emotions and Trauma

This study investigates the polarisation of diplomatic discourse at the UN Security Council and its impact on recontextualisation of collective identity, with a focus on how the narrative of aggression (Krzyżanowski 2020) evolves during wartime. Specifically, it examines how diplomats representing various countries at the UN Security Council employ the body politic metaphor within the emotionscape (Jones 2024) of the ongoing Middle East conflict. Transcripts from three UN Security meetings held on November 29/2023 (29,431 words), January 12/2024 (16,560 words), January 23/2024 (46,009 words) and January 31/2024 (18,935 words) focusing on “The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question” were collected and analysed using the theoretical framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough 1995/2013, van Dijk 2018, van Leeuwen 2008, Wodak 2018, 2022) and Critical Metaphor Analysis (Hart 2018, Koller 2014, Lakoff 1996, Musolff 2023). The coding procedure involved three stages : 1) identifying personifications of states and institutions ; 2) conducting a thematic analysis of these personifications ; 2) examining their representations of emotions and trauma. The analysis identified three major personification schemes : 1) Gaza’s personification as a symbol of solidarity and containment; 2) Israel’s personification scheme of a forceful and domineering agent, and 3) Palestine’s personification scheme of a resistant agent. The findings suggest that emotions in diplomatic discourse, when intertwined with the Body Politic metaphor, function as tools to challenge the status quo and explore alternative pathways for security. Finally, these personifications reflect the complex dynamics of the trauma narrative, including elements of bilateral rage and victimisation.

Emma LUPANO (University of Cagliari)

Imaginaries of AI in Chinese media discourse: a case study

Artificial intelligence (AI) matters for future human development, making it one of the most obviously global topics of our time. Its positive application should be of everyone's concern, requiring wide cooperation and mutual understanding. However, different national and cultural communities can hold different hopes and fears about it, creating different imaginaries. This prompts mutual enquiry of other perspectives to ensure effective global dialogue. China's declared ambitions and achievements in this sector invite timely exploration of the nation's AI imaginaries. Starting from the hypothesis that limited literacy among the public entitles institutions and the media to play a significant role in the construction of AI meanings, this contribution examines the discursive function of institutional and media narratives in China, with the aim to identify key components of local AI imaginaries. It sets off from the analysis of a corpus of policy documents on AI to bring to light frames and keywords in the official representation of AI. Coming from a Critical Discourse Studies perspective and in line with theorization about discursive legitimation strategies, this work applies a mixed-method approach that combines frame analysis with corpus linguistic tools to interrogate a corpus of news commentaries published by the institutional *People's Daily* (人民日报) and the non institutional *Caixin Zhoukan* (财新周刊) in the months following the public debut of ChatGPT in 2022. The investigation reveals significant alignment between the institutional and media discourse in framing AI as a positive component of China's national development, showing its patriotic implications for the Chinese public opinion.

Jens MAESSE (University of Giessen)

Finding a Job: How students (e)valuate labour markets

How do students find a position on the job market ? Do valuative-discursive practises of students count as well ? This paper will analyse how students pave their professional career pathway through different value orders analysed as heterogeneous markets.

The transition of students from the higher education system to the world of jobs is a highly relevant topic in educational and labour policy as well as in labour market studies, higher education studies, professional sociology, educational research, and governance studies. Each perspective reduces the transition dynamics to one aspect : the job market, the institutional outlook of higher education institutions, and the ability of students to acquire qualifications and degrees. In contrast to that, this paper focuses on student's complex discursive valuation practises of their possible social (job-)position within the world of jobs in relation to their current position as student of a particular discipline and at a particular point in time of their career. The idea is that careers do not simply follow institutional pathways. They have also a discursive-valuative dimension.

Based on 40 narrative-biographical interviews with students and graduates from economic sciences and psychology from German private and public higher education institutions the empirical study shows how students manoeuvre through different discursive value orders in order to position themselves in different markets. What looks, ex post, like a "rational decision" and an "unavoidable reality" (middle class person takes well paid job) is in fact the outcome of a complex discursive-valuative practice.

Barbara MARKOWSKA-MARCZAK (Civitas University)

The Power of the Imaginarium: How Images of the Past Rule Our Collective Imagination? An Analysis of Historical Populism Narrative in The Unconquered

Populism, as a category of political analysis, confronts us with specific problems. Ernesto Laclau (2005) in his book about the populist reason considered the nature and logic of the formation of collective identities. From the perspective of discourse analysis, collective identity is always a question of imaginary representations: a set of images affecting our subconscious and allowing for identification. The critical aspect of the imaginary is not at the cognitive level but at the affective level, rooted in our libidinal matrix. The object of my study is historical populism, a particular form of narrative of the past that can be used as an effective political device (Riedel, 2022). I would like to present a detailed analysis of the short animation *The Unconquered*, created by the Institute of National Remembrance in 2017. It tells the story about the heroic struggle Polish people face with the Nazi and Soviets (and with the whole world) for freedom. It was located at the end of the main exhibition at the Museum of WWII in Gdańsk to change the previous narrative. This substitution has been the most controversial intervention point during the mnemonic war in Poland since 2015. Nevertheless, this is still an example of a strong and effective imaginary building of moral capital worthy of detailed scrutiny.

Nicolás MARTINEZ ARANGUIZ (Library of National Congress of Chile)

Asedio Teórico a la relación entre discurso e imaginario social (y viceversa)

Se propone una pesquisa teórica sobre la relación entre imaginario social y discurso. Por una parte, el imaginario social como un recurso sociohermenéutico para el análisis de discurso, en su fase interpretativa; por otra, el discurso como la materialización semiótica de un imaginario social. La relación se estudia en torno de distintas aproximaciones a la noción de imaginario social (Durand, Baczko, Castoriadis, Maffesoli, Taylor), teniendo en vista las posibilidades de operacionalización y abordaje analítico de los imaginarios, a través de elementos discursivos (semántica, retórica y pragmática). En primera instancia, los imaginarios sociales se manifiestan básicamente en dos esferas de la acción colectiva: en el decir y en el hacer, esto es, en el orden del discurso y en el orden de las prácticas (no discursivas), respectivamente. Nuestra premisa de partida es que incluso lo que atañe a las prácticas, en el momento analítico del estudio de los imaginarios, se reduce a discurso, considerado también práctica social (Fairclough) y lenguajes en uso (Herzog & Ruiz). La cuestión de fondo apunta al vínculo ontológico entre imaginario y discurso, ambos de naturaleza social, implicados en procesos de producción de sentido (o construcción social de lo real) (Verón), y dada la potencia metodológica que contiene ese vínculo. En esa dirección, este análisis opta por un tratamiento más sociológico del discurso, como el que han propuesto desarrollos derivados de la llamada Escuela Cualitativista de Madrid (Ibáñez, Alonso, Conde), según los que discurso corresponde a líneas de enunciación simbólica producidas desde posiciones sociales específicas (Ruiz Chasco).

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Cosmas Gabin MBERGA ASSENG (Fondation de l'Innovation pour la Démocratie/ Think to Tank The Okwelians)

Shuri's Lab : L'IA et la robotique comme vecteurs d'empowerment dans les imaginaires afrofuturistes

L'afrofuturisme, courant culturel et esthétique, réimagine les futurs possibles à travers le prisme des expériences africaines et diasporiques. Cette étude examine comment l'intelligence artificielle (IA) et la robotique, représentées dans les œuvres afrofuturistes, deviennent des vecteurs d'empowerment, en prenant pour point de départ le laboratoire de Shuri dans "Black Panther". À travers une analyse comparative de récits afrofuturistes contemporains, nous explorons la façon dont ces technologies sont conceptualisées comme des outils de décolonisation technologique et d'émancipation sociale. Le laboratoire de Shuri symbolise un espace d'innovation technologique afrocentré, défiant les représentations occidentales dominantes. Cette reconfiguration de l'imaginaire technologique permet une réappropriation des narratifs sur l'IA et la robotique, proposant des modèles alternatifs de développement et d'utilisation de ces technologies. Notre analyse révèle comment ces récits mettent en scène des IA et des robots "afrocentrés", remettant en question les biais occidentaux dans le développement technologique. Nous examinons également comment ces imaginaires technologiques favorisent l'empowerment individuel et collectif, notamment à travers la représentation de personnages féminins dans des rôles scientifiques et techniques. L'accès à ces technologies avancées est souvent dépeint comme un moyen de résoudre des problèmes sociaux et environnementaux spécifiques aux contextes africains et diasporiques. Enfin, nous discutons des implications sociétales de ces imaginaires, leur impact potentiel sur la perception de l'Afrique dans le domaine technologique, et leur influence sur les politiques d'éducation et d'innovation. Cette étude contribue ainsi à une compréhension plus nuancée du rôle de l'afrofuturisme dans la transformation des imaginaires technologiques et sociaux.

Mots-clés : Afrofuturisme, imaginaires, technologie, Black Panther, Empowerment

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European discourse on migration: from preserving peace and freedom to expert management discourse

Even though the ordering of people on the move is often presented as a humanitarian solution to migration issues, the evolution of the international refugee regime (Betts, Loescher and Milner 2012) shows “that humanitarian factors do not shape the refugee policies of the dominant states in the international system” (Chimni 2004: 58). European policies put in place to deal with the issue of migration do not only respond to a need for protection but also to the states’ interests (Aleinikoff and Zamore 2019). This communication recounts the evolution of the lexicon related to migration in European discourse from the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1951 to the Pact on Migration of 2024. 10 EU Treaties and 96 secondary law texts are analysed with a combination of Discursive Semantics and Corpus Linguistics. Through this combined approach, we argue that a rather neutral discourse of general common sense favours a self-fulfilling circular rhetoric that presents banal arguments to bridge all political divides and avoid conflict (Oger & Olliver-Yaniv, 2006). Not only does the corpus present a careful and homogeneous lexicon reflecting the consensus of expert discourse (Cussó & Gobin, 2008), but as will be argued, the passage of time shows more all-purpose words, especially since the Tampere Council (1999). This is accompanied by a significant increase in the circulation of words related to migration management. Thus, to some extent, EU discourse on migration reflects how freedom has become an abstract principle to be organised rather than guaranteed.

The EU's collective imagination of migration: mediating the tensions through discourse

Migration has been central to European political discourse, particularly with conservative parties mobilising around European identity challenges (Krzyżanowski, 2013). Research on migration-related discourse has explored governance and management (Geiger & Pécoud, 2010), European normative power (Diez & Manners, 2007), and identity construction (Zappettini, 2019). While most of these studies adopt a political focus and analyse specific events, there remains a significant gap in research on the legal dimensions of European migration-related discourse over the long term. Therefore, this communication examines how long-term semantic changes reflect the evolution of European migration policies and their underlying ideological shifts. Specifically, it investigates how European legal discourse on migration operates to mediate the tension between the construction of a European identity, the principle of freedom of movement rooted in neoliberal ideology, and human rights. This research highlights how these discursive constructions shape a collective imagination (Cussó & Gobin, 2008) of Europe as a champion of human rights, one that manages and regulates (im)migration with compassion and solidarity among European countries while engaging in cooperation with third countries to externalise asylum seekers at the lowest cost. By integrating French Discourse Analysis (Lecolle, Veniard & Guérin, 2018), with key aspects of Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997) and Corpus Linguistics tools (Baker et al., 2008), this research analyses a corpus of 109 EU legal texts spanning from 1951 to 2024. Rather than focusing on specific events, it adopts a long-term discursive perspective, an approach that, to our knowledge, has not been undertaken before.

Demetrios MITRES-SIOUPIS (The American College of Greece) & Athina SIOUPI (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)

Discourse and political imaginaries in British Nuclear Culture (1955-1956): a case study

The British Hydrogen Bomb (1955) has raised significant concerns regarding its impact on society. This talk delves into the topic of political imaginary on Britain's press during the years of the Cold War (1955-1957), exploring how the 'real' and 'imaginary' framings are represented in the concept of 'sociotechnical imaginary' on national culture (Hogg, 2022). The main focus of the talk revolves around the impact of the British nuclear discourse to detect the nuclear rhetoric, using data derived from press between 1955 and 1956, in the two main British newspapers : The Times, and The Observer. How is the nuclear 'sociotechnical imaginary' embedded in British press? Is the framing of 'real' and 'imaginary' explicitly reported in the newspapers under investigation? How is the language of 'imagination' and 'reality' conceptualized? Addressing such research questions, the talk aims to: (a) investigate how certain relations of 'imaginary' and 'real' are reproduced discursively (van Hulst et al., 2024), (b) analyze at which frame concepts (Goffman, 1974) is the 'imaginary' foregrounded, (c) introduce an account, linking (master) framing (Benford & Snow, 2000, Entman, 1993) and 'sociotechnical imaginary' research to discursive approaches (Busse, 2012), offering a case study to identify empirically the concept of political 'imaginary' in the 'Cold War' frame of the 'British nuclear culture'. Based on the method of investigation linguistic and framing features (Vicary, 2010) of the data (cynicism, threat, fear, hope, (modal) verbs, pronouns, adjectives etc.), our results reveal that both 'real' and 'imagination' occur in nuclear policy by government (Mitres-Sioupis, in progress).

Iwona MŁOŻNIAK (Jagiellonian University)

PROBLEMATIZING AGEING: POLISH SENIOR POLICY AND THE DISCOURSIVE TRANSFORMATIONS OF NEOLIBERAL IMAGINARIES

The abstract presents an analysis of Polish senior policy (ageing policy) documents from the perspective of postfoucauldian analysis of problematizations. The analysis allowed to distinguish two main narratives present in the documents: civilizing and care.

The civilizing narrative emphasizes the need for activity and individual preventive actions (neoliberal), while the care narrative situates activity in the categories of care and support for older people (pastoral). Both narratives were interpreted as discursive images of neoliberalism, showing the imaginaries of social order and intergenerational relations that the senior policies were supposed to create (civilizing) and answer (care).

The differences between narratives and aims of the policies, in the documents where one of the narratives prevailed, seem to correspond on the one hand with two attempts to set senior policy (attempt to define its subjects and aims). On the other hand, both attempts are based on different imaginaries of the future society (ties and intergenerational relations, the role of state).

Richard MURENGERANTWARI (Université de Vienne)

Déplacement des frontières ethniques et démocratie au Burundi (2000 - 2020)

Cette présentation portera sur les résultats de ma thèse, qui est une analyse des discours historiques. Cette étude transdisciplinaire se concentre sur l'imagination, la construction, la flexibilité et la mutation des perceptions ethnopolitiques en Afrique subsaharienne en général, et au Burundi en particulier. Elle examine également les effets de ces perceptions sur les discours. L'étude est fondée sur l'analyse de mémoires d'auteurs burundais et d'entretiens qualitatifs, et s'appuie sur l'examen des discours publics au Burundi à la suite de la signature de l'Accord d'Arusha pour la paix et la réconciliation en 2000. L'analyse des discours de l'État et de la société civile de cette période révèle des signes de changement. L'ethnicité n'est plus au centre des discours et contre-discours, comme cela était le cas au XX^e siècle. Les frontières ethniques ont été redéfinies, laissant place à de nouvelles formes d'organisation et de solidarités fondées sur des intérêts, des valeurs, des symboles culturels et des défis communs. Le contenu des discours a évolué, passant d'une focalisation sur les disparités de pouvoir entre les « ethnies » Tutsi et Hutu à une préoccupation pour les enjeux sociétaux contemporains, tels que la pauvreté, le chômage et autres problématiques connexes. Il est doctorant à l'Institut d'études africaines de l'Université de Vienne. Dans le cadre de son projet de thèse, il mène des recherches sur l'histoire du Burundi, avec un focus particulier sur l'évolution des discours ethnopolitiques depuis l'an 2000. Il est auteur de l'ouvrage intitulé Les politiques linguistiques du Rwanda de 1962 à nos jours.

Droite, institutions et genres discursifs : tournants politiques et instabilités formelles dans le discours présidentiel sudaméricain

La démocratie et ses institutions se réalisent à travers un certain répertoire de genres discursifs, notamment des discours institués par lesquels les rôles au sein des institutions sont exprimés et cristallisés à chaque prise de parole (Maingueneau 2007, 2010). Ce répertoire est à la fois stable (garantie de son intelligibilité, Bakhtine 1987, Dolinine 1999) et changeant.

