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#AmericaFirst vs #primaglilitaliani. A Corpus-Assisted CDA of Trump’s and Salvini’s Twitter communications

Globalisation, financial crisis, immigration and terrorism have opened the door to the populist and anti-establishment surge which has swept through the Western world. Many have criticised institutions for defending the rights of ‘others’, at the expense of the welfare, traditions and safety of a presumed majority. Nationalist parties, Brexiteers and the US President Trump have skilfully exploited such issues for political advantage, while scapegoating refugees and minorities. Populist movements have been favoured by the Internet revolution and social media which, democratising information and communication, supported the reproduction of fake news and hate speech. Political leaders’ media-savvy performance has become crucial in consensus-building, a tendency clearly evidenced in the last US and Italian elections and governments. Trump’s communicative style through the social media, in particular, reflects a trend towards de-professionalisation and celebrity culture in political discourse. Similar attitudes have been shown by the Italian Lega leader, Matteo Salvini, who transformed a north-based party into a national force, capitalising on popular frustration and xenophobia.

The present paper aims at investigating the analogies between the political discourse constructed on Twitter by Trump and Salvini. By combining Corpus Linguistics with Critical Discourse Analysis, the study examines a collection of tweets published on the official accounts @realDonaldTrump and @matteosalvinimi. The analysis focuses on the discursive construction of the political leader, presenting himself as a champion of the interests of his people against its numerous enemies. The investigation takes into consideration how the features of the microblogging medium influence the short messages produced, often characterised by impulsiveness, sensationalism and emotive language.

References:
Popular or hegemonic subject?

One of the principle disagreements in studies of populism concerns whether populist movements are democratic or anti-democratic in character. Against the backdrop of early scholarship on populism, which tends to devalorize popular movements, recent literature has effectively linked populism with democratic potential. The present article argues that populism cannot be aprioristically connected with either democratic or anti-democratic proclivities. Recent scholarship that is associated with the work of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe demonstrates that populism, as well as the popular subject, come to be constituted through complex processes of political contestation and are, thus, the product of on-going operations of power. The popular subject can thus be understood as being hegemonically constituted. Hegemony entails a process whereby a particular identity (e.g. “the elite”), by institutionalizing narratives and life modalities that come to represent the communal totality, comes to produce or infiltrate competing subjectivities (e.g. “the people”). This realization allows us to situate questions of populism and democracy in a new light. To the extent that the demos is chimerically constituted, by coming to adopt narratives and life modalities that spring from competing subjectivities, the notions of either a “sovereign” or a “democratic” demos are rendered particularly problematic. The democratic potential, more generally, can thus be understood as being on-goingly adulterated by hegemonic operations that imbue the demos with anti-democratic narratives. This realization helps us explain why recent effective populist articulations, tend to be nationalistic and often exclusionary in character.

Nationalist and Transnational Populism from Eastern European Perspectives

In recent years in Eastern Europe the successful populist parties are mostly Right-wing nationalist or exceptionally left-wing populist with a huge nationalist sentiment. It seems to be that in this region populism and nationalism have been closely related or merged. Moreover, following the traditional literature on populism, we can easily say that our contemporary “populist Zeitgeist” can be seen as some kind of (post)modern nationalism. In this paper, I am dealing with the problem, how can we define and analyse populism in Eastern Europe. It is hard to say that populism and nationalism have nothing to do with each other, but I am convinced that populism cannot be identified with nationalism. That is why, I introduce the term of historical-theoretical complex of nationalism and populism. According to post-Marxist, critical and discursive literature it is obviously that populism is not just a Right-wing phenomenon and there is a thing which can be called transnational Left-wing populism. This version of populism is not an unknow phenomenon in this part of Europe, because the Communist regimes before 1989. I am investigating here the political theoretical and historical background of nationalist populism of our time in Eastern Europe. My main thought is that the politics in this region has always been populist in that sense there is a constant need to contrast “the people” (as a large powerless group) and “the elite” (a small powerful group). This “never ending” political tradition of Eastern European populism turned up in the history once in nationalist and other times in transnational perspectives.
The Metaphorical Habitus of the Populace in Diplomatic Discourse: a case study of the 72nd UN General Assembly addresses

This study aims to analyse how political violence can be discursively construed via the framing of political habitus (i.e. Bourdieu’s social dispositions theory, 1996) and the metaphorical merger of the people onto nations/regimes/states in the diplomatic discourse. The populist and non-populist distinction is drawn in the context of a discursive approach to populism (Laclau, 2004; Mudde, 2004; Mudde & Kaltwasser, 2013; Aslanidis, 2017; Moffitt & Tormey, 2014 etc.) For that purpose, the 72nd UN general assembly addresses (2017) delivered by the leaders, whose representative countries are either involved in a direct confrontation (i.e. Israel, Palestine, Turkey, Iran, Ukraine), or have direct or indirect impact on the development and outcome of the conflict (i.e. USA, Russia, France, the UK, the EU, China) were collected. The current sub-corpus consists of around 32000 tokens, the analysis of which resulted in the total number of 516 metaphorical expressions with the prevalent source domains of PHYSICAL SPACE, MOTION IN SPACE, HEALTH, CONSTRUCTION, WAR, NATURE, CRIME etc. It has been determined that political violence is construed in the diplomatic talk via the merger of the political habitus with the populist categories that leads to an ideological polarisation between the so-called hegemonic habitus with the collectively protected populace (e.g. construed by the USA, the UK, the EU, Israel, Ukraine) and anti-hegemonic habitus with the victimised populace (e.g. construed by Turkey, Russia, Palestine).

La ausencia del ‘pueblo’ en la cobertura periodística de las crisis. Los casos de la burbuja inmobiliaria y de la Eurocrisis en España

Este trabajo pretende responder a la pregunta sobre el grado en el que el ciudadano corriente, las preocupaciones, problemas e inquietudes de la “gente”, formaron parte de la cobertura periodística de la prensa española en torno al boom y al crash de la burbuja inmobiliar, y en torno a los problemas económicos y financieros relacionados con la denominada Eurocrisis. El objetivo es determinar si la “gente” fue o no un protagonista principal –como agente o paciente de las crisis- en las páginas de algunos de los principales diarios de nuestro país, cuando abordaban desde una perspectiva económica esos temas de actualidad. En cierto modo, al llevar a cabo este estudio, se pretende también ver hasta qué punto la cobertura económica de la actualidad incorporaba lógicas de análisis o marcos interpretativos (frames) que permitieran atisbar la conexión entre la crisis económica y financiera, y su profundo impacto social, capaz de generar una convulsión política como la producida con la emergencia de movimientos populistas.
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Populism in the Catalan crisis 2012-2018: representation of the people, institutional and ethnopolitical aspects

The context of the study: attempts of secession of Catalonia in 2012–2018 are a characteristic manifestation of the crisis of the representation of the people, crisis of the national states in conditions of globalization. Populism has become a reaction of society to the deficit of democracy, to the obsolete forms of communication between state power and the autonomous communities.