Depuis 2015, la droite a regagné du terrain en Amérique du Sud, souvent dans de partis de centre-droite, soucieux de l'ordre institutionnel et adaptés à un terrain marqué par le progressisme pendant les premières années du XXI^e siècle (Monestier et Vommaro 2021). Or dans certains pays fustigés par les échecs économiques (Luna et Rovira Kaltwasser 2021), de partis plus radicaux sont émergés. Le Mouvement *La Libertad Avanza* de Milei en Argentine (2023) ainsi que de la coalition *Acción Democrática Nacional* de Noboa en Équateur (2023), sont les cas saillants d'une vague plus ample de victoires politiques des droites extrêmes ou radicales dans la région. Élus aux plus hauts postes du gouvernement, leurs leaders doivent désormais gérer les institutions (et les discours) qu'ils ont l'habitude de questionner. Quelles conséquences sur le répertoire générique institutionnel ?

Notre recherche en analyse du discours (Maingueneau 2012) explore les configurations du discours d'investiture (Benoît à la Guillaume 2000, Vitale 2014) des droites sud-américaines au cours des quinze dernières années, afin d'en distinguer les traits génériques et d'observer comment les droites extrêmes ou radicales s'approprient ce genre. Nous montrerons que les investitures des droites extrêmes s'écartent des patrons génériques habituels.

Simulated Temporality: The Discursive Capture of Past, Present, and Future

The “slow cancellation of the future” (Berardi et al., 2011, p. 13; Fisher, 2009) describes how late capitalism strips the future of its radical potential, replacing it with a recursive loop of cultural stagnation. This paper argues that late capitalism does not erase time—it scripts, commodifies, and distributes controlled versions of it, shaping how societies experience temporality itself. The future no longer serves as a horizon of transformation but functions as a simulated space, endlessly reproduced in dystopian media, corporate foresight, and speculative finance.

This paper conceptualizes Simulated Temporality as the mechanism by which time persists under late capitalism – not as an open-ended process, but as an ideological construct that stabilizes the present order. Austerity politics, rather than merely foreclosing alternative futures, engineers a controlled temporality in which crisis is perpetual, speculation replaces transformation, and systemic change is preempted by hyperreal projections of managed decline or technological salvation (Baudrillard, 2016, 2019).

This paper hypothesizes that reactionary politics does not merely reject futurity but emerges as a structural response to its managed containment. Conservative and proto-fascist movements function within Simulated Temporality, offering a mythologized past as the only imaginable alternative. Media infrastructures sustain this condition through dystopian spectacle (Debord, 2005), historical nostalgia, and corporate austerity aesthetics (Knight & Stewart, 2016), ensuring that both past and future remain ideologically enclosed.

By analyzing media discourse, this paper examines how Simulated Temporality operates as an ideological formation (Zeglen, 2020), regulating time under late capitalism and replacing political potentiality with a controlled reproduction of what is already known.

Dirk Jochen NETTER (Philipps-Universität Marburg), Marc-André HEIDELMAN

AI, Media Representations, and Democratic Imaginaries: Shaping Past, Present, and Future Societies

Media representations shape societal perceptions, including visions of democracy. AI based technologies (e.g. chat-bots) reshape knowledge structures and institutional legitimacy (Ferrara, 2023). Acting as a discursive agent, AI selects, prioritizes, and renegotiates epistemic authority, influencing governance and shaping access to knowledge. AI-mediated discourse amplifies dominant narratives while limiting counter-discourses (Dodge et al., 2021).

This presentation examines AI's role in media representations, governance, and democratic imaginaries across three dimensions:

1) Democratic Memory and the Past: How does AI shape historical archiving and reinterpretation? As digital technologies mediate access to history, algorithmic decision-making increasingly influences which events are preserved, emphasized, or obscured. What impact does this have on collective memory, national legitimacy, and the ability of democratic societies to engage with memory cultures (Smit et al., 2024)?

2) AI and Governance: How does AI influence decision-making in democratic institutions? AI reshapes epistemic authority, introducing power asymmetries that challenge transparency and agency (Beer, 2019; Popenici & Kerr, 2017; Rehak, 2023).

3) AI and Future Democratic Orders: What normative implications does AI have for knowledge structures? How do media portrayals shape public perceptions of democracy's future (Jungherr, 2023)?

Using case studies from education, institutional decision-making, and media narratives, this talk examines AI's role in shaping governance and epistemic authority, reinforcing power asymmetries and influencing institutional knowledge structures (Amoore, 2020). Combining discourse analysis with case studies, it assesses AI's impact on institutions and proposing strategies for critical engagement.

Lucie NICLAES (UCLouvain), Barbara DE COCK (UCLouvain)

“We are dining with our grandparents’ oppressors”: how reactions on social media shape the representation of postcolonial relationships in DRC, Puerto Rico and Kenya

The commemoration of past events is the occasion to (re)produce particular representations of a nation (Spillman, 1997). In the case of colonial history, the visits made by monarchs from former colonial powers (FCP) to former colonies (FC) certainly play a similar role, generating discourses that, windowing the attention on certain parts of the past (Talmy 2000), frame the imaginary of the postcolonial relationship. In this regard, the question of who is represented as responsible for the (perceived) positive/negative sides of colonisation is central. Our study applies this question to a corpus of social media reactions written by inhabitants of the Democratic Republic of Congo, Puerto Rico and Kenya on the occasion of official visits of representatives of their FCP, namely the current Belgian, Spanish and British kings. We approach this responsibility from the perspective of *agentivity*, defined by De Cock & Michaud (2024) as the “causal relation between an agent entity, an intentional action and the state of who is affected by the effects of the action” and constructed for each actor in a discourse through multiple linguistic means (i.e. syntactic and semantic roles, syntactic position, etc.). We draw three comparisons: i) between the FCP and the FC (we expect FCP’s agentivity to be greater than FC’s agentivity), ii) between the three countries (we expect differences in the representation of responsibility due to different (post)colonial histories) and iii) between social media discourse to official visits (this study) and speeches by the kings during those visits (Niclaes & De Cock, 2024).

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Gerardo Costabile NICOLETTA (University of Calabria)

Reinforcing Growthism. How Economic Expert Discourse Shapes Energy Transition Imaginaries in/of Southern Italy.

The energy transition from fossil fuels to renewable sources is not merely a technical shift but a political and semantic battlefield where competing socio-ecological projects clash. This study examines the role of economics not as a neutral academic discipline but as an assemblage of discourses and practices that actively shape imaginaries of energy transition. Recent research in Energy Humanities and Decolonial Energy Justice highlights how the very concept of energy embeds power asymmetries and reinforces global inequalities. Integrating these critical perspectives into the Social Studies of Economics (SSE), this paper explores how economic expert discourses in southern Italy construct imaginaries that tie energy transition to growthist and productivist imperatives. The paper first contextualizes the role of economic expertise in shaping energy infrastructures in Italy, analyzing how expert discourses served as a device for integrating southern territories and populations into the global socio technical division of labour. Building on this discussion, the paper employs Discourse Theoretical Analysis (DTA) to examine a corpus of reports, press releases, and public statements from two major economic expert institutions of southern Italy— SVIMEZ and Centro Studi e Ricerche (SRM)— between 2019 and 2024. The analysis reveals how economic experts articulate energy transition as a driver of economic growth, linking it to port infrastructure and maritime logistics, regional geopolitical repositioning, and financial-corporate interests within shifting European geographies of power. By bridging SSE with critical energy social research, this paper critically examines the power of economic expert discourses in shaping current ecological transition imaginaries.

Speculative Imaginaries in Museum Narratives

Posthumanist theories provide us with alternative visions of futures, combining a critical reading of the Enlightenment tradition with developing a new paradigm that will equally encompass humans and more-than-human entities. I analyse art museum exhibitions to answer the question of what visions of the future artists offer us. Do these future narratives reproduce the anthropocentric world, or do they attempt to transform it and introduce a new language into the museum space? My interest is in texts accompanying museum exhibitions. I analyse the empirical material using critical discourse analysis (CDA). CDA reveals the role of language in producing and reproducing oppressive power relations. The discourses we use to construct our concepts of the natural world can directly affect its well-being. In the proposed research methodology, I treat the natural world as an exploited party, a victim of repressive power. CDA profiled in this way allows me to find out how museums treat ecological systems that sustain life on Earth - whether their official narrative is dominated by a modernist view of nature as something separate from culture or by a visible change in the story of our relations with it. The texts accompanying analysed exhibitions contain many indicators suggesting that museums are becoming more open to speculative and provocative visions of the future that do not focus solely on humans. An in-depth analysis of the selected cases shows that museums have not yet created a new language to tell stories about our connections with nature and still use concepts from the anthropocentric vocabulary.

Género, juventud y lenguaje digital: la construcción de la imagen femenina en los Internet Buzzwords chinos

En la última década, los Internet Buzzwords han influido notablemente en la configuración de la imagen femenina de nueva época en China, desafiando los discursos tradicionales de género arraigados en la visión confuciana. Este estudio, basado en el método cualitativo-análisis de texto, recopila y examina las expresiones relacionadas con la mujer en redes sociales durante la última década (2014-2024) según la teoría de la subcultura juvenil de la Escuela de Birmingham. El objetivo es analizar cómo estas expresiones configuran la imagen femenina en el debate público y revelar la ideología patriarcal subyacente.

La investigación se centra en cinco dimensiones: la representación pública de los temas femeninos, la disciplina de género en la construcción de la imagen femenina, la mirada social sobre el cuerpo de la mujer, la disputa de valores en torno a las elecciones femeninas y las diferencias generacionales en los discursos de género.

Los resultados muestran que, algunas expresiones han contribuido a romper los estereotipos tradicional que la sociedad ha impuesto a lo largo de tiempo hacia las mujeres, y a guiar al público hacia una nueva comprensión de la imagen femenina en la era contemporánea. Si bien algunas expresiones parecen empoderadoras y promueven la diversidad, muchas mantienen lógicas patriarcales subyacentes. A pesar del progresivo despertar de la conciencia femenina, la construcción identitaria de las mujeres chinas bajo los mecanismos de disciplina social, así como la expresión y el reconocimiento de sus propias necesidades, siguen situándose en un espacio semántico aún difuso.

Magdalena NOWICKA-FRANCZAK (University of Lodz)

Pseudo-parrhesiastes go for power. Truth-telling in the age of shameless politics

The focal point of Michel Foucault's (2005, 2010, 2011, 2019) elaboration of the Greek notion of parrēsia is the relation of truth-telling and democracy. The question of parrēsia re-emerges in the era of post-truth politics (Prozorov 2019, Ambrosio 2022, Sittidumrong 2024). In the context of democracy, Foucault distinguishes between parrēsia in its positive and negative senses. The former is linked to the courage to publicly tell the truth despite the risks that this act may carry for the speaker. The statements of whistleblowers and victims of sexual abuse can be linked to this type of parrēsia. Parrēsia in the negative sense refers to the saying of anything by anyone. It cancels the distinction on which democracy is founded that the demos speak through competent and virtuous representatives. Negative parrēsia seems to correspond with the radicalisation of political discourse, which Ruth Wodak (2020) names the 'shameless normalization of far-right discourse'. The logic behind the emergence of public speakers, based on the governmentality of autonomic computing (Rouvroy 2013), makes the pseudo-parrhesiastes not just anyone but someone with high media capital. I will discuss the role of pseudo-parrhesiastes in shaping the truth within democracy, using the example of Krzysztof Stanowski, a media personality who decided to run in Poland's 2025 presidential election. His slogan is 'Zero competence'. Stanowski claims that he is running to tell the truth in the mainstream media about the hypocrisy and incompetence of party candidates, but he does not want to become president. I pose the question of whether telling the truth from the position of holder of media symbolic power turns the ethical figure of the parrhesiastes into a phantasm of shameless politics.

Johann UNGER, Ana Larissa OLIVEIRA (Federal University of Minas Gerais & University of Münster), Monique Vieira Miranda

The role of creative language in ostracizing transgender people online: a Brazilian case study

This paper draws on the models of linguistic impoliteness (Culpeper, 2011) and critical discourse studies (Wodak et al 2021; Esposito, 2021) to describe and analyze the verbal attacks directed at a Brazilian transgender political leader, Duda Salabert. Based on previous studies conducted as part of a bigger project on Digitally Mediated Language of Aggression in Brazil (Oliveira et. Al. 2024), we depart from the idea that the practice contributes to proclaiming past and present imaginaries, in which transgender individual are depicted as transgressors. It also restricts the right to gender expression, with serious consequences for the integrity of the affected groups. Despite this fact, this type of language is often seen as harmless and funny, especially due to linguistic creativity. With the help of API Developer (Twitter/X and YouTube) and Corpora tools, we relied on a mixed method approach (Page et. Al. 2022; Barakos and Unger, 2016) to examine approximately 5,000 topical social media messages. In the manual analysis of the selected posts, we have particularly focused on how creative language was used to convey homotransphobia online. We also examined how the offensive messages were assessed by users in their impoliteness metadiscourse. Although this type of language serves as a potent mechanism for disseminating misogyny and homophobia online, it is primarily perceived as playful and harmless by most users. We were able to attest that offensive language in cyberspace contributes to the discursive erosion of democracy in Brazil since it affects equalit, dignity, and the right to gender expression.

Kirill OLMEZOV (UGent)

Constructing Russia's Future through a Mythologized Past: Cultural Concepts in Governance Imaginaries

This paper presents interim findings of an ongoing PhD research project, which examines **how Russian governance actors construct narratives of legitimacy through cultural concepts and historical framing**. These concepts—meta-law, sacralization of power, messianism, antagonism with the West, and the enemy of the nation—function as **discursive tools** that justify extraordinary political and legal measures while reinforcing regime legitimacy. Drawing on Lotman and Uspensky's semiotic analysis of Russian culture (1978), this study explores how **progress in Russian culture has traditionally been framed as a return to a lost truth** rather than linear evolution. This cultural mechanism continues to shape modern **governance imaginaries**. By invoking an **idealized and mythologized past**, Russian elites construct **narratives of continuity** that justify political legitimacy and legal exceptionalism. Official documents such as the National Security Strategy (2021) and the Decree on Traditional Values (2022) appeal to cultural **values that, in their presented form, never truly existed**. This study reconstructs the **historical trajectory of these cultural concepts** and examines their **transformation into legitimizing narratives**. The analysis is based on state-backed sources (Perevezetsev et al., 2024; Perevezetsev, S.V. (ed.), 2023) and independent research on Russian history, culture, and ideology (Lotman & Uspensky, 1978; Duncan, 2000; Poe, 2001; McGlynn, 2020; Hosking, 1997; Zorin, 2001). To understand their mythologization in contemporary discourse, the paper engages with studies on myth-making (Barthes, 1972; Bottici, 2007), nationalism (Anderson, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1990), and discourse analysis (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Reisigl & Wodak, 2016; van Dijk, 2008; Wodak & Meyer, 2016; Wodak, 2021).

Gabriela ORESTES (SMIT/VUB & FLUL/University of Lisbon)

Past, Present, and Fate: Reflections on *Rabo de Peixe* and Portuguese National Identity

This paper analyzes how the Netflix series “Rabo de Peixe” (2023) engages with the construction and mediation of Portuguese national identity within the context of a transnational media landscape and global audiences. Drawing upon the theoretical framework of Cultural Studies, specifically the concepts of national identity (Hall 1997, 2006) and media representation (Orgad, 2012), “Rabo de Peixe” is analyzed in terms of how narratives of marginalization, poverty, and exoticism intersect with global media discourses and the interest of transnational audiences in hyperlocal stories. It also contributes to the construction of the imaginary of a distant place, revealing tensions between local and transnational perspectives (Dunleavy, 2020; Castelló, 2009). Thus, the series, loosely based on real events in a small Azorean village, represents an example of how international platforms reinterpret national histories to fit broader commercial and aesthetic conventions (Iordache, Raats, & Afilipoaie, 2022).

While the production elevates Portuguese storytelling to global audiences, it simultaneously raises critical questions about media-driven imaginaries and the negotiation of national identity. Marked by concerns over stereotypes, historical accuracy, and the portrayal of regional culture, media coverage of the series' reception in Portugal underscores the complex relationship between local audiences and globalized content. This paper also explores key features of Portuguese national identity (Santos, 1994, 2003, 2013; Lourenço, 1992; Gil, 2007) and the concept of *portugalidade* (Almeida, 2017), seeking to understand the dissonance between the national imaginary and the international imaginary constructed around Portugal.

Luis H. PABÓN BATTLE (Universidad de Puerto Rico en Bayamón)

El péndulo histórico: Weimar y nuestro future

El péndulo histórico: Weimar y nuestro futuro

El péndulo histórico parece moverse nuevamente hacia la derecha, reflejando un patrón similar al de la República de Weimar. La pandemia y la inflación han generado una inestabilidad y una incertidumbre que evocan esa época, donde se observó un auge de clubes homosexuales y los judíos fueron utilizados como chivos expiatorios. Hoy en día, la comunidad LGBTQ+ y los inmigrantes ocupan ese lugar en muchos discursos políticos. Este fenómeno no es exclusivo de un solo país, sino que es mundial, lo que subraya la importancia de aprender de la historia para evitar resultados similares. La advertencia de Albert Camus en "La peste" sobre la necesidad de vigilancia constante y la protección de la diversidad y la ética es más relevante que nunca. En tiempos de crisis, la tendencia a buscar culpables y dividir a la sociedad se intensifica, pero es precisamente en estos momentos cuando la solidaridad y el respeto por las diferencias se vuelven esenciales. La ética y la protección de la diferencia no son solo ideales abstractos, sino principios fundamentales para una sociedad justa, democrática y equitativa. Este estudio investiga cómo las lecciones históricas de la República de Weimar pueden aplicarse a la situación actual para evitar repetir los mismos errores. A través de un análisis comparativo de los contextos socioeconómicos y políticos, se busca identificar patrones y ofrecer recomendaciones para fortalecer la democracia y promover la cohesión social.

Diego PALACIOS (Universidad Santo Tomás), Nigel MANCHINI (Universidad Santo Tomás), Teresa BAEZ (Universidad Santo Tomás)

El imperativo regulatorio de las emociones: análisis discursivo de protocolos de desregulación emocional y conductual en Chile.

En los procesos contemporáneos de emocionalización, se han promovido globalmente políticas que posicionan lo emocional como principio moral y explicativo del pensamiento y la acción educativa (Sorondo, Bertolin y Venceslao, 2025). Desde la pandemia COVID-19, una agenda impulsada por organismos supranacionales ha priorizado el bienestar socioemocional como estrategia para abordar problemáticas educativas estructurales (Abramowski y Sorondo, 2022). En Chile, escenario de estudio, esto ha tenido traducciones múltiples: estrategias de contención emocional (Palacios et al., 2023), manuales de autoayuda docente (Vargas et al., 2025) y programas de aprendizaje socioemocional (Bonhomme y Schöngut-Grollmus, 2023). Para comprender los imaginarios que configuran escuelas y actores emocionalizados, esta investigación analiza discursivamente protocolos de desregulación emocional y conductual (DESC) creados oficialmente desde 2022. Dado su creciente anclaje en narrativas mediáticas y educativas, se examinan dos orientaciones técnicas ministeriales y 151 protocolos escolares mediante análisis de discurso asistido por corpus (Ancarno, 2020) y análisis foucaultiano del discurso (Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2017). Los hallazgos permiten proponer un imperativo regulatorio que promueve: a) qué se “debe” hacer para “regular”, “contener”, “gestionar” y “manejar” lo emocional; b) una concepción de las emociones como fuerzas intempestivas por regular; y c) diversas tecnologías que inauguran la relación sujeto desregulado emocionalmente con/contra sujetos reguladores. Se argumenta que los protocolos DESC no solo operacionalizan lineamientos, sino que configuran un imaginario educativo emocionalizado, alineado con la razón de mundo neoliberal (Laval y Dardot, 2013). Este imaginario bosqueja y articula, con tonalidad imperativa (Zembylas, 2024), novedosas formas de estratificación y subjetivación en la experiencia escolar.

Leandro PAOLICCHI (Mar del Plata University)

The Constitution of the Neoliberal Order. Economy, culture and religion in Latin American neoliberal discourses

The aim of this paper is to identify some discursive topics common to the governments that have implemented neoliberal structural reforms in Latin America during the last thirty years. To do so, the paper argues, the basic structural features of Latin American societies and their relationship with the dominant economies of capitalism must first be identified. Against this background, it is possible to identify both some common themes and recurrent ideas in the politicians who have sought to push through neoliberal reforms in the nations of this region of the planet. Using predominantly the corpus of presidential speeches of countries such as Argentina, Brazil and Chile, we will present these speeches, their institutional background, as well as their relationship with similar speeches in advanced capitalist countries.

The framework of analysis will be given by a perspective indebted to the approaches of Western Marxism of the Frankfurt School (which includes Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis, among others) as well as other currents that have used a materialist analysis of political discourses (those inspired by Althusser's approaches, for example). According to this perspective, in order to understand the specificity of political discourses and their material consequences, they must first be understood within the framework of the totality of the social reproduction of which they are protagonists, as well as the totality of the reproduction of global capitalism. Without falling into reductionist or expressivist conceptions, only in this way is it possible to understand discursive dynamics, both in their causes and main effects.

Sofia PASTUKHOVA (Lancaster University)

Hypothetical future and memories of WWII in Russian TV's legitimization of the invasion of Ukraine

This paper investigates legitimization efforts in Russian state-affiliated television media covering major events in the first 18 months of the war with Ukraine. Data is collected from Russian Channel One's "Time", Russia-1's "Evening with Vladimir Solovyov", and RT's "News"

The data is analysed based on metaphor (Charteris-Black, 2004), blame assignment (Hanssen et al., 2022), and other legitimization efforts (van Leeuwen 2007; Reyes 2011). The data was coded in its original language (Russian or English) for any metaphors used as well as strategies of assigning blame (judgments of propriety, veracity, capacity, tenacity) and (de)legitimation strategies (authorisation, moral evaluation, rationalisation, mythopoesis; through emotions, through a hypothetical future, through rationality, voices of expertise, altruism).

The analysis shows that in Russian state-affiliated television programmes metaphors are used to deprive Ukraine of agency and thus focus blame for the war onto 'the West', particularly the USA. What is more, personal authorisation is used to create a sense of a 'universal consensus' in the minds of the viewers by not only awarding authority to President Putin himself, but by also showing world leaders' and Russian MPs' support of his decision to invade Ukraine. Altruism and legitimization through emotions are evoked through depicting Russian-speaking refugees from the Donbass, the region most affected by fighting. Finally, legitimization through hypothetical future is achieved through implying security risks to Russia and even threats to its very existence that would have been imminent had Russia not invaded first.

Stéphanie PÉCHER (UCLouvain)

State agents' responsibility for human rights abuses: contrasting imaginaries in (social) Media

In October 2019, the Chileans started to protest against social inequalities and in favour of a new Constitution. This social crisis was met with harsh state repression and hundreds of human rights (HR) abuses were denounced. In this context, (social) media played a crucial role in the construction and distribution of contrasting imaginaries (Pécher, 2024). In this case study, we want to explore how (social) media participated in the production of such imaginaries by analysing how responsibility for HR abuses is linguistically constructed for cases of eye injuries (i.e. when the victim lost an eye or became blind because of state agents' actions), an emblematic type of injury during these protests (220 victims between October 2019 and March 2020 (INDH, 2023)). We focus on newspaper articles and tweets that cover specific cases of eye injuries and analyse to what extent the state agents' responsibility is made explicit by looking at agentivity -intrinsically connected to responsibility (Yamamoto, 2006). In order to do so, we draw on various discursive, syntactic and semantic parameters that influence the expression of different degrees of agentivity (De Cock and Michaud Maturana, 2014). This study highlights how different conceptualizations of responsibility can shape contrasting imaginaries about the role of the state in HR abuses. We expect to find higher levels of agentivity in the tweets, social media being spaces where alternative voices often rise to challenge more traditional imaginaries. We also expect to find variation within the newspaper articles, more specifically between traditional and alternative media.

Stéphanie PÉCHER (UCLouvain), Laetitia Aulit (UCLouvain);
Barbara De Cock (UCLouvain); Cristian Gonzalez Arias
(UCLouvain)

Media in the midst of a struggle over imaginaries: critiques to the press in the context of the 2019 Chilean social protests

The 2019 Chilean social protests gave rise to public debate on competing imaginaries for the future of Chile, leading to a referendum concerning the abolishment of the Pinochet dictatorship-based Constitution. Those protests were extensively covered by Chilean media. Given the high polarisation in the Chilean society, these media representations were heavily contested by laypersons (cf. Pécher 2024 on human rights violations during the protests). In this study, we look into how the struggle around competing imaginaries in the media crystallises in critiques to the press by calling it *populist*, through the analysis of a set of 278 tweets from October- December 2019 in which the Chilean press is called *populist*. On the one hand, we look into which types of media are being called populist, with a focus on the unique position of morning shows, which became highly popular news outlets during the protests. On the other hand, we analyse which meaning is given to *populist* in these tweets, where we distinguish critiques to the press -be it media outlets, journalists or articles- for being sensationalist (thus lacking professionalism), from more ideological critiques for deemed manipulation of information or for exacerbating violence. In doing so, we show how the press' role in spreading certain imaginaries made it a target for online critiques. This study also highlights a specific strategy to attack the press in the context of the Chilean social protests through the association with *populist*, for which we have so far not found equivalents in prior studies on European contexts.

Adriana Moreira PEDRO (FFLCH-USP)

Discurso e ideologia: um estudo da criação de “verdades” no primeiro jornal produzido no Brasil

Neste trabalho, pretende-se analisar alguns discursos provenientes do primeiro jornal publicado e produzido no Brasil intitulado *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro* para observar as ideologias e as possíveis criações de “verdades” que podem ter se perpetuado até os dias atuais na sociedade brasileira. O jornal, que se iniciou em 1808, com a chegada da família real portuguesa ao país, em que até então a capital se situava no Rio de Janeiro, era composto de apenas quatro páginas e circulava normalmente duas vezes por semana, sendo produzido pela Imprensa Régia. Trazia notícias em sua grande maioria provenientes dos países europeus com traduções de seus jornais para o português e com notícias sobre as guerras e conflitos que ocorriam naquele período, com o olhar e a percepção das pessoas que estavam no poder. Dessa forma, baseando-se nas obras de Teun Van Dijk sobre ideologia (1999) e contexto (2012), nas teorias do discurso de Norman Fairclough (2004), e da argumentação de Perelman e Olbrechts-Tyteca (2005), além dos estudos sobre a imprensa no país, objetiva-se escolher alguns trechos de exemplares do referido jornal para analisar se podemos identificar discursos carregados de ideologias que afirmavam “verdades” que, dependendo do ponto de vista, não o eram. Mas que, por ser publicado em um meio de comunicação ilibado, e pelo grande poder de circulação, podem ter acabado se tornando, sim, verdades. A justificativa se faz no sentido de entender que essas verdades possivelmente construídas podem circular ainda hoje no Brasil trazendo uma forma de ver o país e a própria sociedade de forma pejorativa com relação aos países europeus, por exemplo. E julga-se ser importante entender a forma como a sociedade se vê para compreender os caminhos que percorrem perante si mesmos e o mundo.

Simon PEETERS (University of Giessen)

Imaginarities of Innovation: Negotiating Action Spaces in Organizations

Immanuel Kant's concept of the "space of possibilities" serves as the starting point for this presentation, analyzing the potential and constrained action spaces within organizations. In Kant's philosophy, the space of possibilities constitutes the ontological foundation of human cognition and the perception of available courses of action. Originally conceived as a construct for individual perception and experience, this space is reinterpreted here as a social space that defines the scope of action within organizations. This presentation bridges Kant's ideas with modern Convention Theory and Foucault's discourse analysis to examine how social norms and discursive practices both stabilize and transform the space of possibilities. This space is not static; rather, it is subject to continuous negotiation processes that shape an organization's capacity for innovation and its structural limitations. Contemporary post-factual tendencies and radical constructivist perspectives on social reality further highlight the dynamic nature of this space, illustrating how claims to truth and the social construction of reality define the possibilities and constraints of innovation in organizational contexts. By linking Kant's ontological considerations with modern social theoretical approaches, this framework provides an interdisciplinary perspective on the malleability of organizational action spaces and their impact on innovation and social structures. This approach offers new insights into innovation as a socially constructed process and the dynamic negotiations that shape an organization's innovation potential. Understanding innovation through this lens reveals its dependence on broader social, normative, and discursive frameworks, emphasizing its contingent and evolving nature.

Xin PENG (Universitat Pompeu Fabra)

La imagen nacional infantilizada y la metáfora misógina: un estudio sobre la política de género en *That Year, That Rabbit, Those Things*

Este estudio, desde una perspectiva feminista, analiza críticamente cómo la ideología de género participa en la construcción de la representación de la identidad nacional en el discurso propagandístico del Partido Comunista Chino. A través del análisis de la serie animada *That Year, That Rabbit, Those Things*, se examina la intersección entre la misoginia y la infantilización discursiva, que genera una narrativa estatal aparentemente desexualizada pero centrada en lo masculino. Esta animación representa una nueva tendencia en la propaganda del PCC, que incorpora la cultura popular para ampliar su alcance, llegando incluso a integrarse en programas oficiales como el *Estudio Juvenil Nacional*. Al mismo tiempo, la infantilización se ha convertido en un rasgo clave de la cultura popular y en un elemento central en la construcción de la imagen nacional.

Mediante el análisis multimodal de metáforas (Lakoff, Johnson, 2008) en los niveles visual, lingüístico y narrativo (Cullum-Swan, 1994), este estudio revela que, aunque la infantilización parece neutralizar el género, la figura central (metaforizada como Estado o régimen) sigue siendo masculina y reproduce una masculinidad tóxica (Huang, 2023). La figura femenina está ausente en la narrativa y solo aparece como parte de metáforas como “los aviones de combate son mujeres”, reduciendo a las mujeres a objetos y erotizando las armas, lo que oscurece las consecuencias humanas de la guerra.

Este estudio contribuye al análisis de la propaganda del PCC desde una perspectiva de género y demuestra cómo la cultura popular refuerza discursos ideológicos mediante estrategias visuales y narrativas.

Deborah PHARES (UCLouvain Saint-Louis Bruxelles)

Dissidence numérique d'ex-musulmans. Construction discursive d'“imaginaire de vérité”

Dans le cadre d'une analyse des discours critiques d'individus lambda se définissant comme ex-musulmans et/ou apostats sur la plateforme X, cette présentation propose une articulation théorique entre l'“imaginaire de vérité” (Charaudeau, 2005 ; Pirat, 2006), l'idéologie (Fairclough, 1995 ; Van Dijk, 1998), l'idéologie composite (Brace, Baele et Ging, 2023) et la représentation (Hall, 1997) discursive de l'islam. L'imaginaire de vérité, selon Charaudeau, est conçu comme un ensemble de représentations et d'idées présentées comme indubitables afin de légitimer un discours et des actions. Cette articulation permet de comprendre comment cet imaginaire de vérité subjectif, via une mise en scène multimodale, redéfinit le rapport des ex-musulmans à l'islam et à leur propre identité. Cela est d'autant plus intéressant qu'historiquement, l'apostasie et la critique de l'islam sont considérées comme hérétiques, contraignant ceux qui renoncent à leur foi à garder le silence, à se cacher et à s'autocensurer (Sahad, Chu Abdullah, & Abdullah, 2013 ; Mohamad et al., 2017, 2018). Dans cette dynamique, il s'agit de remodeler certaines perceptions politiques et sociales de l'islam et de l'apostasie, de légitimer une nouvelle réalité pour les apostats et d'influencer les discours islamiques dits normatifs en revendiquant un pouvoir discursif sur la “vérité”. Notre proposition théorique repose sur trois études de cas de tweets d'ex-musulmans aux profils variés sur X, illustrant comment ils mobilisent l'espace numérique pour (re)construire un imaginaire de vérité collectif et (re)configurer leur place dans le débat public.

Muireann PRENDERGAST (South East Technological University)

Time to be seen: Promoting gender balance in media discourses on agriculture and rural communities in Ireland

While almost 40% of women in Ireland live on farms and in rural communities (CSO, 2016), these women are largely excluded from mainstream media discourses due to their remote locations and historical male dominance in agriculture and rural affairs. Using a theoretical framework informed by Critical Discourse Analysis, this project aims to identify how women and men are represented in discourses on agriculture and rural issues and to raise awareness in cases where women are omitted from or misrepresented in this coverage. The methodological framework of this study is mixed, combining the qualitative principles of Fairclough's (1995) sociocultural approach to discourse analysis with a quantitative corpus-assisted strand (Gillings, Mautner and Baker, 2023). The findings of this study add to the body of literature promoting gender equality in mainstream media discourses (e.g. Ross and Padovani, 2016), specifically on farm and rural issues in the Irish context (e.g. Shortall, 2017), which intersect with critical concerns such as climate action and social inclusion.