The objective of the study is to determine the political-institutional and ethno-political parameters of the Catalan populism of 2012–2018 in the context of the interactions of the Spanish state and autonomous communities.

The research materials are normative juridical acts of the Kingdom of Spain and the Autonomous Community of Catalonia, resolutions of political parties, statements of political leaders, results of opinion polls, statistical data of population censuses.

Research methods: neoinstitutionalism, constructivist paradigm in ethnopolitics research.

The results of the investigation. The Catalan crisis of 2012–2018 confirmed the decrease in confidence in the state of autonomy and the party system of the country, caused by a deficit of democracy. The main factors in the fragmentation of the state are: the unfinished nation-building; weak national identity compared to regional and ethnic identity; import of secession institutes and technologies. The conflict is not resolved and requires a radical reform of Spain’s political system based on dialogue and constitutional reform.

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‘Standing up for real people’: UKIP, the Brexit, and multimodal discursive strategies on social media

My paper investigates how the UK Independence Party discursively constructed ‘the British people’ in the run up to the ‘Brexit’ referendum. The paper relies upon a broadly post-structural theory of society and discourse, which is a cornerstone of critical discourse studies and which sees discourses as “practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak” (Foucault 1972: 50). Linked to this is Laclau and Mouffe’s (1985) discourse theory which claims that meaning is made within society but because “meaning can never be ultimately fixed …this opens up the way for constant social struggles about definitions of society and identity, with resulting social effects” (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002: 1). This struggle over the definition of key actors and concepts is often extremely pronounced in times social upheaval and crisis. Indeed, the (re)imagining of the ‘the people’ throughout Europe in recent years is an example of this, and in each national context this has been due to a complex interplay of factors at the macro (international/regional) and micro (national) levels. As an entry point into populist constructions of the people in the UK, my data is drawn from two UKIP Twitter accounts (the official account and the then leader Nigel Farage) during a two-week period in the run-up to the referendum. As well as individual tweets themselves, the paper includes an analysis of embedded audio and video and hyperlinked texts, using tools from the Discourse Historical Approach (Reisigl and Wodak 2001) and van Leeuwen’s (2007) approach to the role of legitimation in discourse.
La construcción discursiva de la identidad de Podemos

El presente estudio se basa en un corpus textual constituido por el “Documento político” de Podemos, accesible en la página web del propio partido político: https://podemos.info/documentos. Se trata de un texto de 46 páginas, cuya autoría, según se desprende de los elementos deícticos, pertenece a Pablo Iglesias Turrión, secretario general de Podemos. El objetivo del citado texto se menciona justo al comienzo: “El presente documento está concebido para favorecer un debate en Podemos de cara a nuestra II Asamblea Ciudadana [Vistalegre II, 11 y 12 de febrero de 2017]”. La investigación se basa en un análisis exhaustivo del componente léxico-semántico y retórico del corpus. En la imagen dicotómica que se construye mediante el discurso, el partido político Podemos queda netamente identificado como el verdadero representante del pueblo, llámese mayoría social, movimiento popular, bloque social y popular o sectores populares. En contraposición al demos, se encuentra un Ellos representado básicamente por los partidos políticos que han gobernado en España durante la Transición (a partir de 1978), es decir, PP y PSOE, a los que se añade ahora Ciudadanos.

People and Their Voice: Critical Analysis of Transformation of Protest in Digital India

“Numerous evils are taking place in the 20th century. But there is one unique quality. Man has never fought against all injustices, everywhere and at the same time, as he is doing today.” (Ram Manohar Lohia)

Though written just two decades after independence the above epitaph captures the essence of the changing ‘protest culture’ of India after seventy years of its independence. India has always been an inclusive place for all to get immersed in its culture and society. The basic mantra for people was to suffer in silence or fight within law. The war of independence was fought without violence and led to its freedom in 1947. The present study aims to foreground the ways in which this tradition has been transformed in the digital age and a different kind of ‘voice of protest’ has been created by the people of the country. This ‘voice of protest’ which is predicated upon bringing together of knowledge as well as values from different aspects of communication has resulted in a new movement wherein the real life incidents in the life of people are shared and recorded through choice of media fashioning movement of awareness and awareness.
protest. The study positions itself specifically in the endeavour practiced by digital media users (for instance, Facebook, Change.org etc.) wherein they have found ways to start a movement such as documenting about extreme violence against women that have taken place in India. This critical form of study will facilitate understanding of changing values of Indian society going beyond quotidian struggle towards voice of change:

1. What section of society takes part in such movement?
2. What is the success rate of such movements?

The answers to these questions will be significant in the present global situation of flux and fervour. Thus, the process of digitalization of the present day ‘voice of protest’ not only adds vigour to this movement, but also makes it powerful democratic medium by establishing a deeper interaction with the audience.

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Reflexiones en torno al llamado discurso político populista. Con base en las propiedades lingüísticas, retóricas y pragmáticas de algunos textos de campaña electoral del Presidente venezolano Hugo Rafael Chávez Frías.

Tras haber realizado mi Trabajo Fin de Máster con el título Contribución al análisis crítico del discurso político. El Discurso de la lluvia (DLL) del Presidente venezolano Hugo Rafael Chávez Frías (2016) en la Universidad de Zaragoza (con el que obtuve la máxima calificación en la evaluación realizada por el tribunal), en el Doctorado en Lingüística Hispánica que curso en la misma universidad (siempre bajo la dirección de la Dra. Martín Zorraquino) vengo estudiando, dentro de la línea de investigación del análisis crítico del discurso (cf. especialmente, Bolívar, 2013, 2015, 2016, 2018; van Dijk 2009) y gracias a las aportaciones de otros investigadores del discurso populista (Charaudeau, 2005) y al estudio de la afectividad verbal en los discursos políticos (Nieto y Otero, 2012), los rasgos lingüísticos, retóricos y pragmáticos que definen al populismo como fenómeno discursivo. Por ello, propongo una comunicación que tiene como objetivo estudiar el llamado discurso populista a través del análisis de las propiedades lingüísticas, retóricas y pragmáticas de algunos textos orales emitidos por Hugo Chávez en su última campaña electoral (2012). La metodología adoptada es la mencionada. Dicho análisis da como resultado que Hugo Chávez echa mano del recurso de la afectividad verbal, en muchos casos de forma exagerada, para persuadir a los receptores de su mensaje, constituyendo así, la afectividad verbal (más la de alcance positivo: VAP, que la de tipo negativo: Nieto y Otero, 2012), un elemento clave en la configuración de lo que conocemos como discurso populista.

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Reimagining the nation: the construction of Spain in the political discourse of Podemos

Nationalism is gaining ground in European politics, closely related to the rise of right-wing nativist actors. In Spain as elsewhere in Europe, national identity has been mostly associated to right-wing sets of values. This notwithstanding, the politicization of Spanishness has recently made a comeback also on the left side of the political spectrum, driven by the new leftist political party Podemos. Its spokespeople have been deploying patriotism in their political discourse, shattering the traditional symbolic division between Left and Right. They have attempted to detach patriotism from its association with conservative ideologies and to re-articulate it in a different direction. In doing so, they have embraced a battle for hegemony on the terrain of national identification, claiming it for their political project. This article represents one of the few in-depth analyses of such nationalism of Podemos. It first outlines an innovative conceptualization of nationalism, informed by a post-structuralist discourse-theoretical approach that works as a bedrock for the research. A discourse analysis on key speeches of Secretary-General Pablo Iglesias during the years 2014-2016 is then carried out, employing both quantitative and qualitative methods. The findings confirm that national signifiers such as the pride to be a Spaniard or the claim to be true Spanish patriots are recurrent elements in Iglesias’ rhetoric and they often occupy a central position in the architectonics of the discourse. However, national identity is not associated to the same political values that characterize the nativist Right. As the findings show, ‘Spain’ is reimagined throughout an inclusive and egalitarian discourse that articulates three different symbolic dimensions: (a) people’s history, (b) cultural and national pluralism, and (c) welfare policies and solidarity.

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Populism and nationalism: on the intricacies of speaking in the name of 'the people'

The concepts of populism and nationalism have often been conflated, with conceptualisations of populism including references to anti-migrant positions or national sovereignty. Whilst the problem remains very present in journalism and politics, advances in definitions of populism – including the discourse-theoretical approach to populism as a political logic and the ‘thin ideology’ definition – have partly solved the issue in academic work. However, the conceptual relations between populism and nationalism remain undertheorized and their empirical relations remain understudied, even if we are seeing a growing interest in this. Drawing on discourse theory, this talk distinguishes between populism and nationalism as analytically distinct (but empirically related) ways of discursively constructing and claiming to represent ‘the people’, as underdog and as nation respectively. These distinct constructions of ‘the people’ can also be identified and highlighted from a spatial or orientational perspective, by looking at the architectonics of populism and nationalism as revolving around a down/up (vertical) and an in/out (horizontal) axis respectively.
I will then argue that we can best understand different kinds of politics that are both nationalist and populist as structured around different articulations between populism and nationalism. I will look at the connections between populism and exclusionary nationalism on the radical right, and between populism and national sovereignty on the right but also the left. And I will reflect on the potentials and limitations of a ‘transnational populism’ thatformulates a people-as-underdog above the level of the nation-state.

Building on this argument about populism and nationalism, the talk concludes with a number of brief broader reflections about the study of populist politics. I will insist that we need to use the concept of populism in a precise, delineated and modest manner as one of the dimensions of populist politics, and will argue against an overly central role of the concept of populism in academic analysis and political debate.

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Metaphors of “populist” and “populism” in British news media

This paper focuses on the metaphors of “populism” and “populist” used by British news media when addressing allegedly populist leaders such as Donald Trump, Bernie Sanders and Jeremy Corbyn. It looks at how the terms “populism” and “populist” were used in a corpus of articles published by the British media in 2016-2017, a crucial period which witnessed at least three key events generally associated with Populism, that is, Trump’s victory at the US Presidential Elections and the Brexit referendum, both in 2016, and Britain’s General Elections in 2017. The aim is to analyse the evaluation of Populism as a widespread political phenomenon through the kind of connotations associated with the term “populist” and “populism” in news media discourse. In this sense, news media, and specifically political reports and analyses, may be said to have given birth to a metadiscourse (Fairclough 1992) on populism, that is, a discourse on populism developed as part of the well-established news discourse which aims at delegitimising Populism. This metadiscourse plays a crucial role in spreading the popular view on populism, a view which partly re-elaborates the theoretical constructs on Populism, but also takes on a set of autonomous discursive structures.

My argument in addressing the presence of Populism in news media is that the “‘vernacular’” use of the term” (Kaltwasser, Taggart, Ochoa Espejo, Ostiguy 2016) by politicians and media commentators is as influential as the ever-growing populism scholarship in political science. The analysis of news reports on populism can provide us with important clues as to the currency of the term and its evaluative power in media and popular culture. In particular, the frequent occurrences, in the corpus of articles analysed here, of the metaphor of populism as a physical illness or as mental deviancy within the life of a nation points to a specific application of the general NATION-AS-BODY (or “body politic”) metaphor (Musolff 2014). Ultimately, and in a manner which is very similar to the populists’ own use of “people”, terms such as “populist” and “populism” are highly contested in their meaning and may be seen as floating signifiers (Laclau 2005) which are variously articulated by specific political interests.
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Potentials (and Challenges) of a Discursive Feminist Critique of Misogyny Online

The new technologies of the participatory web have been saluted as an empowering tool to facilitate and increase women’s participation in political and institutional processes, allowing them to bypass the much-criticised gendered frames in ‘traditional’ media and to achieve a greater degree of visibility. At the same time, digital media affordances have opened up new channels for the proliferation of misogynous hate (Mantilla 2015; Jane 2017), especially against those women advancing their way in a political public sphere traditionally associated with power, authority and hegemonic masculinity.

Misogyny is a complex sociocultural phenomenon, whose utmost multifacetedness has been amplified by the new affordances of the participatory web. For researchers, social networking sites represent an authentic ‘data haul’ to retrieve a potentially endless number of instantiations of gender-based hate speech (Powell and Henry 2017). At the same time, using social media data in social research requires a more systematic research design framework and a more integrated critical approach, both needed to highlight the existing link between the new online discursive practices and the socio-political context of the offline world and its power relations (KhosraviNik 2014; 2017).

Exploring online discourse as social practice, this paper draws attention to the need for a critical approach to online misogyny, at the intersection of digital media scholarship, discourse theorization and critical feminist explication. In particular, this paper focuses on some of the main conceptual and methodological challenges posed by the analysis of online misogyny. Special attention is paid to intersectionality (hooks 1984; Crenshaw 1991; Lykke 2010) and interdisciplinarity (KhosraviNik & Esposito 2018) as important preliminary considerations for a research design, in order to shed light on the inner workings of one of the “most complex and pervasive system[s] of oppression” (Lazar 2007: 143).