Critical discourse analysis of western media reporting on Israel and Palestine: how media shapes the reality

This study uses Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to examine Western media coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, focusing on reporting by CNN, Al Jazeera English, and The Daily Mail on October 7 and October 27, 2023 (since these dates can show us a significant change in the discourse depending on who attacked). Using Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional framework, the research analyzes media discourse at the textual, discursive, and sociocultural levels. By comparing the selected headlines, the study investigates linguistic choices, biases, and the ways in which media shape public perception. The data collection revealed significant differences in headline volume, with Al Jazeera publishing twice as many headlines as CNN and The Daily Mail. To ensure coherence, it has come to filtration, removing headlines containing direct quotations, those using reporting verbs like "say" or "tell," and headlines solely announcing photo presentations. This allowed for a clearer comparison of media discourse. The findings reveal notable differences in framing: CNN tends to adopt a neutral stance, emphasizing U.S. policy responses; Al Jazeera focuses on Palestinian suffering, highlighting Israeli military actions; while The Daily Mail uses emotionally charged language that aligns with a conservative, pro-Israel perspective. Key patterns include differences in verb usage, with Al Jazeera employing terms such as "carpet bombing" to describe Israeli actions, while The Daily Mail frames Hamas as aggressors with phrases like "terrorist attacks." The study concludes that media reporting is not merely descriptive but actively constructs reality through selective framing and ideological positioning. It underscores the importance of critical media literacy in navigating biased reporting and understanding how media influence public perception.

Narratives, opinions and arguments. Discursive analysis of the climate challenges

The fact that history is cyclical or described as cyclical no longer needs to be proven. Numerous authors have addressed this issue. The cyclicity of contemporary achievements and their dependence above all on political change is more challenging. It forces us to put in place tools for understanding social reality at the very moment of its production. Climate issues are a case in point, with the Paris Agreement in particular. This international treaty based on IPCC data was signed at COP 21 in Paris in 2015. Since then, successive accessions and withdrawals and a whole panoply of accompanying discourses have contributed to the creation of an imaginary around this political act and also around climate issues.

In this paper, we focus a sample of discourse on COP 26, 27 and 28 collected as part of the UNKNWONPATH project (CY Initiative funding) and the two withdrawals and one re-adherence of the USA from the Paris Agreement in 2020 and 2025. Methodologically, in the tradition of Francophone discourse analysis, we measure the weight of narratives (Bonnaïfous & Temmar, 2007; Maingueneau, 2014), opinions (Jackiewicz, 2016) and arguments (Anscombe & Ducrot, 1988; Plantin, 1996; Doury, 2016) in discursive production on this subject.

From the perspective of the communication sciences, we wish to contribute to shed light on the articulation between science, politics, information and subjectivity in relation to the climatic imaginary of the early nineteenth century.

Masoumeh RAHIMI (Vrije Universiteit Brussel)

Translocality in International Diplomacy: A Semiotic Analysis of JCPOA Memes Across Digital Contexts

The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) or the Iran nuclear deal has been debated, mediatised, and reframed across global digital, linguistic and cultural spaces. This paper focuses on JCPOA memes and 'translocality' (Hepp, 2009), exploring how different discursive practices shape the perception of the diplomatic agreement as either success or failure. I draw on a dataset of JCPOA-related memes obtained from social media platforms in Iranian (N=78) and English (N=168) contexts. By relying on multimodal semiotic analysis (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2020), this study explores how the memes construct and negotiate meaning, reshaping communication through textual, visual, and intertextual elements. The analysis shows how hybrid forms of discourse emerge (through the intertwining of local and global intertextual and visual elements), and how memes reflect and reinforce different ideological positions which contribute to the construction or reinforcement of dominant (globalised) discourses. The results indicate that while Persian-language JCPOA memes represent culturally different emotional patterns, there is a degree of commonality with Anglo- American communication norms. Moreover, the findings from data-driven multimodal analysis reveal diverse patterns within the dataset. Among the identified patterns, the 'failure of US policies' in dealing with Iran is predominantly present in the English dataset. The most common memetic pattern within the Iranian memes is 'unreliability of the West'. Humour is used as a vehicle for normalisation of negative perceptions, constructing harmful messages in a way that appear more acceptable or entertaining. The memes function as politically charged cultural artifacts shaped by emotions in digital cultures.

Shivani RAO (London School of Economics and Political Science)

The Epistemic Origins, Means and Ends of the Smartness Imaginary of India

This study examines how processes of ableism and disablism are perpetuated through Hindutva's techno-cultural smartness and their implications for dis/abled (Goodley, 2014) individuals' authorship of collective knowledges regarding citizenship and belonging. "Smartness" is defined here as the unregulated technological development deployed by the state-corporate apparatus of Hindutva techno-capitalism without consultation with marginalized groups. This conceptualisation of smartness, as it is rooted in racial capitalism, Brahminical supremacy, and ablenationalism (Snyder and Mitchell, 2010), shapes urban citizenship, belonging in the public space, and future urban imaginaries while systematically excluding dis/abled voices. The research centers crip (derivative of crippled, a reclaimed term much like queer) knowledges in public spaces to envision crip authorship of future urban imaginaries.

Smart urban mobility in Mumbai serves as the empirical field, utilizing a conceptual framework of crip theory (a way of doing critical disability studies), intersectionality, testimonial and hermeneutical injustice (Fricker, 2007), and liminality to interrogate the binaries of ability/disability, body/mind experience, and national/urban/rural distinctions and relationships. A methodological framework to examine knowledge structuring in public spaces is proposed through three epistemic practices of smart mobility policy and discourse: i) epistemic silences (gaps, unknowns, exclusion from design processes), ii) epistemic authority (as it is attributed to urban governance technologies), and iii) epistemic infrastructuring (knowledge creation, recreation, and destruction through interactions with smart mobility technologies). Finally, crippling will be applied as an analytical lens throughout the research process, to design a research project that is accessible and inclusive to individuals with a wide range of dis/abilities and ways of thinking, and for the researcher to crip her own authorship drawing from her crip positionality.

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Olivier RASQUINET (UCLouvain Saint-Louis Bruxelles), Cédric TANT (ULB & UCLouvain Saint-Louis Bruxelles)

Imaginaries and Commitment of the deaf community

In the context of a perceived crisis in Deaf engagement, this proposition explores how the imaginary shapes commitment and disengagement of deaf people within their community. While previous studies highlight a decline in participation in mass-events organized by and for the deaf community (Foster et al., 2018), recent research suggests a broader retreat from collective advocacy centered on deaf identity (Rasquinet, 2024). This shift raises questions about how deaf individuals negotiate their visibility in the public sphere and whether their commitment has taken alternative forms. Building on the framework of Cultural Disability Studies (Waldschmidt, 2018), we examine this phenomenon through a critical lens, considering how dominant socio-political structures influence deaf imaginaries. Drawing on a corpus of nine semi-structured interviews conducted in 2023, our study includes sign language users and oralists, categorized based on their involvement in deaf spaces. Preliminary findings indicate that while traditional forms of deaf activism may be waning, commitment persists through intersectional advocacies (e.g. LGBTQIA+ rights, anti-racism, feminism), suggesting a reconfiguration rather than a disappearance of commitment. By interrogating the role of the imaginary as a collective consciousness (Grassi, 2005), we analyze whether this disengagement from deaf-centered spaces signifies a broader realignment of priorities within minority communities. We also explore whether this shift can be understood as a form of subjective commitment to an objective environment (see Durand, 1992). Through this analysis, we contribute to discussions on the interplay between discourse, representation, and the imaginaries of minority groups in contemporary societies.

Laurène RENAUT (Université Aix-Marseille), Clotilde CHEVET (CELSA Sorbonne Université), Lucie RAYMOND (CELSA Sorbonne Université), Samuel VERNET (Université Aix-Marseille)

Discours et imaginaires de la sphère techno-patriote autour de la guerre civile : entre passé glorifié, présent menacé et futur apocalyptique

Notre proposition de communication est issue d'une recherche interdisciplinaire¹ menée sur la mobilisation de programmes d'intelligence artificielle générative par les partis *Reconquête* et *Rassemblement national* ainsi que par leurs partisans².

Nous cherchons ici à mieux comprendre comment les acteurs de la mouvance identitaire en France co-construisent, à l'aide de nouvelles technologies médiatiques, des discours autour du (dés)ordre social. Plus précisément, nous interrogeons la manière dont ils articulent, à l'aide de ces outils, sociétés passées (ici glorifiées), présentes (perçues comme menacées) et futures (représentées comme apocalyptiques) pour inciter à l'action dans un contexte annoncé de « guerre civile ». Nous montrerons ainsi que la génération par la sphère techno-patriote de formes culturelles stéréotypiques (discursives, iconiques et symboliques) renouvelle les imaginaires³ populistes.

Notre étude s'appuie sur une ethnographie des sphères numériques⁴ des droites extrêmes qui a permis de faire émerger plusieurs corpus récoltés entre octobre 2023 et décembre 2024 :

- un premier qui réunit des productions textuelles et audiovisuelles créées à l'aide d'outils d'intelligence artificielle générative et diffusées sur les canaux de communication officiels des partis étudiés⁵ ;
- un deuxième corpus composé d'images et de vidéos produites par des militants de la mouvance identitaire⁶ ;
- un troisième corpus d'entretiens menés avec des responsables de la communication numérique de *Reconquête*. Ces contenus sont analysés à l'aide d'une méthodologie « techno-sémio- discursive » (Rondot, 2015 : 18), fondée sur une approche discursive argumentative (Amossy, 2008)⁷, tout en prenant en compte les signes non-verbaux⁸ et les caractéristiques des dispositifs investis⁹.

Florian RODOT (Université libre de Bruxelles), Othmane MOUYYAH (Université libre de Bruxelles)

La circulation des théories du complot dans l'espace public numérique : le cas de *Pallywood* sur X

Notre communication présente un travail de recherche qui se focalise sur la campagne de désinformation s'articulant autour du terme « Pallywood ». Plus particulièrement, notre analyse porte sur les publications parues sur X (ex-*Twitter*) entre octobre 2022 et octobre 2024, présentant le terme « Pallywood ». Le choix de cette période de deux années permet de mettre en lumière un témoignage de la guerre d'information – ainsi que la construction d'imaginaires discursifs – présente dans l'espace public numérique depuis l'attaque du Hamas sur Israël, le 7 octobre 2023.

Contraction de « Palestine » et « Hollywood », « Pallywood » est une théorie conspirationniste, véhiculant l'idée que les Palestiniens orchestreraient et diffuseraient de fausses vidéos de leurs souffrances pour manipuler les opinions publiques occidentales.

En tant que tentative de minimisation par le discours de la souffrance du peuple palestinien – et, par extension, en tant qu'atteinte à la dignité¹ du peuple palestinien par la négation du droit à exprimer sa souffrance –, « Pallywood » témoigne d'une dynamique de confrontation et de lutte pour le « dicible légitime »², entre différentes fractions de la société sur les réseaux socionumériques. Cette lutte est polarisée sur les RSN – exacerbée sur X³ – et s'articule souvent autour de discours de haine⁴ et de désinformation⁵. Ce terme ne se contente pas de nier la souffrance mais elle construit un contre-récit fondé sur un imaginaire linguistique où la souffrance palestinienne est réduite à un scénario hollywoodien.

Pour analyser ces discours en tension, nous recourons à une collecte de tweets publiés pendant la période octobre 2022 – octobre 2024. Nous analysons notre corpus sur base d'une analyse de discours lexicométrique, afin de mettre en avant les logiques discursives mobilisées. Nous effectuons également une analyse de réseaux afin de comprendre dans quels groupes d'utilisateur·rice·s ont circulé ces discours sur X.

Bruna ROJE SANCHES (Universidade Federal de São Carlos)

Autismo, sexualidade e linguagem: Uma análise discursiva de discursos sobre a sexualidade de pessoas autistas

O tema dessa apresentação é uma pesquisa que fala do discurso sobre a sexualidade de pessoas autistas. Analisaremos, a partir da teoria da Análise de Discurso, conforme os trabalhos de Eni Orlandi (2007a, 2007b, 1984), Foucault (1988), Bethania Mariani (2013a, 2013b) e Alexandre Ferrari (2014, 2019), os efeitos de sentido do “discurso sobre” e do “discurso de” da sexualidade de pessoas autistas. O corpus de análise será constituído por artigos publicados nas revistas *Neuropsychiatric Disease and Treatment*, *Dialogues in Clinical Neuroscience*, *Canadian Journal of Disability Studies* e *Ought: The Journal of Autistic Culture*. Os principais conceitos e noções mobilizados na pesquisa são: condições de produção, formações imaginárias, pré-construído e estereótipo, “discurso sobre” e “discurso de”, ideologia. Além disso, a pesquisa contará com a análise de textos de pessoas autistas do site Medium, assim como textos do âmbito médico (nosso corpus de referência) do site *Psychology Today*, buscando colocar os recortes discursivos em relação para proceder às análises. A pesquisa visa, a partir dessas análises empreendidas, compreender como essa prática discursiva acontece e como a linguagem afeta a forma com que a sexualidade de autistas é vista social e cientificamente.

Noelia Belén ROJO ZABALAGA (Universidad de Granada)

From Biopolitics to Necropolitics: Elderly women and unpaid domestic and care work in Bolivia

Esta investigación examina la situación crítica de las mujeres mayores en Bolivia que han dedicado su vida al trabajo doméstico y de cuidados no remunerado, analizando cómo el sistema de pensiones y las políticas públicas las dejan desprotegidas. El estudio se fundamenta en los marcos teóricos de la biopolítica y la necropolítica para explorar cómo las estructuras estatales perpetúan desigualdades basadas en género, clase y etnia en un contexto postcolonial. Se propone el concepto de "biopolítica de los cuidados" para articular las dimensiones de género, clase y raza en el ámbito de las mujeres mayores. Este enfoque permite examinar la colonialidad del Estado de bienestar y los cuidados en Bolivia, analizando la persistencia de estructuras coloniales en los sistemas de protección social. El estudio contextualiza la situación socioeconómica de Bolivia, enfocándose en la demografía del envejecimiento y el impacto del trabajo doméstico no remunerado en las pensiones de las mujeres. Se analiza el marco legal existente, incluyendo la Constitución Política del Estado y otras normativas relevantes, para comprender el entorno jurídico que enmarca esta realidad. La metodología se basa en el análisis del discurso fundamentado en la sociología del conocimiento, permitiendo examinar la retórica oficial y las narrativas institucionales. Esta investigación busca contribuir al debate académico sobre políticas de cuidado y envejecimiento en América Latina, proponiendo nuevas perspectivas para abordar las desigualdades estructurales que afectan a las mujeres mayores cuyo trabajo de cuidados ha quedado invisibilizado en los sistemas de protección social.

This research examines the critical situation of older women in Bolivia who have dedicated their lives to unpaid domestic and care work, analyzing how the pension system and public policies leave them unprotected. The study is based on the theoretical frameworks of biopolitics and necropolitics to explore how state structures perpetuate inequalities based on gender, class, and ethnicity in a postcolonial context. The concept of "care biopolitics" is proposed to articulate the dimensions of gender, class, and race in the sphere of older women. This approach allows for an examination of the coloniality of the welfare state and care systems in Bolivia, analyzing the persistence of colonial structures in social protection systems. The study contextualizes Bolivia's socioeconomic situation, focusing on the demographics of aging and the impact of unpaid domestic work on women's pensions. The existing legal framework, including the Political Constitution of the State and other relevant regulations, is analyzed to understand the legal environment that shapes this reality. The methodology is based on discourse analysis grounded in the sociology of knowledge, allowing for an examination of official rhetoric and institutional narratives. This research seeks to contribute to the academic debate on care policies and aging in Latin America, proposing new perspectives to address the structural inequalities that affect older women whose care work has been rendered invisible within social protection systems.