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**A matter of context? Assessing populists’ performance in Parliaments**

In recent years, populist parties and movements have increasingly gained access to national representative institutions all over Europe, confirming that populism, as a political phenomenon, is all but episodic.

Scholars have focused at length on populists’ performance in the electoral arena, stressing how populists usually seek to distance themselves from mainstream politics, by flouting those norms and behaviour that are considered politically appropriated. Very little attention has been devoted to the way these actors perform once they gain representation within national Parliaments – the political space that more than others symbolizes the “gentrified domain of political performances”. Do populists keep on maintaining the distance from mainstream political actors once they enter into the representative arenas, notwithstanding the institutional constraints they face in this different context?

The paper explores this research question by focusing on populists’ performance within national Parliaments. In this analysis I the definition of “populism as a political style” provided by Moffitt is adopted, and the operationalization for the analysis of populists’ parliamentary performance is first proposed; then, evidence from two case studies is provided, in order to assess if, and how, populists’ actors mould and tame their style once they enter into different institutional context.

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**Citizens and Leaders’ Emotional discourse in populist government. A case study of Venezuela throughout Twitter**

Social networks, such as Twitter or Facebook, are providing an essential space for the development of political debate. In this study, we investigate how emotions are communicated in the public sphere of Twitter, paying special attention to differences or similarities between citizens and leaders’ discourses. The emotional content of both will be analyzed through a pragmatic linguistic approach applied to a corpus of 2000 tweets, collected from Maduro’s account, @NicolasMaduro, or Venezuelan citizens’ accounts that contain the hashtag #Venezuela. Results show an insistence on positive emotions in the leader’s discourse and a prevalence of negative emotions in citizens’ comments.

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**Triggers: Affectivity and Temporality in Political Representation**

Ruthless, not-for-the-faint-hearted, cruel and dirty. Politics has nameable qualities and distinct practices. For Muslim women whose bodies are battlegrounds for an exclusionary politics of belonging, being in the representative space in Great Britain - particularly when making representative claims on behalf of constituents, the party and specific causes - requires exceptional strength and toughness to be present, visible and heard. In this paper I will pay close attention to these processes of becoming, drawing from a series of interviews I conducted with Muslim women engaged in British politics at the local and national level. I will explore these women's multiple 'adaptations', both religious and secular, to highlight how the presence of an
'othered' body is always meet with violent responses. I will then draw theoretically on the work by Sara Ahmed on the cultural politics of emotions not only to emphasise the dangerous consequences of embodied difference and representation to individuals and communities, but to signal the rupture of political time, where the possibility of becoming as a plural political body is foreclosed.

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El dialogismo interdiscursivo en las formaciones ideológicas de la polarización política brasileña

El presente trabajo es una parte integrante de una monografía realizada durante el grado de especialización en lingüística y tiene el análisis del discurso como su campo de investigación. Él consiste en un esfuerzo de mapeo de las posibles alianzas discursivas que contribuyen para la configuración de los campos que componen la polarización política establecida hoy en Brasil. Creemos que el examen de la heterogeneidad discursiva presente en estos polos antagónicos nos llevará a una mejor comprensión de los valores ideológicos en juego en cada uno de los lados. La hipótesis postulada es que los polos de la polarización política se configuran a partir de campos heterogéneamente constituidos, donde diferentes formaciones discursivas establecen relaciones de colaboración recíproca que objetivan la sustentación de los posicionamientos en el interior de estos campos. Nuestro corpus de análisis es constituido por la transcripción de los pronunciamientos de Orlando Silva y Marco Feliciano, diputados federales del PCdoB y del Podemos, respectivamente, pronunciados durante el programa Fla-Flu de la TV Folha, qué es un programa de debates producido y publicado en el sitio del periódico Folha de São Paulo. En el marco teórico, se articulan las nociones de formación discursiva en Pêcheux y campo discursivo en Maingueneau, siendo estos campos tomados como las regiones sobre las cuales incide el trabajo de análisis. Como resultado general, encontramos, además de los discursos neoliberales y socialistas, otros tres pares de oposición. Un discurso cientificista de base positivista a la derecha o socio histórico a la izquierda; un segundo estrato donde se enfrentan las bases axiológicas cristiana y humanista; y un tercer nivel que reproduce la estructura discursiva de las narrativas mitológicas.

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Digital discourses of perfect feminity, disablism and new affordances for representation and/or hate speech

This paper aims to deconstruct the complex relations between hate speech, social media discourses and disabled girls’ digital self-representation practices as an under researched group. A growing body of academic studies address young women as active creators of, and participants in socially mediated digital media landscape (Holmes 2017; Kearney 2011). Postfeminist girl power and ‘the shift from objectification to subjectification; an emphasis upon self-surveillance, [and] a focus on individualism, choice and empowerment’ (Gill, 2007: 147), has encouraged young women to ‘brand’ (Banet-Weiser 2012: 56) their self-representations and make their ‘authentic voices highly visible in public’ (Harris 2004: 125). However, disabled girlhood challenges the normative beauty as a defining source of women’s identity (Projansky 2014) in online-media culture, especially within the typically feminine popular culture domains of fashion and beauty. Discourses of disability construct disability as ‘a problem or lack’ that often leads ‘to silence other experiences of disabled women, such as those of sex and gender’
One of the concentrated digital discourse foci on disabled girls’ self-representation practices online is Karolyn Gehrig’s series of #Hospitalglam, launched in 2014 on Gehrig’s Instagram account. She takes glamorous Selfies in hospitals and other medical environments to draw attention to her illness i.e. what it means to be a disabled but still ‘girl’. This has started a trend for manifestations of discourse of identity and self-presentation among disabled young women around #Hospitalglam. In line with conceptualisation of social media affordances as new realms of (potential) discursive power and performance of niche identities (Ghaffari 2018), while Instagram has facilitated this much needed discursive visibility for these girls, it has also become an effective media space for re/constructing and communication of gate discourses and extreme Self/Othering based on normative beauty ideals, heteronormativity, idolisation etc. By drawing on the characteristics of the new dynamics of communicative content and practices on participatory web platforms (KhosraviNik 2017) and the Discourse-Historical Approach (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001) to CDA, this study investigates the discursive strategies and digital meaning making practices in 2,000 user-generated comments attached to #Hospitalglam posts on Instagram within the first six months of 2018. By integrating systematic observation and textual analysis and taking into consideration the proposals of link between digital technology and discursive practices within the new populist interpretations of the world (KhosraviNik 2018), this study critically explores the digital affordances, normative beauty ideals and discourses of hate speech within an intersectional gender framework (whiteness, normative (augmented) beauty, social class and dis/able-bodieness.