Sebastián RONDEROS (Université de Namur), Emmy EKLUNDH (Cardiff University)

Reassessing Transgression: Discourse Theory and the Disavowal of Affect

This paper critically reassesses the concept of transgression in discourse theory (DT), advocating for a more nuanced understanding of its affective and ideological dimensions. Grounded in Lacanian psychoanalytic theory, we reconceptualize transgression as a dynamic interplay between desire, fantasy, and socio-symbolic norms. We challenge the prevailing view of transgression as mere defiance against external norms, arguing instead that it is a co-constitutive process deeply tied to internalized structures of desire and enjoyment. Introducing the concept of self-transgression, we illuminate how subjects simultaneously affirm and subvert norms, revealing a complex tension between prohibition and desire. This framework critiques the literature's tendency to valorize transgression as inherently transformative—either emancipatory or reactionary—demonstrating instead its frequent role in reinforcing existing power structures. Through an analysis of contemporary political phenomena, such as populist movements and environmental activism, we illustrate how a more affectively-inflected conception of transgression can deepen discourse-theoretical insights, tight to four methodological principles: (1) signifiers extend beyond mere words, (2) analysis must move beyond textual metrics, (3) policy is a central site of discursive struggle, and (4) fantasy functions as a cipher for ideological dynamics. These principles facilitate a more holistic approach to political identity formation, transcending the limitations of text-centric analyses. Ultimately, this paper calls for a reconfiguration of DT that foregrounds affect, opening new pathways for understanding the emotional and ideological forces shaping our political present.

From Duality to Diversity: The Transformation of Brussels' Narrative

National narratives, i.e., the stories, myths and frames that construct a nation's self-understanding, have long been identified as crucial concept to understand the emergence and maintenance of a polity. With the growing pressure of regionalisation, the salience and success of national narratives extend beyond nation-building. Subnational communities may contest the central national narrative through the use of counternarratives calling for more political autonomy or the overhaul of institutional design.

The paper observes the evolution of subnational narratives in the Belgian Brussels-Capital Region (BCR). The BCR had originally been envisioned as a non-aligned zone, situated at the crossroad between Belgium's French- and Dutch-speaking community. Given its bilingual character, its identity has been viewed as 'double-faced' - a perspective that aligns with its bilingual institutional framework, which ensure the representation of both Dutch- and French-speakers. Yet, the socio-demographic and linguistic landscape of Brussels has evolved significantly. We argue that these changes have challenged the pre-eminence of the narrative of the BCR as a 'synthesis of Belgium's two primary linguistic communities'.

Drawing on thirty in-depth interviews with Members of the Brussels Regional Parliament this study examines how these elites conceptualise the region's identity. Specifically, it asks: How is it discursively constructed by political elites? Which features are emphasised or de-emphasised? Which political demands/institutional preferences arise from their narration?

In doing so, the paper shows that the identity of the BCR is increasingly narrated around inclusive multiculturalism and multilingualism. This evolving narrative challenges the continued legitimacy of the region's binary institutional structure and reflects an emerging "self-confidence" regarding Brussels' distinct role within the Belgian federal system.

Negotiating between the universal and the local? The case of “digital oratory” and embodied social media video content

The digital interface has given rise to a new generation of “digital oratory” (Rossette-Crake 2022) and the democratisation of public address in which, thanks to the advent of online video, speakers from potentially any walk of life can take to the virtual floor and have their voices heard. As of the early 2000s a number of first-generation digital formats were developed (e.g. TED talks, three-minute thesis presentations, investor pitches); deriving from the Anglo-American context and quickly adopted around the world, they reflect Anglo-American communication culture and constitute highly constrained setups that leave little room for variation, be it at the cultural or the individual level. More recently, a second generation of digital oratory has been propagated by the advent of video content on social media, leading to the widespread practice of “social media oratory” by various social actors, from politicians to social activists and various types of content-creators or influencers (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich and Georgakapoulou 2024). Such video content is embodied (the speaker appears in the video); it is typically filmed as a selfie video (or “velfie”), which follows in the steps of the selfie photograph, whose mode of self-representation is described as a new form of “global discourse” (Veum and Undrum 2018). On the surface at least, it appears that this second generation of digital oratory may well reflect a similar degree of standardization to that which preceded it. The aim of this panel contribution is to discuss to what degree variation within various linguistic and cultural zones can be observed in such social media video content. After defining and contextualising social media oratory with respect to earlier forms of oratory and the issue of variation, I will present results of a study of a corpus of video content produced by “news influencers” (Pew research, 2024) in the Anglo-American and French contexts. These are analysed for their multimodal (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006) and linguistic choices, as informed by potential variation in terms of the role the format is led to fulfil within the specific cultural context.

Mónica Eugenia RUIZ (Universad Nacional de Tucumán, Argentina)

Using of would and pragmatic competence in English acquisition as a foreign language

The aim of this research emerges from our teaching space of English as a foreign language acquisition in a non-formal education setting. Through the teaching process in individual and group lessons we are interested in teaching more than only grammar rules. It is related to becoming aware that the teacher should provide sociocultural knowledge that is inseparable and integral in the teaching-learning process which enables students to shape and train what Bachman calls “pragmatic competence”. The hypothesis of this project is to learn how to use the modal verb ‘would’ in formal situations implies the acquisition of pragmatic competence. The theoretical framework of this research are the following concepts: communicative competence (Hymes, 1972), pragmatic competence (Bachman, 1990), cooperative principle (Grice, 1975) acts of speech (Searle, 1969), politeness theory (Vidal, 1996; Bravo, 2017), face (Goffman, 1967; Bravo, 2017), and modalization (Garcia Negroni & Tordesillas Colado, 2000; Etkin, 2011). All the theories mentioned before are applied for the analysis of the case studies. Pragmatic competence is connected to implicature when an utterance violates the maxim of manner because being polite is more important than language system. On the other hand, we focus on violating the maxim of manner because the modal verb would is equal to an indirect act of speech that involves the illocutionary force used to be polite when communicating. Modalization is expressed through the usage of the modal verb would. We are in the analysis stage of the case studies and we are achieving preliminary conclusions.

Paul Sambre

A spatial grammar of micro-resistance in a seized mafia asset (University of Leuven, Belgium)

This study examines counterhegemonic repositioning within the Foucauldian architectural dispositive of a seized Mafia property repurposed for socio-educational use by Libera in Polistena, Calabria (Dijk, 2023). Based on an in situ ethnographic video interview (1 hour) with a social worker in different rooms of this non-discursive work setting (Keller, 2024, pp. 400–401), the analysis explores how the former site of territorial Mafia control now serves as a discursive-material locus of resistance (Picarella & Sciarrone, 2024). The study integrates SKAD (Keller, 2024) with a multimodal cognitive linguistics for spatial discourse (Langacker, 2019; Talmy, 2018) to capture visual and spoken discourse traces beyond post-structuralist textual analysis. Our aim is to establish locally embedded (Muti, 2023) construction grammars of resistance (Cap, 2020; Jessop, 2020; Torrent, 2023), moving past decontextualized post-Saussurean and post-Gramscian perspectives. The interview reveals a network of voices that reframe past and present civil resistance, positioning the speaker within an alternative history of oppression and empowerment (Cap, 2021). Through the speaker's words, we access voices of other, often silent, civil actors, as in situ talk opens different temporal past and present scales of relevance. We present two excerpts illustrating how talk and architecture co-construct community values (Pecile, 2021), including mobility (restanza, Teti, 2022), transparency, social justice, and ecology. These multimodal findings contribute to a broader linguistic and sociological understanding of how social movements reclaim spaces, transform power relations, and articulate new modes of resistance through both discourse and material practice.

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Michael P. SCHLAILE (University of Hohenheim)

Sensemaking for sustainability transitions? Making a case for (econo-)memetics

In the face of multiple interconnected crises, including global division and political polarization (e.g., Søgaard Jørgensen et al., 2024), transformations of social ecological systems will neither be fully understood nor governed through scientific “evidence” alone (especially if this only means hard data). Arguably, one of the most important cultural factors preventing sustainability-oriented changes is not a lack of scientific evidence but rather incompatible belief systems and contesting worldviews (e.g., De Witt et al., 2016). Relatedly, multiple strands of research have shown that individuals and groups make sense of and act in response to their natural and social environment by drawing on culturally evolved narratives and worldviews, among other factors (e.g., Riedy & Waddock, 2022; Schlaile et al., 2022, 2024). However, the institutional logics of academia favoring rather clearly demarcated disciplines have contributed to a fragmented research landscape on sense- and decision-making in economics, worldviews, narratives, cultural evolution, and sustainability-oriented transition and transformation processes. With this conceptual contribution, I propose to overcome (some of) this fragmentation by drawing upon (econo-)memetics (Schlaile, 2021; Schlaile et al., 2023). Here, memes are understood as culturally evolved informational instructions that are adopted and socially replicated (e.g., in the form of narratives) regardless of their utility or empirical validity (Schlaile et al., 2023), which can also contribute to the evolution of highly implausible and unfounded belief systems (Boudry & Hofhuis, 2024). This perspective sheds new light on agentic forces in the variation and selective retention of narratives that may lead to discursive hegemony and memetic lock-in counteracting collective sensemaking for sustainability transitions.

Michael Franz SCHMIDLEHNER (Universidade Federal do ABC (UFABC))

A Lacanian Reading of Green Economy's Symbolic Rupture

This presentation investigates the discourse of Green Economy, increasingly prevalent in governmental and intergovernmental spheres such as UNEP (2011) and OECD (2014), as a locus of symbolic rupture. Framing this discourse through Lacanian (1991, 1993, 2006) psychoanalytic and discourse theory, I argue that it forms part of a broader and, over the last two decades, intensifying development of the breakdown of signifying chains that characterizes postmodernity (Jameson, 1991). As signifiers lose their stability, the tendency toward foreclosure – the defence mechanism underlying psychosis – increases, culminating in discourses like that of Green Economy. Here, nature's traditional role is dismantled by the logic of 'economic visibility' and nature is reconstructed as an endless reservoir of commodified services within a framework of Green Growth. (Hickel and Kallis, 2020) Ecological limits are now not perceived as binding constraints, but as negotiable variables within a market-driven logic. Thus, the "No-of-Nature" – which functions as an agent of symbolic castration for the modern subject – is foreclosed in this discourse. (Schmidlehner, 2023) The consequent collapse of symbolic order involves a radical loss of reality and leads the discourse of Green Economy and leads the discourse of Green Economy to create and sustain the fantasy of infinite growth, thereby exacerbating the crisis. The presentation shows how this discourse adds a central element to the post-truth landscape, exacerbating the breakdown of symbolic mediation in late capitalism, and hindering the urgently needed far-reaching economic and social transformation.

Janna SCHUMANN (European University Viadrina, Frankfurt (Oder))

Imaginarities of the future in right-wing populist discourse

In populism, it seems that the future is lost and at stake at the same time. Referring to Fukuyama's End of History (Fukuyama, 2022), Hochuli et al. even go as far as to state that populism was born by the end of history (Hochuli, Hoare, & Cunliffe, 2022, p. 49). As right-wing populist movements perceive the future as lost and a threatening scenario (if they do not succeed) (Rhein, 2023, p. 68), what the German AfD offers its voters is to re-establish symbolic-hegemonic social relations that were thought to be lost in the future (Rhein, 2023, p. 76). In this realm, this paper asks how humor is used to illustrate imaginaries of the future within right-wing populist discourse. Humor is not only a powerful strategy to shape imaginaries of the future. It is also easier to break taboos about the future if packaged in ambiguity (Schäfer, 2023, p. 31). How does populist discourse play with the loss of future through humor? And how does populist discourse use humor to shape the future according to their specific imaginaries? To answer these questions, a study of the discourse of German right-wing influencer Michelle Gollan should be performed. She defines her own goal as „with humor against the zeitgeist“ (Eingollan, 2024). Methodically, the paper follows the sociology of knowledge approach to discourse (SKAD) (Keller, 2005). Specifically, the concept of dispositive (Foucault, 1978, p. 119ff.) (Keller, 2005, p. 259) (Flöck, 2018, p. 65) is used to structure the analysis.

Lwando SCOTT (University of the Western Cape)

Discourses and Contestations over Sexuality in Postcolonial Africa

The recent anti-homosexuality laws upheld in Uganda by the constitutional court in April 2024, and upheld by the supreme court in Ghana in July 2024, demonstrate the continued struggle for sexuality freedoms in post-colonial African states. The contestations over (homo)sexuality in Africa is captured in the tired-yet-ubiquitous discourse of “homosexuality is un-African.” An assertion that continues to be part of public discourse, used by politicians and lay people alike, and in many ways forms the foundation for anti-homosexuality legislation in 21st century Africa. While South Africa is different and instituted progressive protective sexuality legislation, complete with the legalisation of same-sex unions, even there, the claim that “homosexuality is un-African” remains a discursive weapon used against queer Africans. In the years following African independence, research from different academic disciplines, think tanks, and activist organisation have proven time and again, that homosexuality indeed has existed in Africa and continues to be part of African people’s lives. Here then, I am interested in the discursive power of the “un-African” assertion. I am interested in what this assertion does, and why and how it retains such a force in post-colonial Africa, even in the face of historical, social, and cultural facts. What about the context in African states makes for fertile ground for this assertion? Does the history of colonialism provide explanatory power for the discursive use of the “un-African” insistence? In problematising heteronormative power, even within supposedly progressive settings, like Indigenous movements, Joanne Barber (2017: 11) argues that “the core place of gender and sexuality in Indigenous sovereignty and self-determination has been minimized and deflected, contributing to and reflecting the disaggregation of race and racialisation from the politics of gender and sexuality within” what she calls “cis scholarship and within Indigenous sovereignty and self-determining struggles.” Barber is spotlighting the complicated ways that gender and sexuality are disarticulated from the racial and/or national politics. According to Barber (2017: 11) “the disarticulation (of gender and sexuality) from race and ethnicity or law and politics is a regulatory tool of power and knowledge. Such discursive practices suppress the historical and cultural differences that produce what gender and sexuality mean and how they work to organise history and experience.” This disarticulation finds its most powerful and potent expression in the insistence that “homosexuality is un-African.” Therefore, in this paper, I am centring the question of sexuality in the postcolony with the intention to think seriously about coloniality, race (particularly the black body), gender, and sexuality as we make sense of the re-inscription of heterosexuality and the exiling of the homosexual in post-colonial Africa.

Cultural Critique from the Right: The German far right podcast ‘von rechts gelesen’

While a podcast reviewing popular culture is nothing out of the ordinary, the German podcast ‘von rechts gelesen’ (read from the right) is rather unusual: It is a culture and literature podcast produced by the German far right. While popular culture had long been considered inherently progressive, liberal and modern (Stanfill, 2020), the podcast ‘von rechts gelesen’ is a vivid example of how far-right actors are increasingly embracing popular culture to capture new audiences and normalise far right ideas (Miller-Idriss, 2018; Penney, 2023). In the podcast, founded in 2016 and released by the German far-right publishing house JungEuropa, the podcasts’ two hosts discuss popular cultural or literary events, films and publications from a decidedly right-wing perspective. The podcast itself exists within a broader *neue Rechte* ecosystem in Germany, a closely-linked group of intellectuals and activists engaging in a ‘metapolitical battle’ to normalise far-right ideas and discourse (Kellershohn, 2016). Zooming in on ‘von rechts gelesen’ as an example of the far right’s engagement with audiovisual fiction - film, TV series and video games – the article presents the findings of a discursive-theoretical analysis (Carpentier and De Cleen, 2007) of relevant ‘von rechts gelesen’ episodes between 2016 and 2024. The article shows how audiovisual fiction has become a site of political contestation for German far-right activists and thinkers looking to normalise far right-ideas. The podcast’s hosts draw connections between popular audiovisual titles and key components of far-right ideology, *inter alia*, ultra-nationalism, ethnopluralism, racism and patriarchy. Through re-signifying the meaning of commonly consumed pieces of audiovisual fiction and presenting alternative, far-right infused, readings and interpretations, the podcast’s critique of audiovisual fiction directly supplements the German far right’s broader metapolitical goals.

Marina SHTURMINA (Uppsala University)

Oppositional Rearticulation of Russian National Identity in Post-Invasion Online Discussions

In February 2022, Russia invaded Ukraine, triggering a surge in online discussions surrounding collective guilt, responsibility, and the moral obligations of opposition-minded Russians. These debates have sometimes focused on the distinction between “good” and “bad” Russians, with individuals labelled based on their reactions to the invasion. Since Facebook is a Russian “liberal echo chamber” (Bodrunova & Litvinenko, 2016, p. 116), discussions on the platform were chosen for the analysis. The Facebook posts by individuals who are labelled as “foreign agents” by the Russian state are examined. This study uses the discourse theory by Laclau and Mouffe (2014) to look at how opposition-minded Russians contested their national identity after the invasion. The publications included in the analysis were posted in response to selected events :

The full-scale invasion of Ukraine (Feb–Mar 2022)

The Bucha Massacre (Apr 2022)

The introduction of the “passport of a good Russian” project (May–Jun 2022)

The mobilization announcement (Sep–Oct 2022)

The annexation of Ukrainian territories (Sep–Oct 2022)

The Wagner Group rebellion (Jun–Jul 2023)

The “almost naked party” controversy (Dec 2023–May 2024)

The death of Alexei Navalny (Feb–Mar 2024)

The presidential elections (Dec 2023–Mar 2024)

The Ankara prisoner exchange (Aug–Sep 2024)

Seemingly unrelated, the events selected caused debates among opposition-minded Russians, and all contributed to the bigger discussion on the normative aspects of the national identity. By mapping these discursive struggles, the study captures the ideas that might inform the future hegemonic project of the Russian national identity.

Ivan SMEKALIN (HSE University)

Mapping Politicisation of Volunteer Organisations in Authoritarian Regimes: from Pandemic to Civil Mobilization

This study examines the politicization of civil mobilization in authoritarian regimes through the case of the Russian social movement WeAreTogether. Initially a grassroots mutual aid initiative during the COVID-19 pandemic, the movement later transformed into a mechanism of state-aligned civil mobilization amid the armed conflict with Ukraine. The study investigates how state-affiliated social organizations utilize discourse to legitimize authoritarian rule. It addresses a gap in understanding how authoritarian regimes co-opt volunteer narratives to reinforce state legitimacy beyond traditional political activism. Employing a mixed-methods approach, this research integrates qualitative discourse analysis with computational techniques, including corpus-assisted discourse analysis and natural language processing. It applies Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory to examine antagonism and hegemony within the movement's communication.

The dataset comprises 1,690 publications from WeAreTogether's VKontakte page, analyzed across three phases: pandemic (2020–2021), demobilization (2021–2022), and mobilization (2022–2023). Findings reveal a discursive shift from local volunteer-driven narratives to state-aligned rhetoric, particularly following the escalation of military conflict. Geographic discourse mapping highlights the integration of symbolic references to contested territories, demonstrating how the language of volunteerism reinforces state legitimacy. The study contributes to understanding authoritarian strategies of co-opting civil society through discourse. The WeAreTogether movement demonstrates how grassroots volunteerism can be politicized through the appropriation of the legitimacy of volunteers who initially responded to social needs during COVID-19. This study highlights how the Russian state leverages civil society for legitimation (Gerschewski, 2013), using NGOs to stimulate social participation and maintain public support. Following Lorch and Bunk's (2017) framework, the findings reveal that NGOs reinforce state legitimacy by reproducing historical discourses aligned with the regime's narrative.

Denying conspiracy theory beliefs: truth, post-truth and the demand for 'reasonable' discourse

This article is concerned with the problem of conspiracy theories and the production of 'reasonable' discourse. In Michael Billig's (1988) work on prejudice, making discourse 'reasonable' means finding external (out-there-in-the-world), rather than subjective (biased), reasons for discrimination. His line of thought has important implications for the studies on truth and post-truth in general, and conspiracy theories in particular. In the eyes of its critics, conspiracism is a symptom of being epistemically prejudiced, to say the least (Kalpokas 2019). This would suggest that denying conspiracy theory beliefs can be expected to make heavy use of externalisation devices and factual discourse (Edwards and Potter 1992). This article critically examines an empirical example derived from a sizable corpus of radio talks broadcasted on Polish Radio 24 during the rule of Law and Justice party in Poland. Participants argue that what we all witness nowadays is a threatening global revolution heading for the depopulation of the world. They acknowledge that what they say might be heard as conspiracism, but deny being led by conspiracy theory beliefs. The goal of this study is not to decide whether the theory of depopulation is right or wrong. Rather, it is to investigate the production of 'reasonableness' and the truth/post-truth relationships in actual settings (Demasi 2020; Lynch 1993). However, neutrality about the reference of factual discourse can raise a theoretical discussion: it can be easily criticised for strengthening the very post-truth dynamics it investigates. This article attempts to take part in this discussion.

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The discourse of disinformation

Disinformation, or more precisely the statement of the state of particular threat by this phenomenon, is an important element of the contemporary social imaginarium. The fear of disinformation is accompanied by a statement concerning the post-truth era, as a diagnosis of the state of the contemporary world.

The presentation is an attempt to find an answer to the question of the causes of the peculiar moral panic that accompanies disinformation and related phenomena. This thesis points to the fact that the proliferation of disinformation-like phenomena is one of the fundamental manifestations of the crisis of the dominant discourse of modernism, the episteme of modernity (Foucault) based on the semantics of truth, order, stability, and social trust. In relation to this crisis, the aforementioned semantics, which constitute the nodal points of rational modernity, reveal their instability, appearing as empty signifiers (Laclau&Mouffe). It is no coincidence that disinformation is analysed particularly in the context of the crisis of journalism, which constitutes one of modernism's main discursive practices.

A detailed analysis of media and scientific ways of constructing disinformation will show that disinformation is problematized (also in the context of concepts with broader semantics, such as post-truth) consistently as a threat to the category of objective truth constitutive for the chains of signification in modernist societies. The category of truth, actualized in the discourse of science or journalism, is in this sense one of the nodal point of modern societies (Hartley), and the instability of its semantic explicitness leads to the instability not only of the discourse, but also of the broader understood discursive field of modernity.

Hagen STEINHAUER (University of Bremen)

Demographic Dystopias of The French and German Far Right.

In the neo-fascist worldview of the far-right, immigration is threatening the purity of the body politic and is even a precursor of white extinction (Bhatt 2021). Demographic dystopias speaking of replacement of white Europeans by masses of racialized immigrants are deeply ingrained in the far-right imaginary across Europe. In early 2024, for instance, investigative journalists (Bornmann 2024) revealed secret meetings of Austrian neo-fascists of the 'identitarian movement' and members of the German AfD discussing what is euphemistically framed as 'remigration': the xenophobic and nativist idea of expelling immigrants, asylum seekers and generally people who do not fit the racist ideology of the far-right.

It is in this context, that a remarkable conflict occurred between members the far-right faction 'Identity and Democracy' in the EU parliament: The French *Rassemblement National* (RN) rejected the AfD's views on 'remigration', making sure not to be associated with ideas of expulsion or even 'deportation'. The resulting mediatized quarrel between the RN's Marine Le Pen and the AfD's Alice Weidel are symbolic for the diverging discursive strategies of the two parties. While the German far-right assumes a radical nativist and anti-system stance, French actors are increasingly successful in posing as reasonable, moderate and close to the people, portraying 'liberal elites' and 'illegal migration' as a threat to hard-working (white and European) middle-classes.

In my talk, I will compare the positionings of the AfD and the RN in current discourses around demographics and migration within a framework of normalization (Krzyżanowski 2020). Which role do demographic dystopias such as the idea of replacement and white extinction play in far-right discourses about identity and democracy?

Mary Stela SURDI (Universidade Federal da Fronteira)

IMAGINÁRIOS SOBRE A REINVENÇÃO DO SUJEITO-PROFESSOR NO ACONTECIMENTO DA PANDEMIA DE COVID-19

Objetivamos neste estudo discutir sobre os imaginários atribuídos ao sujeito-professor no acontecimento da pandemia de Covid-19, por meio dos efeitos de sentido convocador pelo termo reinvenção e sustentaremos nosso movimento de interpretação no aporte teórico-metodológico da Análise de Discurso (AD) franco-brasileira. Ao filarmos nosso gesto de análise a esse dispositivo teórico-analítico, interessa-nos reconhecer que imaginários acerca do sujeito-professor estão presentes em diferentes formações discursivas produzidas no cenário pandêmico e divulgadas pela mídia digital. Para isso, constituímos nosso corpus com um conjunto de recortes discursivos extraídos de reportagens online publicadas em homenagem ao dia do professor no ano de 2020, escolhendo aquelas em que já nos títulos das matérias o termo reinvenção estava sendo empregado e também em uso no decorrer dos textos. Através do dispositivo teórico-analítico da AD, pudemos visualizar o funcionamento discursivo do termo, reconhecendo no corpus selecionado as repetições, as rupturas e as incompletudes próprias da natureza polissêmica da linguagem, bem como reconhecemos as formações imaginárias que se constituem nesses discursos. Constatamos a presença de variações de sentido, mas há de se destacar que prevalece nas sequências discursivas analisadas, o discurso da reinvenção como adaptação. Assim, nos discursos que se constituem sobre a reinvenção do professor no contexto de pandemia predomina a formação imaginária do sujeito-professor que passou por dificuldades, insegurança e despreparo para atuar no contexto de pandemia.

DOCÊNCIA E PANDEMIA: EFEITOS NOS MODOS DE SUBJETIVAÇÃO DE SER PROFESSOR

Neste trabalho apresento alguns resultados da pesquisa em nível de doutoramento vinculada ao Programa de Pós-Graduação em Estudos Linguísticos (PPGEL) da Universidade Federal da Fronteira Sul (UFFS), campus Chapecó-SC e tem como tema os efeitos de sentido de ser professor de língua portuguesa no acontecimento da pandemia de Covid-19. Esse acontecimento promoveu uma série de disrupturas nos modelos vigentes no mundo do trabalho, nas relações sociais e no campo da educação. Uma dessas disrupturas no campo educacional pode ter afetado os modos de subjetivação de sujeitos - professores, instaurando outras redes de filiação de sentidos do que se interpreta sobre “ser professor”. Teoricamente, pauto-me em uma perspectiva discursivo- desconstructiva em aproximação com a Análise de Discurso. O objetivo principal foi analisar se a experiência de ensino remoto emergencial provocou deslocamentos nos modos de subjetivação dos sujeitos-professores, implicando (ou não) a constituição de novos processos identificatórios de ser-professor. Metodologicamente, o arquivo foi constituído com entrevistas semiestruturadas realizadas com dez sujeitos-professores que falaram de si e sobre a experiência de ser professor durante o acontecimento da pandemia de Covid-19. Desse arquivo, extraí um conjunto de regularidades discursivas que constituem o corpus deste estudo, a saber: o *unheimlich*, a angústia, o desejo, o falar de si e a docência pandêmica. Dentre algumas considerações, vislumbro que os efeitos e os afetos experienciados por esses sujeitos provocaram deslocamentos nos modos de subjetivação de ser professor

Raquel TARULLO (Universitat de València)

Del problema a la valentía: imaginarios sobre la migración latina en España

Los imaginarios forman parte de un proceso dinámico que participa activamente en la construcción de la realidad (Castoriadis, 2013). Estos imaginarios generan nuevas formas de organización y sentido, al mismo tiempo que pueden limitar la aparición de nuevas formas de pensamiento y acción. Varios estudios han abordado los imaginarios sobre la migración, así como el papel que han desempeñado los medios de comunicación en su construcción y difusión. En este sentido, las narrativas pedagógicas de los medios suelen promover imaginarios que vinculan la migración tanto con situaciones problemáticas como con condiciones cercanas al heroísmo (Marroquín, 2019). En este contexto, dos situaciones dan lugar a la presente propuesta de comunicación. Por un lado, el acercamiento de las audiencias a los espacios digitales donde desarrollan sus prácticas de consumo informativo (Digital News Report, 2024). Por otro, el crecimiento de perfiles de personas migrantes que generan contenido específico para estas comunidades. Este fenómeno, que ocurre especialmente en Instagram, responde a la necesidad de las personas migrantes de acceder a información ajustada a las primeras etapas de su proceso migratorio (Leurs, 2019).

Este estudio busca conocer cuáles son los imaginarios que construyen y difunden tres cuentas de Instagram especializadas en contenido para personas migrantes latinas en España. Dada la naturaleza de Instagram, se ha realizado un análisis cualitativo multimodal. Los resultados preliminares indican que estas cuentas promueven un imaginario de la migración como un camino problemático, que solo atraviesan con éxito las personas migrantes valientes y heroicas.

Michalis TASTSOGLOU (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens)

Disentangling past, present and future on newspaper front pages: The Palestinian question from the perspective of discourse analysis

According to the media systems typologies established by Hallin and Mancini (2004), Greece and other Southern European countries (such as France, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, Malta, and Cyprus) are categorised within the Mediterranean or Polarized Pluralistic model. This classification entails that they have traditionally developed intimate relations with the political power (Papathanassopoulos, 2007), affecting how they cover current affairs, including wartime events. In the case of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Greece has shown support for Israeli interests, with the Greek administration seeking to present numerous arguments regarding its relationship with Israel. However, Greek newspapers have exhibited a division in their stance on the Palestinian issue, notably as Israel increased its assaults on civilian populations and public infrastructure following the Hamas attack on October 7th.

The present study sets out to undertake a critical analysis of the media discourse surrounding the Palestinian question. In order to achieve this objective, the study will focus on answering two research questions: firstly, how is knowledge about the past, the present and the future of the question being constructed? Secondly, which is the use of metaphors when they describe the intensity of each side's practices?

Thus, we implement a combination of Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 2003; Gee, 2011) and Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse (Keller, 2024) coupled with Metaphor Analysis (Musolff, 2012). Research findings indicate that the Greek media has thus far been reluctant to portray the Israeli hostilities in a manner consistent with the coverage of the events of October 7th.

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Legitimizing AI: A Discourse Analysis of OpenAI's Public Narrative

Understanding how artificial intelligence (AI) has become central to public discourse, policy, and investment requires examining how publicly available AI products are introduced, legitimized, and naturalized. This paper argues that AI's legitimization often relies on discursive strategies portraying it as essential, efficient, and ascribed agency. Using critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2015; Van Leeuwen, 2008) and digital methods, I analyzed OpenAI's 20 most-viewed YouTube videos, totaling 206 minutes and 38 million views, collected in mid-January 2025. Drawing on Actor-Network Theory (Latour, 1996) and distributed agency theories (Suchman, 2007), I illustrate how OpenAI constructs a narrative that positions AI as legitimate through rationalization, the attribution of agency, and anthropomorphism, which downplay its embodiment of corporate intentionality and design.

Moreover, AI's legitimization fosters its naturalization, whereby AI's capabilities are depicted as inevitable and beneficial, overshadowing ethical debates or potential risks. By framing AI as an autonomous entity within dominant technological discourse, OpenAI reinforces a sociotechnical perspective of agency, aligning with Latour's idea of networked agency and shaping public perception and regulations.

These discursive strategies position AI as an inevitable and autonomous force, influencing societal expectations and governance frameworks. This study contributes to critical AI studies by demonstrating how corporate discourse shapes public perception and regulatory frameworks. Recognizing these mechanisms is essential for maintaining ethical oversight and democratic debate around AI's rapidly expanding role.

Tuomas TERVASMÄKI (Tampere University), Mikko POUTANEN (Tampere University)

State capitalists in competition: Marxist imaginaries in Finnish higher education policy futures

Anticipation of policy futures – attempts to forecast, influence and govern coming times beforehand – has become increasingly explicit action in education policy-making (Robertson 2022; Kallo & Välimaa 2024). The future appears uncertain, with growing ecological crises, the polarisation of societies, and the rise of authoritarian, anti-democratic forces. So, there are well-reasoned demands to expand political imagination for alternative ways of organising societies (Amsler & Facer 2017). Yet, global competition between knowledge economies national higher education policy is called upon to support the competitiveness of the national economy (Sum and Jessop 2013; Poutanen 2022). This hegemonic policy discourse anticipates economic priorities, which reproduce the regime that arguably contributes the wicked problems mentioned above.

Given the taken-for-granted nature of the economic-competitive policy imaginary and its underpinnings are rarely critically debated – this includes Nordic welfare states like Finland (Tervasmäki 2024). We provide a case study on policy imaginaries in Finnish higher education through a Marxist reading of the ontological premises of these policies. While Marx (1976) did not extensively theorize the mechanics of competition, he did argue competition formed an underlying logic – the compelling laws of competition – that hold capitalists.

By employing critical fantasy studies (Glynos 2021; Tervasmäki 2024), based on post-marxist discourse theory (Laclau & Mouffe 2001), our analysis suggests that these compelling laws of competition are reproduced in the future-oriented policy discourse of the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture. We argue that the Ministry could be characterized as a state capitalist actor, seeking to leverage higher education for economic competitive success.