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El entramado discursivo en la política del s. XXI: simultaneidades, límites y procesos
La conferencia «El entramado discursivo en la política del s. XXI: simultaneidades, límites y procesos», de Beatriz Gallardo, intenta describir los fenómenos que sirven de soporte al discurso populista de nuestras sociedades. Para ello, se presenta un recorrido por 6 nociones procedentes de la sociología de la comunicación y el análisis del discurso, y se analizan los procesos de influencia mutua que facilitan la emergencia y asentamiento de las retóricas populistas. Tres de estos fenómenos proceden de las propuestas de Fairclough para el análisis del discurso del cambio de siglo: la tecnologización (en el sentido foucaultiano de tecnologías del poder), la democratización y la mercantilización del discurso; los otros tres proceden de trabajos previos de la autora sobre el concepto de pseudopolítica: el personalismo de los políticos, la ausencia de retóricas ideológicas bien definidas y la frivolización del espectáculo mediático continuo.

La confluencia de estos seis rasgos favorece desplazamientos discursivos caracterizados por la exageración y la hipérbole, que ponen en suspenso algunas convenciones comunicativas. Por ejemplo, el acuerdo intersubjetivo que se contiene en la gramática se quiebra por la fiscalización léxica y las hiperorrecciones que fomentan las retóricas de la peculiaridad, las cuales a su vez se ven contestadas por la desinhibición retórica. El borrado de diferencias entre las voces que ocupan la esfera pública no logra una democratización real, sino que sustituye las jerarquías por nuevas verticalidades no fundamentadas, igualando información y opinión, y tiñendo el discurso político de enfrentamiento y emotividad visceral, donde las estrategias de ludificación coexisten con la agresividad y la descalificación. La argumentación política se ve suplantada por la narrativización constante, lo que a su vez favorece la emergencia de los fenómenos de populismo punitivo difundidos con ayuda de las redes sociales. A la vez, las convenciones de veracidad del discurso científico o mediático son desafiadas por el anti-intelectualismo de los influencers o la posverdad.

La conferencia supone un repaso global a estos fenómenos, señalando su retroalimentación mutua.

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Transnationalizing 'the people'. Bringing the peoples of Europe together against the European Union elites

The opposition to the European Union (EU) project among left-wing parties and social activists increased when the Greek government felt forced to apply the EU policies despite the Greek people rejected it by referendum. Besides the traditional democratic deficit attributed to the EU, the possibility of developing an alternative economic model (to the so-called austerity politics) within the margins of the EU was also questioned. The emergence, almost simultaneously, of Plan B and Diem25 reflects the need of shaping an alternative to the existing EU. Although there are several differences between the two political projects (i.e. the degree of acceptance of the EU institutions or the monetary system), they both aim to represent the interests of the European peoples and to enhance democratic tools to foster a more democratic and just Europe. The shaping of the will of the European people is made in opposition to the interests of the EU elites and neoliberal policies. The objective of this paper is to analyze how Plan B and Diem25 articulate their political processes around the inclusion of the people and the need for democratization of the EU or Europe in general. The European Parliamentary elections in 2019 are presented as the immediate goal for both projects to make the will of the people effective and enable the government of the demos.
La circunstancia agravante de género en la práctica jurisprudencial

La inclusión de la circunstancia agravante por razón de género en el Código Penal, por Ley Orgánica 1/2015, que entró en vigor el día 1 de julio de ese mismo año, ha planteado problemas a la doctrina sobre su necesidad y su aplicabilidad. El propósito de esta comunicación es analizar la configuración de la meritada circunstancia agravante en la práctica jurisprudencial.

El contexto de análisis es fundamentalmente jurídico penal y la metodología es la propia de esa área de conocimiento.

En cuanto al resultado, la circunstancia agravante que nos ocupa planteará numerosos problemas de aplicación ya que exige la constatación de la motivación específica referida al género. En ese sentido, la prueba de la motivación no será sencilla pues deberá acreditarse la concurrencia de un elemento subjetivo.

Populism and popularity in Khan's campaign.

Political speeches are always designed to target people’s emotion and to get their sympathies. This study aims to find out how the new Pakistani Prime Minister Imran Khan used certain linguistic choices to persuade the people to share in his political ideology and plans for the future concerning external and internal policies. This paper gives an overview of the background to Khan’s campaign, and then provides an in-depth study of his pre-election speeches. Features of populist style include a high density of personal pronoun use, an emphasis on the division between corrupt elites and the “people of Pakistan”, and the construction of Khan himself as the “Kaptaan”, with reference to his cricketing past. At the same time, we can observe how Khan uses the Islamic ideal of “Medina” to legitimise certain progressive or enlightened views to his (mainly) Muslim electorate (e.g. about property ownership by women, or about multiculturalism and tolerance). Khan’s discursive approach seemed to bring new hope to the Pakistani electorate, since he manages to speak for the oppressed, while offering real hope to disadvantaged groups.

The (re)presentation of fear in presidential debates

Not only since the recent rise of populist parties and politicians in Western countries, fear has gained attention in political research. Politicians use fear appeals; political decisions are guided by fears and political polarization is increasingly structured by different and opposing fears political groups have.

Such developments have been facilitated by the mass media, which increasingly present information using emotional and, notably, fear-oriented framings. Research also shows that the
viewers’ concerns are not mere emotional reactions of isolated individuals, but that they are essentially fueled, formatted, and intensified by media discourses.

US presidential debates are a prime example of the combination of politics and media. Live on television, the candidates present topics and emotions they expect to comply with a majority of voters’ preferences. In doing so, the candidates’ statements do not only represent their potential voters’ interests and emotions, but they also structure the political stance of the voter to a considerable degree.

Using probabilistic topic modelling (LDA) on US presidential debates since 1960, we analyze the appearance and context of fear appeals. We find several fear topics that peak at different times. Whereas literature on political representation has been focused almost exclusively on interest in a positive connotation, our results show that fear plays a fundamental role for representative claims and political discourse in general.

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First Ladies in Ukraine as Political Actors: a Critical Discourse Analysis of Public Speeches and Interviews

The research aims to investigate the role of First Lady in Ukraine as political actor whose public performance inevitably takes part in overall construction of the President’s image, reflects societal values and current political ideology. Employing critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a conceptual framework made it possible to analyse public speeches and interviews of Ukrainian First Ladies on the level of macro- and microsemantics (including topics, lexicon, syntax, rhetoric and expression structures) and draw conclusions regarding relevant discourse structures and strategies prevailing in them.