Valeria TOLIS (University of Leeds)

“It means different things to different people” : symbolic imaginary(ies) of eco-social counter-hegemony

An *acquis* in humanities and social sciences is that a word can have multiple meanings, and the phrase “it means different things to different people” is often deployed to cut short discussions in everyday conversations.

The concept of “imaginary” has found its way in discourse studies via other disciplines, including Lacanian psychoanalysis (Parker 2010, Laclau and Mouffe 1985, Tolis 2023), for which discourse is composed of three interrelated registers – Symbolic, Imaginary and Real – through which *split* subjectivity is situated and constituted.

Whilst in Lacanian Discourse Analysis the Symbolic (the presupposed battery of signifiers through which we speak) and the Real (what escapes language representation as a surplus, nonsensical remainder carrying a liberating potential) have been analytically prioritised, the Imaginary, as the realm of *meaning* and individual identification, remains underdeveloped, because it refers to our individual mental representations which are never identical (Neill, 2013, Pavon Cuellar et al. 2010).

This discussion shares the premise of the “imaginary” as the place of meaning and identification, taking seriously that individual imaginaries are indeed different. However, it departs from more “orthodox” applications of LDA to interrogate how such conceptualization can be useful to analyse and co-produce socio-political “radical” alternatives in a world under the existential threat of eco-social collapse. It poses three questions: is accessing the “imaginary” possible as it presupposes a symbolic/linguistic network (and interference of analyst’s own imaginary)? Can the imaginary creatively trigger the symbolic chain of signifiers to reconfigure signification? How would counter-hegemonic imageries of resistance, subversion and eco-social justice look like?

Monika TOSIK Kopytowska (University of Lodz) & Majid KHOSRAVINIK (Newcastle University)

Epistemic digestibility, axiological tagging, and affective communication: TikTokization of politics in comparative perspective

The emergence of novel technology-enabled forms of reaching out to the public and amplifying voter engagement in ways not possible in the pre-digital era has taken political persuasion to a new level, enhancing its speed, scale, and impact. TikTok, in particular, has emerged as a powerful tool for populist politicians to reach and engage young audiences with emotionally driven messages, often focusing on informal, relatable content likely to resonate with Generation Z (Cervi et al. 2023; Rastrilla et al. 2023; Widholm et al. 2024). Linking the technosuasive potential of political discourse to new distance dynamics and adopting the Media Proximity Approach (Kopytowska 2013, 2015, 2022), the present article sets out to examine the TikTokization of political communication and its interfaces with populism by comparing the TikTok communication strategies of Nigel Farage, the leader of Reform UK and Sławomir Mentzen, a prominent figure of Poland's right-wing political scene and one of the leaders of the Confederation Liberty and Independence party. Focusing on three key aspects of their discourse: epistemic digestibility (simplification and condensation of political messages, making complex ideological positions accessible through short-form videos, memes, and catchy slogans), axiological tagging (the use of ideological signposts - hashtags, symbolic language, and value-laden narratives - to reinforce group identity and align audiences with specific political worldviews), and affective communication (strategies of emotional appeal), the study investigates how both politicians adjust their message styles and audience engagement strategies within their respective national contexts while employing similar digital affordances. The paper confirms that social media affordances favor populist communication styles (KhosraviNik 2017, 2018), reinforcing polarized political identities, emotional engagement, and simplified ideological messaging and, while cultural contexts may be different, technology plays a homogenizing function.

USR and Back to the Future? Performing the ‘New People in Politics’ in 2024

How successful are political attempts at ‘imagining the future’ in mobilizing citizens beyond social movements? Movement parties (Kitschelt, 2006) have materialized as the self-styled champions of neglected, demobilized segments of population. If European movement parties have tended to veer ideologically towards the far-right, Romania has provided some interesting exceptions. USR, or the Union Save Romania is a center-right movement party (2016 -) closely associated with the 2017 pro-justice mass protests (Mărgărit, 2022; Trif, Mărgărit, Burean, forthcoming). In 2021, after successfully contesting elections and joining the governing coalition, the party chose to leave the Government in a sign of protest over the mishandling of their Justice agenda. USR had campaigned on an anti-illiberalism and pro-justice political platform, promoting ‘new people’ in politics, and positioning themselves as the champions of ‘change’ and, presumably, ‘democratic’ reforms. This paper questions the discursive consistency of this new collective identity, unravelling its positioning within an emerging pro-justice political imaginary, and analyzing its mutations from the party’s 2020 to its 2024 political program. I argue that the heterogeneous political demands subsumed under this label created an effect of ideological overreach, hollowing out its message, favoring a performative interpretation of identity, and eventually undermining its attempts at instituting an alternative political imaginary.

The Struggle for Hegemony between Social Imaginaries in Turkey

Narratives in which the past is revived play a vital role in shaping the social imagination of nationalist-conservative groups. Especially in today's post-truth media ecology, cultural products with the themes of the past and nostalgia offer alternative universes to their receivers; they become essential components of the struggle for hegemony that different social segments engage in regarding the imagination of social integrity. Turkey is an example of this situation as a country where the social imaginations of the two camps struggle for hegemony due to its polarised political and cultural structure that can be called the ruling and opposition blocs. On the one hand, neo-traditional social imaginaries are shaped by the ruling bloc through narratives based on the glorification and nostalgia of the Ottoman past. On the other hand, secular social imaginaries see traditional social structures and religious values as traces of the past that need to be "overcome or harmonised with a secular lifestyle".

Considering the widespread habit of watching TV series in Turkey, it is possible to say that TV series and dramas are the main cultural products that shape the struggle for hegemony between social imaginaries. This study compares the discursive arguments of the social imaginaries (neo-traditional social imaginaries) identified in the neo-Ottomanist-themed TV series broadcasted in the state media TRT and pro-AKP media outlets known for their closeness to the government and the social imaginaries (secular social imaginaries) identified in the series that can be perceived as an opposition bloc, and that reignites the secular-religious debate during their broadcast periods. It will try to reveal the struggle for hegemony between the two poles on how social cohesion is to be imagined.

Assiégée ou opprimée : deux visions populistes de l'identité nationale selon Viktor Orbán et Péter Magyar

Cette communication propose d'analyser le symbolisme des récits concurrents qui émergent dans les stratégies de communication de Viktor Orbán et de son rival Péter Magyar dans leur bataille pour le pouvoir. Bien que tous deux déploient un style populiste, leurs approches diffèrent significativement. Orbán, représentant du populisme gouvernemental dispose des pleins pouvoirs depuis 2010 grâce à une communication axée sur un récit national de souveraineté hongroise. Sa rhétorique met en scène une « guerre d'indépendance » contre l'UE. En contraste, Magyar, nouveau venu sur la scène politique hongroise, incarne le populisme d'opposition, construisant un récit de lutte pour la liberté contre « les oppresseurs ». Son discours appelle à l'unité nationale.

Les deux récits s'ancrent dans l'histoire du pays et font appel à la mémoire collective à travers des références culturelles et un imaginaire partagé évoquant les luttes passées. Ils projettent une opposition « nous/eux » dessinant des représentations concurrentes. Alors qu'Orbán projette l'UE comme figure de l'ennemi et exclut ses opposants de sa vision de la nation, Magyar oppose l'ensemble des Hongrois à « Orbán et ses 300 vassaux ». Tous deux construisent une figure de héros. Orbán se présente comme le défenseur de la Hongrie face à « Bruxelles », tandis que Magyar s'identifie au héros populaire Ludas Matyi, justicier connu pour sa révolte contre l'oppression féodale.

L'analyse mobilisera l'approche communicationnelle du discours et portera sur un corpus de discours politiques et institutionnels de Viktor Orbán et Péter Magyar, produits entre janvier et juin 2025.

Stefano VICARI (Università di Genova)

Influactivistes écolos entre France et Italie : des discours d'autorité ?

Je me pencherai sur l'analyse contrastive des technodiscours (Paveau 2017) d'« influenceurs écolos » (Lippert, 2023) ou influactivistes écologiques, italiens (7) et français (7), sur Instagram, afin de dégager les spécificités de ce discours relevant de la streaming culture, transversal à plusieurs communautés discursives des médias sociaux. Suite à la présentation du phénomène de l'« influactivisme » (de l'anglais *influactivism*) (Murru et al., 2024), je dégagerai les stratégies technodiscursives déployées par 14 comptes Instagram (150 publications) dont la différence followers/following permet de les considérer comme des nano- et micro- influactivistes écologiques militants pour créer un discours qu'on peut qualifier d'« autorité » (Vicari 2022, 2024), capable de mobiliser les followers autour des questions écologiques en lien avec la COP28.

Je concentrerai mes analyses sur les moyens adoptés par les influactivistes pour tisser une relation de confiance (Origgi, 2008) entre eux et leurs followers justifiant la spreadability (Jenkins et al., 2013) des contenus, en démontrant qu'elle se fonde sur la configuration de dynamiques « verticales » de configuration d'une autorité épistémique (emploi de termes, expertise de terrain, modes de vie écologiques, etc.), qui s'entrelacent avec des stratégies de réduction de la distance et de création de la proximité avec leurs followers, en dépit de la croissante professionnalisation de ces figures (Fontana, 2024). La perspective contrastive mettra en lumière l'éventuelle adaptation de ces stratégies aux spécificités des deux communautés tout comme la présence de pratiques communes à l'ensemble des influactivistes du corpus et qui caractériseraient de manière transversale ce nouveau type d'activisme.

‘Barren lesbians plotting sterilization’: a cross-cultural analysis of the HPV vaccine discourse on X and Facebook

Research has amply demonstrated that digital platforms have an extraordinary ability to fuel strong and loud voices that can spread disinformation –here defined as intentionally disseminated false or misleading content that may cause public harm (Tucker et al., 2018) – easily and fast online, impacting public debates and decision-making processes (Amlinger & Nachtwey, 2022; Birchall & Knight, 2022; Nguyen & Catalan-Matamoros, 2022; Reichardt, 2022). At the same time, however, to consider digital technologies as the sole responsible for these issues would be an oversimplification (Nguyen and Catalan-Matamoros 2020); long before the Internet, many individuals were attracted to disinformation and conspiracy theories, no matter how improbable these stories might have been. This is because there are several other pieces that make up the conspiracy puzzle, of which the Internet and social networks are only one. Individual factors such as preexisting values and beliefs, personality, and levels of education (Buturoiu et al. 2021; Hornsey et al. 2023), intergroup elements (Cookson et al. 2021) that shape appraisal of information (Turner 1991) and sociopolitical and historical factors such as the rise in populism (Demata, Zorzi, and Zottola 2022) and the decline of expertise (Nguyen and Catalan-Matamoros 2020) must also be considered. Yet, while emotion (Horner et al. 2023), source credibility (Islam et al. 2020), information structure (J. Van Prooijen and Douglas 2018; J.-W. Van Prooijen and Van Vugt 2018) and content (Wiggins 2023; Demata, Zorzi, and Zottola 2022; Fallis 2009; Chen et al. 2021) have been identified as predictors of users’ disinformation endorsement, the relationship between disinformation processing and users’ linguistic and cultural identity remains largely unexplored. This study contends that a critical gap in the literature lies precisely in the failure to address the role of linguistic identity in driving engagement with disinformation. It argues that engagement with disinformation is not merely an act of passive belief but an active discursive process, where individuals construct and negotiate their cultural identities. To test this hypothesis, the study analyses social media posts (that is, X and Facebook) about the human papillomavirus (HPV) vaccine in French, Italian, and English. Informed by Critical Discourse Analysis and critical race theory, the study investigates how different cultures shape the narratives and the wider discourse they generate them in HPV vaccine disinformation discourse. Specific attention is devoted to: (i) attribution of blame and type of object blamed; (ii) references to gender-specific norms; (iii) use of familiar images (especially cultural); (iv) explicitness and implicitness of language used; and (v) elements of conspiracy. The results reveal shared recurring themes and characteristics such as resorting to cultural and stereotypical tropes (e.g., virginity and morality, fertility and worthiness, sexuality, and masculinity) as well as differences in the use of crude and offensive language. These findings provide valuable information on the cultural aspects of global health communication management.

Susanne Maria WEBER (Philipps University Marburg), Franziska ENDREß (Martin-Luther-Universität Halle/Wittenberg, Phillips-Universität Marburg)

Guiding the Gaze: The Radical Imaginary of Commoning and the Viscursive Practice of Patterns

The panel “Economic imaginaries and socio-ecological transformation” reflects on the connectedness of imaginaries of sustainability to economic imaginaries (Castoriadis 1990). Especially the onto- epistemic approach of commoning (Bollier & Helfrich 2019) intends to contribute to a radically alternative economic imaginary and to socio-ecological transformation (Dardot & Laval 2019). While Elinor Ostrom (1990) suggested the commons as a political economy governance perspective, Helfrich & Bollier (2019) contributed to a social science and social-practice approach of commoning. The card deck for commoning organizing consists of 33 cards solutionary patterns. As such it is meant to be a transformative pathway to more sustainable grounds.

From a discourse-analytical perspective, the Pattern Language of commoning can be understood as the materialization of the discursive counter-position to technoscientific capitalism (Jessop 2010). In this sense it can be understood as a practice of its de-institutionalizing: As visual, performative practices ‘systematically form the objects of which they speak’ (Foucault 1981: 74), organizing turns into a complex strategic situation, as a network of relationships between subjects, knowledge, practices, and things, which is not understood as repressive but as ‘productive’ (Foucault 1977: 39).

Moreover, it can be understood as a visual surface of emergence of the radical imaginary of commoning. In this sense, it intervenes in attentional orders and the gaze into the aesthetic experience in and of performative organizing (Strati 1999, 2000). Referring to the visual discourse, Knorr-Cetina (1999) analyzed how the researchers’ gaze brings about not only epistemic patterns of seeing but orders of seeing – and orders of the gaze. From a Foucauldian perspective, the pattern language of commoning, therefore, can be discussed as a heterotopic practice of institutionalizing communing practices (Weber 2022).

This viscursive materialization and discursive de-institutionalization will be exemplified in contrasting the visual materialization of the established instrument for organizational analysis and strategy map of the ‘balanced scorecard’ (Kaplan / Norton 1997: 9) into its transition into commoning organization based on the pattern language of commoning (PLC).

Jennifer Meei Yau WEI (Soochow University, Taipei, Taiwan)

Taiwan's National Imaginaries through the lens of Chiang Kai Shek past and Present

This presentation examines Taiwan's national imaginaries through the lens of Chiang Kai-shek (CKS, 1887 to 1975), whose influence significantly shaped the national imaginaries of Taiwan during his presidency of the Republic of China (ROC, 1928 to 1975) and his leadership of the Nationalist Party (Kuomintang, KMT, 1926 to 1975). Under his leadership, Taiwan transformed from being a former colony of Japan (1894 to 1945) into a powerful symbol of anti-communism and "Free China," particularly during the turbulent years following the Korean War in the 1950s. This reinvention was crucial in aligning Taiwan with international leaders and reinforcing its strategic position as a military base intended for reclaiming the Chinese mainland. These national imaginaries, carefully constructed through rhetoric and policy, promoted a vision of unity and resistance against communism, embedding a specific identity within the Taiwanese populace. Using critical discourse analysis (CDA, Fairclough, 1990), discourse historical analysis (DHA, Wodak and Meyer, 2001), and the social actor framework (Van Leeuwen, 2008), we analyze Chiang Kai-shek's speeches to uncover how these national imaginaries were constructed and propagated. Under his regime, a military agenda and the promotion of Chinese cultural revitalization were central to establishing an authenticity of Chineseness. This was manifested through national language policies, monuments, and statues, which served to entrench nationalistic ideologies and uphold authoritarian rule. The strategic use of CKS rhetoric played a crucial role in shaping the imaginaries of a unified, strong, and culturally cohesive nation, fostering a sense of belonging and purpose among citizens.

The lifting of martial law in 1987 marked a significant shift, freeing political discourse and legitimizing opposition parties. However, it was the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) victory in the 2000 presidential election that truly introduced a counter-narrative to Taiwan's national imaginaries. This new narrative emphasized agency and independence, often treating nationalistic symbols such as the CKS statue as emblems of oppression and authoritarianism, advocating for their removal and the revision of laws for transitional justice. The DPP's role in challenging existing national imaginaries and promoting a more democratic and autonomous vision of Taiwan marked a significant shift in the country's identity, distancing it from its authoritarian past. In contrast, the KMT, which was marginalized during DPP rule, has sought to reevaluate Taiwan's historical milestones, emphasizing the continuity of history and the economic achievements of the authoritarian periods. We explore Taiwan's complex collective identity by analyzing the rhetoric of leading politicians from both factions through the lens of the CKS statue. Here, the Nationalist past is both contested and commemorated, intertwined with the nuances of colonial history, the pragmatism of the U.S. military alliance, and the enduring impact of its authoritarian legacy.

This presentation provides a detailed examination of how national imaginaries are constructed, contested, and transformed over time. By focusing on Chiang Kai-shek's era and the subsequent political shifts, it highlights the dynamic interplay between political power and cultural identity. This exploration offers valuable insights into the

mechanisms through which national imaginaries are forged and reimagined, contributing to a deeper understanding of Taiwan's socio-political fabric.

Jennifer Meel Yau WEI (Soochow University)

Taiwan's National Imaginaries through the Lens of Chiang Kai-shek

This presentation explores Taiwan's national imaginaries shaped by Chiang Kai-shek (1887-1975) during his presidency (1928-1975) and leadership of the Kuomintang (KMT, nationalistic party). Under his rule, Taiwan was transformed from a former Japanese colony into a symbol of anti-communism and "Free China," particularly after the Korean War. Through critical discourse analysis, discourse historical analysis, and the social actor framework, the study analyzes Chiang's speeches to reveal how national imaginaries promoting unity and resistance to communism were constructed.

The presentation also examines the shift in Taiwan's identity post-martial law in 1987, with the Democratic Progressive Party's (DPP) 2000 victory introducing a counter narrative emphasizing democracy and independence often treating nationalistic symbols such as the CKS statue as emblems of oppression and authoritarianism, advocating for their removal and the revision of laws for transitional justice. The DPP's role in challenging existing national imaginaries and promoting a more democratic and autonomous vision of Taiwan marked a significant shift in the country's identity, distancing it from its authoritarian past.

This contrasted with nationalists' focus on historical continuity and economic achievements emphasizing the continuity of history and the economic achievements of the authoritarian periods. We explore Taiwan's complex collective identity by analyzing the rhetoric of leading politicians from both factions through the lens of the CKS statue. Here, the Nationalist past is both contested and commemorated, intertwined with the nuances of colonial history, the pragmatism of the U.S. military alliance, and the enduring impact of its authoritarian legacy.

Moritz WULLENKORD (Ruhr University Bochum)

Sole Rigorous Executors. Right-Wing Populism and the Loss of Progress-Oriented Future Imaginaries

Contemporary Western societies appear to have lost their capacity to generate progress-oriented future imaginaries—a theme prevalent both in popular discourse and within social science debates (Schauer 2023; Habermas 1986; Rosa 2013: 299-322; Nassehi 1994; Beck 1986). In this debate, the international rise of right-wing populism is interpreted as symptomatic of this broader crisis in social future imaginaries (e.g. Rhein 2023). However, the sociology of knowledge approach to discourse extends beyond interpreting the success of political actors as merely the expression of a certain discourse; it probes how these actors adopt and transform dominant discourses (Keller 2011: 262).

Based on qualitative interviews with officials and supporters of the right-wing populist party *Alternative für Deutschland* (AfD), I propose that right-wing populism does not fundamentally oppose or simply echoes the societal loss of future imaginaries, but rather manifests as a conformist rebellion that exploits this loss. By refraining from imagining radically different futures, these actors attack political competitors by underscoring the absence of viable alternatives, thereby positioning themselves as the sole rigorous executors of the status quo.

In my talk, I will first reconstruct the discourse surrounding the decline of progress optimistic imaginaries of the future. I will then present key excerpts from my interview data to demonstrate how right-wing populist actors adopt this discourse, and finally, I will discuss the implications of these findings for an analysis of right-wing populism within the framework of the sociology of knowledge approach to discourse.

Li XINYU (University of Pompeu Fabra)

La construcción de imágenes femeninas en las narrativas periodísticas chinas durante la COVID-19: Heroínas confinadas al marco tradicional

Este estudio se centra en la construcción de las imágenes femeninas en las narrativas informativas publicadas en los periódicos chinos en el año 2020, un periodo marcado por la COVID-19, con el fin de desvelar los sesgos de género en la cobertura mediática y explorar las normas sociales, exigencias y expectativas impuestas a las mujeres en la China contemporánea.

Para investigar este tema, en primer lugar, se realiza un análisis semiótico-narrativo (propuesto por Greimas) de las muestras seleccionadas de tres periódicos chinos — dos oficiales y uno de línea editorial más independiente— para revelar las características de las representaciones femeninas y comparar sus similitudes y diferencias en periódicos diferentes. En segundo lugar, se aplica el Análisis Crítico del Discurso (ACD) y la teoría de la performatividad de género de Judith Butler para identificar y explicar los factores que condicionan la construcción de estas imágenes y cómo se manifiestan en los textos.

Los resultados muestran que, durante la COVID-19, la imagen discursiva de la mujer es producto de la interacción entre las dinámicas de poder mediático-gubernamentales, los valores colectivistas y los estereotipos de género internalizados. Las narraciones recrean patrones discursivos que refuerzan estereotipos de género: el énfasis en las responsabilidades domésticas de las mujeres, la asociación de lo femenino con roles de cuidado emocional, y la dualidad entre heroísmo profesional y vulnerabilidad doméstica. La construcción de estas narrativas oscila entre la reivindicación moderna de agencia femenina y la perpetuación de arquetipos confucianos. Palabras Claves: Imagen Discursiva Feminista, Narrativa Informativa, Performatividad de Género, Semiótica Narrativa, Estudio Crítico de Discurso, COVID-19.

Entre el empoderamiento ilusorio y el disciplinamiento de género: La construcción contradictoria de la imagen femenina en la publicidad china

Este estudio analiza la representación contradictoria de la mujer en la publicidad china contemporánea a través de la teoría de la metáfora multimodal y el análisis crítico del discurso. Se identifican tres estrategias clave de disciplinamiento de género: (1) la sacralización de la maternidad, que personifica productos como "madres"; (2) la capitalización de la belleza, que vincula la apariencia bien cuidada con el valor femenino; y (3) las narrativas de empoderamiento ilusorio, que reducen el empoderamiento al consumo. Estas estrategias configuran un "nuevo contrato patriarcal", donde roles tradicionales son envueltos en discursos progresistas como la "autodefinición" o la "estética equilibrada".

Desde los estudios culturales, se revela cómo estas imágenes refuerzan el consumismo al convertir el trabajo emocional femenino (ansiedad, cuidado) en mercancía y generar demanda mediante estándares contradictorios (éxito profesional vs. maternidad perfecta). Se introduce el concepto de "impuesto de género mediático" para evidenciar los costos ocultos (tiempo, dinero, trabajo emocional) que las mujeres asumen al adaptarse a estas exigencias.

Noelia Belén rojo ZABALAGA (Universidad de Granada), Lucio Libertad GONZALES SÁNCHEZ (FLACSO)

Narrativas de la Nueva Derecha en Bolivia: Análisis Discursivo en Redes Sociales (2023-2025)

Este estudio analiza los discursos políticos de las nuevas derechas bolivianas en Twitter (X) y TikTok, examinando publicaciones desde enero de 2023 hasta febrero de 2025. Utilizando la metodología cualitativa enfocada en el análisis de discurso basado en la sociología del conocimiento (ADSC), se identificaron siete núcleos temáticos que posicionan los movilizadores de opinión de estas nuevas derechas como alternativa disruptiva: posicionamiento histórico, negacionismo colonial, críticas al feminismo, articulación religiosa, postura internacional, enfoque económico y críticas a la izquierda.

El marco conceptual, fundamentado en la Sociología del Conocimiento y la Teoría Crítica, busca develar la difusión de narrativas que pretenden instaurar imaginarios para legitimar estructuras desiguales y construir enemigos comunes. Mediante un análisis sistemático de contenido digital, se examinan los posicionamientos políticos y llamados a la acción, explorando la construcción y diseminación de narrativas en el espacio virtual que disputa los discursos del pasado, presente y futuro en los ejes propuestos.

La relevancia del estudio radica en la creciente participación de las nuevas derechas en la política boliviana tras la ruptura hegemónica del MAS-IPSP, en un contexto de crisis política y social. Este escenario propicia la aparición de discursos de retroceso (backlash) que se articulan con factores locales y el ascenso de gobiernos de derecha radical en la región, en el plano internacional, generando disputas en la construcción de la identidad política boliviana.

Tanina ZAPPONE (University of Torino)

The Imaginary of the Chinese Nation in Outward Translation: A Software-Assisted Linguistic Analysis

In recent years, the People's Republic of China has increasingly prioritized the translation of its cultural and academic production into foreign languages, viewing it as a strategic tool for constructing the national imaginary on a global scale. The concept of “translating China” (fanyi Zhongguo) to the world—reversing the historical trend of “translating the world” into Chinese —has recently emerged as a “historical necessity” (yi zhong lishi de biran, 一种历史的必然) in the internal debate of the People's Republic of China (PRC). As Huang Youyi explains: “From a national perspective, if translation from Chinese into foreign languages is strong, then national soft power and international communication capabilities are also strong” (站在国家角度看, 中译外, 则软实力强, 国际传播能力强) (Huang 2022). In this context, Chinese academic discourse on translation is not merely a technical debate but a political and identity building narrative, aimed at redefining China's role in international discourse. This study examines a corpus of academic texts, funded by State-led translation programs, employing software-assisted linguistic analysis to identify the discursive structures shaping China's national imaginary to be projected abroad through translation. Through a mixed- method approach, combining quantitative and qualitative analysis, the research explores recurring lexical patterns, metaphors, and rhetorical strategies in describing China's nation imaginaries. Huang Youyi 黄友义, 2022, 从翻译世界到 译中国. 对外传播与翻译实践文集 From translating the world to translating China, Anthology of External Communication and Translation Practices, Foreign Language Press

Weaponizing the Other: The Dutch Far-Right Freedom Imaginary and Women's Rights: discursive connections between (anti-)abortion and the 'other' in the Four Largest Dutch Newspapers (2000–2024)

The proposed study investigates if and how anti-abortion coverage discursively connects anti-abortion to imageries of 'the other' in the discourse of four largest Dutch newspapers between 2000-2024. Anti-gender and anti-abortion have been linked to far-right politics and conservatism - often in connection to populism and wider illiberalism - with conservative and far-right actors, who strategically mobilize anti-abortion to further political and ideological goals, closely intertwined with anti-immigration, nationalist, nativist, conservative, gender and family based and 'anti' left associated (e.g., environmental, social inclusion, equality) agendas (Graff and Korolczuk 2021, 7; Laruelle 2022; Krzyżanowski and Krzyżanowska 2024; Wodak 2021). Dutch far-right populists have, however, been deemed 'outliers' and 'exceptional' as their anti-immigrant imageries and politics haven't similarly been accompanied by the common far-right homophobia and anti-gender scripts. Instead, presenting the Islam as a threat for 'typical, free, progressive' Dutch culture, while embracing (parts of) femonationalism and homonationalism (Verloo 2018, 25; Damhuis 2019; Puar, 2013; Farris, 2012). Often constructing Dutch progressive culture (gay rights, emancipation) as what needs to be defended from 'backward' and 'oppressive' culture; the homophobic and sexist 'other' – i.e., a Muslim (Rydgren and Van Holsteyn 2005, 49). Informed by Critical Discourse Studies and its key tenets - the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) (Krzyżanowski 2010, 2016; Reisigl 2018, Reisigl & Wodak 2001) this study investigates if and how imageries of the 'other' as a threat to women's rights and abortion are discursively (re)constructed and linked as part of the construction of Dutch superior liberal culture in Dutch press discourse.

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Tang ZHIJIE (Université d'études étrangères du Guangdong,
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Évolution des discours sur la vieillesse dans le dictionnaire chinois : reflet d'une société en mutation

Ce travail explore l'évolution des discours sur la vieillesse dans deux éditions du *Dictionnaire Chinois Contemporain*, en se concentrant particulièrement sur la manière dont ces changements reflètent l'évolution de la perception sociale des personnes âgées, des modes de soins et des valeurs sociales. À travers une analyse comparative de la première (1978) et la plus récente éditions (2016) du Dictionnaire Chinois Contemporain, cette étude montre que les entrées comme « 退休 tuìxiū, prendre sa retraite », « 养老 yǎnglǎo, soins aux personnes âgées » et « 养老院 yǎnglǎoyuàn, maison de retraite » sont influencées par un changement dans la conception de la vieillesse et des modes de soins. Par exemple, le terme « 养老 yǎnglǎo, soins aux personnes âgées » a été enrichi d'un exemple lié aux soins à domicile. En même temps, l'introduction du terme « 养老保险 yǎnglǎo bǎoxiǎn, retraite de l'État » marque, quant à elle, l'institutionnalisation de la protection économique des personnes âgées, renforçant leur place dans le système de sécurité sociale. Ces modifications ne témoignent pas seulement des évolutions linguistiques, mais aussi des transformations culturelles et politiques vis-à-vis des personnes âgées. Le discours lexicographique est ainsi un témoin des mutations sociales et des changements de perceptions collectives des générations passées, présentes et même futures, contribuant à une meilleure compréhension des processus de (re)présentation de la vieillesse dans la société chinoise.

Jan ZIENKOWSKI (Université libre de Bruxelles), Lucile COENEN (Université libre de Bruxelles)

THE ANTI-WOKE IMAGINARY IN FRANCOPHONE POLITICAL ESSAYS: THE DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF CONTEMPORARY ANTAGONISMS BY MORAL ENTREPRENEURS.

This contribution provides a critical discourse study of contemporary anti-woke discourse articulated in a selection of recent francophone political essays. It investigates how anti-woke moral entrepreneurs construct and mobilize an imaginary for (re-)thinking past, present and future societies. The article argues that these essays mobilize illiberal political imaginaries that reproduce and reinforce anxieties over various social, cultural and economic crises that supposedly plague France, Europe and/or Western civilization. Imaginaries are discursive and ideological constructs that allow social actors to make sense of social order (Krzyżanowski, 2020). They contain myths that offer a political horizon for the articulation of political grievances, forms of suffering, trauma and/or dislocation, but also for the articulation of social demands and hopes. Imaginaries generate forms of political subjectivity (Bouchard, 2017; Kølvrå & Forchtner, n.d.). Discourse can be understood as a practice of articulation constitutive of social and political imaginaries (Smith, 1998; Zienkowski, 2024). This NVIVO-supported study puts a discursive twist to Bouchard's (2017) sociological approach to imaginaries. It asks: (1) what are the ontological building blocks of anti-woke imaginaries (e.g. actors, social relations, norms, practices, institutions); (2) how are these building blocks temporarily organized (e.g. what are the 'evolutions', 'cyclic patterns', 'ruptures', or 'crises' of the woke problematic); and (3) in what settings and spaces do the authors place (fight against) wokeness (e.g. universities, media, countries, ...)? It identifies implicit and explicit definitions of wokeness and investigates how the building blocks of anti-woke imaginaries get articulated to images of present and future social (dis)orders.

Olena ZINENKO (Karazin's Kharkiv National University & Ruhr University Bochum)

Discourse of Peace in Ukrainian Social Media during The War (2022-2024)

War frames public opinion in media, and the new value paradigm of belonging appears. Despite the generally accepted definition that “peace is the stage when the war is over,” it exists during the war. Human needs drive discussions in social media. However, due to the war, peace becomes incompatible with the idea of human rights—a cruel battlefield for survival. Aggressors in the discursive fields of power (politics, media, education) try to fix this very state of peace to control people in need providing propaganda meaning of “peace” . Social networks became an alternative source of information and resistance for people during the war, functioning as an open forum where everyone could express an opinion or draw attention to their problem.

The research questions are: what is the meaning of the concept of peace, and how is the discourse of peace structured (actors, topics, communication strategies) in social media during the war? Preliminary studies have shown that the representation of peace in social media discourse of war has 4 dimensions: personal, social, spatial-temporal, and instrumental. The last defines communication in the context of media logic and social media logic, where performance and media competencies of communicators form the conditions of persuasion. The paper presents findings based on a discourse analysis of 300 thousand social media messages (YouTube, TikTok, FB, Instagram, VKontakte), 27 interviews with women activists, and several cases of discourses of traditional calendar events celebrations (“Easter” , “Independence Day” , “IIWW reconciliation Day”) selected in 2022-2024.