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Modalidad epistémica débil y evidencialidad indirecta en el discurso del Front National: ¿atenuación o intensificación?

Frente a los adverbios reforzadores del valor de verdad, como évidemment, visiblemente o manifestement, otras piezas, como los adverbios y locuciones adverbiales de epistemicidad débil (por ejemplo, peut-être, probablement, sans doute), o diferentes unidades y construcciones restrictivas del valor de verdad (apparemment, être censé/supposé/réputé + infinitivo, sembler, entre otras) no presuponen la factualidad del estado de cosas descrito en la proposición sobre la que inciden, sino que permiten al hablante evitar un pleno compromiso epistémico al respecto. En efecto, estas unidades se han vinculado a las subcategorías de la modalidad epistémica débil y la evidencialidad indirecta, en la medida en que marcan que el hablante atribuye una probabilidad media-baja al hecho de que ese estado de cosas tenga lugar, o bien limitan su validez a una serie de indicios determinados de naturaleza indirecta, respectivamente.

Por ello, estas unidades constituyen mecanismos prototípicos de atenuación. No obstante, también se emplean a menudo en contextos de fuerte carga irónica, donde cumplen otras funciones directamente asociadas a la desautorización del discurso ajeno, más próximas a la intensificación que a la atenuación.

De acuerdo con las características que se le ha atribuido al populismo en los estudios políticos, lo esperable es que un partido habitualmente clasificado como populista como el Front National recurra con mayor frecuencia que Les Républicains y el Parti Socialiste a estas
unidades para desautorizar el discurso ajeno y que aquellas que cumplan una función atenuadora tengan un peso menor.

En esta comunicación se analizará el uso de estas unidades en el discurso del Front National en contraste con el de Les Républicains y el Parti Socialiste a partir de un corpus de comunicados de prensa publicados entre septiembre de 2015 y agosto de 2016.

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“Discursos en medio de la tormenta: Torra, Arrimadas y Domènech”.

Se estudian tres discursos del parlamento autonómico catalán del pleno, el día de la investidura del presidente Quim Torra, 12 de mayo de 2018. Siguiendo la lista de verificación de categorías lingüísticas y estilísticas propuesta por Leech and Short (2007), se aplica un análisis estilístico sistemático propuesto por Maarten van Leeuwen (2014); además, se emplean técnicas de la Lingüística de Corpus, dentro del ámbito de los Estudios del Discurso Asistido por Corpus (EDAC). Esa lista de verificación permite conocer cómo transmiten sus ideas los actores políticos y se inscribe, por un lado, dentro de la enfoque de la ‘rhetorical stylistics’ (estilística retórica), y, por otro, en el movimiento académico del Análisis Crítico del Discurso (ACD). El empleo de esta análisis estilístico sistemático, que ha sido escasamente utilizado hasta la fecha, permite descubrir la forma de transmitir ideas, de acuerdo con los planteamientos ideológicos de los actores políticos. En este trabajo se analizan los discursos del candidato Quim Torra (Junts per Catalunya), de la líder de la oposición, Inés Arrimadas (Ciudadanos); y de Xavier Domènech, portavoz de Catalunya en Comú Podem. El discurso del candidato Torra pretende legitimar la república catalana, el de Arrimadas desmunta los engaños del candidato, por último, el de Domènech defiende que el gobierno sea efectivo e incide en los temas agenda populista de su formación.
People in counter-discourse: Polemical tweets in political discourse during the French presidential election

In this presentation, I concentrate on how the word people is represented in tweets sent by several active Twitter users during the French presidential campaign in 2017. These Twitter users posted tweets that can be considered as an everyday public expression of political views that allows affective networking (Papacharissi 2015). They embody comments on media reports, political candidates, and journalists among others (Cozma & Luodonpää-Manni 2018). Users express critical and polemical views on candidates and politics in order to criticize, destabilize, and connect with other important players during media events (Mercier 2016).

My main objective is to examine the contexts in which the word people is used as well as the various meanings or positionings constructed. These results will be compared to those of a previous study in which the use of the word people was analyzed in a large dataset from a Finnish discussion forum (Johansson et al. 2018). We analyzed the discourses in which the word is employed and what kinds of meanings were constructed, one of which was specifically political. However, the uses varied, for example, from people without power (stupid people; people as victim and people who have been betrayed) to people striving for power.

The data consist of tweets of fifteen active Twitter users collected in the spring of 2017. My theoretical and methodological approaches are based on sociopragmatics and digital discourse analysis.

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Mercier, Arnaud, 2016. Twitter as a Counterpublic Sphere. In: Brachotte, Gilles and Frame, Alex (Eds.), *Citizen Participation and Political Communication in a Digital World*. Routledge, New York, pp. 139-152.

The role of metaphor in Pakistan’s 2018 election campaign

Metaphor has been proved to be a powerful device to motivate persuasiveness in political discourse (Lakoff, 1996; Mio, 1997; Sémino, 2008). In order to persuade, politicians make use of the cultural values that excel in their societies (Lakoff, 1996). Thus, metaphor and culture combined could provide a thorough description of any kind of political discourse. Within this context, this presentation explores the language of politics from a cognitive-linguistic perspective in Urdu. There is lack of research in this field regarding South Asian languages which we have tried to fill.
To this end, we will analyse nine speeches given by the presidents of the three major political parties of Pakistan (PPP, PTI and PML-N) just before the elections of 25th July, 2018. Each party follows a different moral system which is rooted in their words and becomes clearer when elections are around the corner. Examples are extracted manually, and they have been analysed from the perspective of the combination of metaphoric and metonymic operations (Ruiz de Mendoza and Pérez Hernández, 2011, Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera Masegosa, 2014). Results show that figurative language is entrenched in the domains of religion, sports and war. Therefore, the analysis provided here, besides contributing to the understanding of conceptual preferences in Urdu and their link to cultural values, offers support for the explanatory adequacy of conceptual interaction patterns account mentioned above.

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Digital Discourse, Populism and Social Media Communication

The paper examines the intersection of technological design of Social Media communication, the notion of post-politics-affective turn in contemporary (Western) societies and the rise of populism as a trend in political communication. Following on conceptualisations for a Social Media approach to a digital discursive practice (KhosraviNik 2014, 2017a), the paper attempts to integrate discussions on affective nature of communication in participatory web ecology and consequences of algorithmic regimentation of meaning bearing resources (e.g. news and entertainment) on Social Media. This involves critical considerations around quality and distribution of digital discursive practices and their relations to traditional perceptions of rational politics, within the internalised ethos of visibility-as-legitimacy (KhosraviNik 2018, KhosraviNik 2017b). While the rise of right wing populism (e.g., Trump presidency, Brexit vote) should primarily be explicated within qualities of the context on the ground, i.e. the deliberate and well-orchestrated misplacement of real grievances in society through discursive operation and manipulation (KhosraviNik 2017b), it is equally important to critically examine the function and consequences of digital media practices and the propagated techno-discursive design as a main part of this socialisation context. The overall argument here is that the hyper-normalisation and triumph of neo-liberal rationality together with new media technological affordances, design and requirements have created a momentum for the growth of haphazard populist politics, i.e., the valorisation of affective relevance over rational significance (KhosraviNik 2018).

Xenophobia, misogyny and hate speech: Targeting women in cyberspace

Pointing to women’s precarity in the cybersphere - which makes them more vulnerable to verbal aggression - KhosraviNik and Esposito’s (2018) call for a new interdisciplinary perspective on online misogyny. Richardson-Self (2018: 256) argues that misogynistic speech is hate speech, “even when it is intradivisional (that is, when it targets only subsets of women)”. Not only are women more likely to become the targets of gendered verbal violence, but the scale of such violence tends to be more extensive and its effects more intense, which according to Mantilla (2013: 564–565) is due to several reasons: (1) the participation, often coordinated, of numerous people, (2) gender-based insults, (3) vicious language, (4) credible threats, (5) unusual intensity, scope, and longevity of attacks, and (6) reaction to women speaking out. Responding to the above concerns, and positioned within the framework of Social Media Critical Discourse Studies (SM-CDS) (KhosraviNik 2014, 2017a, 2017b, 2018), the present paper explores the discursive dynamics of legitimizing verbal (and physical aggression) directed at women. As our interest lies in the interface of misogyny and xenophobia (and racism), we will attempt to demonstrate how the former emerges alongside “cyber racism” (Jakubowicz 2017; Jakubowicz et al. 2017) or “platformed racism” (Matamoros-Fernández 2017). Applying the Media Proximization Approach (MPA) - (Kopytowska 2013, 2015) and drawing on previous research examining online discourses concerning migrants, refugees and hate speech they abound with (see Kopytowska and Chilton 2018; Kopytowska, Grabowski, and Woźniak 2017; Baider and Kopytowska 2017) we will discuss examples of hate speech targeting women associated with or considered to support the Other – migrants, refugees, foreigners. Not only do they receive strong negative evaluation, being regarded as promiscuous and traitors of the nation, but they are also likely to be publically “sentenced” to severe punishment (typically in the form of gang rapes). As our analysis shows, any woman, irrespective of status, profession or position, can become a victim of online gender-based stigmatization. We are thus interested in the argumentation forming the basis of incitement to verbal and physical violence as well as the potential of cyberspace to promote and perpetuate such hostile misogynistic discourses. Data-wise, our examples will be taken from the corpora comprising comments following online articles and YouTube videos concerning migration and refugee crisis.

References:

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Análisis de los mecanismos lingüísticos persuasivos utilizados en la plataforma de movilización ciudadana Change.org

Change.org es la plataforma web de peticiones más importante del mundo. Según Ben Rattray, su fundador, surgió para “cambiar la estructura del poder. […] Caminamos hacia un mundo en el que los gobiernos van a tener que responder más ante los ciudadanos” (J. Elola, 2013). De acuerdo con R. Fages-Ramió (2008), el uso de las herramientas 2.0 permite potenciar la capacidad de los políticos de hablar con la ciudadanía y de escucharla para conocer sus opiniones, pues esta puede influir en el proceso de toma de decisiones de los poderes públicos. Por ejemplo, la política 2.0 parece tener mayor calado entre los ciudadanos que promueven iniciativas como MoveOn, en Estados Unidos, para movilizarse a favor de una determinada causa. Plataformas como estas se han convertido en sistemas de mediación (P. Carrera, 2008) entre los políticos y los ciudadanos para otorgar voz a estos últimos y lograr que sus reivindicaciones sean atendidas –a menudo, tras lograr una gran repercusión en los medios de comunicación-. Por medio del análisis de un corpus de peticiones formuladas a través de Change.org, en esta investigación trataremos de responder a preguntas como las siguientes: ¿qué mecanismos lingüísticos de carácter persuasivo son los más utilizados por los ciudadanos que formulan una petición? ¿puede hablarse de la existencia de una correlación entre los recursos persuasivos empleados en una petición y el número de firmas de apoyo conseguido? ¿cómo se
dirigen los ciudadanos a los representantes políticos para tratar de que sus reivindicaciones sean atendidas? ¿cómo tratan de captar la atención para lograr que su petición alcance cierta relevancia social y concite apoyos suficientes?

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Redes sociales y la construcción de la cultura política

La cultura política es un conglomerado de ideas, cosmovisiones, valores, prácticas y costumbres que caracterizan a determinados colectivos y sociedades en cuanto a su relación con el poder y su forma de organización social. Lo que significa que es una construcción que se ha dado a lo largo del tiempo y a través de consensos tácitos o explícitos. No obstante, este proceso social, aparentemente paulatino, ha cambiado tras el surgimiento de las redes sociales y el afianzamiento del valor de la inmediatez. Ante este escenario el presente escrito presentará una reflexión sobre qué es la cultura política, cómo se reproduce o (re)construye a través de las redes sociales y qué observaciones se desprenden de este fenómeno. Para su ejemplificación, se utilizará el caso de Puerto Rico y cómo se construye la realidad sociopolítica a través de Twitter.

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The Cost of Equality: Women and Political Candidacy in Kenya

When the current constitution of Kenya was promulgated in August 2010, Kenyan women celebrated the success of their efforts to have gender equality enshrined in the governing legal framework. The 2013 elections therefore saw an increase in the number of women interested in elective politics, with the numbers increasing even more in the 2017 election cycle. But this has not been without challenges, neither has it resulted in a critical mass of women in the Kenyan national assembly as required by law. In this paper therefore, I investigate the formal and informal institutional barriers to the political agency of women, and how these make it difficult for women to assert political influence. Informed by the experiences of aspiring female candidates, I demonstrate how gendered logics of appropriateness and consequences, converge with internal party politics to create a hostile environment for women politicians. Additionally, I describe how tactics such as intimidation, bribery, verbal abuse (mostly lined with sexual innuendo), character assassination and physical violence, are employed against women, to discourage individual candidates as well as publicly discredit their campaigns. The paper
therefore points evidence to the functional inconsistency of gender equality legislation in Kenya.

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Análisis de los discursos de los líderes de la Asamblea Nacional Catalana (ANC) y Òmnium Cultural durante la campaña del “Sí” para el referéndum 1-O

Las organizaciones de sociedad civil, la Asamblea Nacional Catalana (ANC) y Òmnium Cultural han desempeñado el papel más importante en todo el proceso soberanista en Cataluña, desde 2012 hasta 2018. Es ampliamente conocido y se ha demostrado que la estrategia de comunicación empleada por estas entidades ha sido muy eficaz, dado que ha conseguido movilizar a millones de ciudadanos. En la presente investigación se pretende realizar un análisis de los discursos de los representantes de la ANC y Òmnium Cultural en los actos celebrados durante la campaña del “Sí” para la consulta popular del día 1 de octubre de 2017. Partiendo de la hipótesis de que los discursos y la comunicación del movimiento independentista presentan ciertos rasgos del populismo, el objetivo principal es observar si la argumentación de carácter emocional, característica de la comunicación populista, así como el discurso anti-establishment es lo que prevalece en el discurso e identificar otras estrategias argumentativas que emplean los líderes de estas organizaciones para movilizar y convencer a los ciudadanos. El corpus de análisis está compuesto por los discursos de los líderes de ambas entidades, disponibles en modo vídeo en el canal de Youtube de la ANC, pronunciados en los actos celebrados durante la campaña los días 11, 14 y 29 de septiembre de 2017.

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Las fake news en España y en Italia: características lingüísticas de este fenómeno social

Esta investigación tuvo como finalidad identificar las características lingüísticas y las modalidades de difusión de las fake news en Italia y en España. A partir de noticias reconocidas como sesgadas y falsas se realizó un análisis acerca de los rasgos comunes, desde un punto de vista social y lingüístico. La necesidad de un estudio de este tipo se puede encontrar en la gran cantidad de informaciones que cada día influyen en nuestras opiniones personales y que muchas veces simplemente son artimañas.

Con este fin, la pregunta de investigación es la siguiente: ¿Qué características tienen las fake news y cómo es posible identificarlas y defendernos de estas noticias peligrosas y tan influyentes?

La metodología que se empleó para llevar a cabo la investigación fue el Análisis del Discurso, para reconocer el aspecto típico de las fake news en italiano y en español: los tiempos verbales más utilizados, las expresiones y los adjetivos comunes y la importancia de medios como Twitter y Facebook para difundir estos contenidos.

Los resultados del análisis han permitido detectar la estructura típica de las fake news que se publican en los dos países.

A partir de investigaciones de este tipo será posible reconocer los contenidos que nos parecen verdaderos antes que estas se difundan y vayan a influir sobre las opiniones de los ciudadanos.
Migration discourse and representations of 'the people'

Public discourses about migration often imagine an ideally homogeneous ‘home society’ that is supposedly threatened by aggressive intruders from outside. The aggressive articulation of such attitudes is defended as being not racist or xenophobic but just reflecting ‘factual’ ethnic-cultural contrasts. How feeble this ‘justification’ is becomes evident not least from the evidence of discourses about intra-national migration, which shows similarly discriminatory patterns of categorization and argumentation despite the ‘fact’ that the respective migrants belong to the same nation.

This article explores how the long-standing conflict between Italian regional ideologies is linguistically apparent in the use of the discriminating words polentone (literally, ‘polenta eater’) for people from the North and terrone (literally, ‘person from the land’) for people from the South. Although these terms appear at first sight to carry an equally derogatory connotation, terrone is in fact more offensive. This difference has its roots in the Italian central government’s strategies which have factually aggravated the reproduction of discriminatory prejudices against the South. Using a discourse-historical approach, the study triangulates linguistic, social and historical data to unveil correlations between the discursive discrimination against Italian intra-migrants and the implicit ideologies circulated by governmental choices.

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representation and promotion of the US leader and political actions as a champion of the American people and of its will, in contrast with its enemies and ‘Others’.

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**El excepcionalismo español: derecha radical y otredad en España**

En las últimas décadas la derecha radical populista se ha establecido como un actor político relevante en numerosos países de Europa. Sin embargo, existe un considerable vacío respecto a los dos principales países que se apartan de esta tendencia: Portugal y España. En particular, el español aparece como un caso único: pese a que algunos de los principales factores socioestructurales asociados al auge de la derecha radical populista están presentes, esta ha sido incapaz de institucionalizarse.

Dado que la derecha radical populista tiene un importante componente nativista en sus planteamientos, se ha relacionado su apoyo con las orientaciones nacionalistas. Esto significa que la instrumentalización de la identidad nacional juega un papel central en su discurso y su praxis política (una identidad nacional excluyente y proyectada principalmente frente a un Otro exterior). De este modo, para el caso español se plantea que la ausencia de la derecha radical populista están presentes, esta ha sido incapaz de institucionalizarse.

Dicho proceso, condicionado por el pasado dictatorial y por el potente eje centro-periferia, ha restringido los posibles espacios de esta familia de partidos.

Este trabajo persigue ilustrar empíricamente cómo la actual coyuntura sociopolítica en España, marcada por la intensificación de las aspiraciones independentistas en Cataluña, supone un escenario desfavorable para la derecha radical. La centralidad del eje centro-periferia comporta un marco dominado por una Otredad interna (es decir, dentro de las fronteras del Estado). Esto tiene importantes implicaciones para la derecha radical: principalmente, la dificultad para competir en el eje centro-periferia (donde los partidos mainstream tienen mayor reputación) y para proyectar eficazmente una Otredad externa representada por la inmigración.
In populist discourse, the existing body of research agrees that populism advocates popular sovereignty and uses metaphors, among other rhetoric devices, to appeal to the people. However, more studies with a discursive focus are needed to gain a better insight into the use of metaphorical prepositions. Although extensive research has been conducted on metaphors of the people in populist discourse, most of it is limited to metaphors expressed by nouns and verbs.

Therefore, this paper has taken a corpus-based approach to focus on the metaphorical extensions of prepositions in President Trump’s inaugural speech from a cognitive perspective. The results confirm that metaphorical prepositions are used to (re-)establish the spatio-social parameters of people and to determine their social mobility. The motion schema, in which dynamic objects move between spaces, structures the underlying conceptual metaphors. Specifically, people are conceptualized as trajectors moving between non-spatial landmarks in a two-stage scenario. In the first stage, they move into unpleasant spaces while, in the second, they get out and move to desirable ones. BAD SOCIAL CONDITION IS SPATIAL CONFINEMENT and the related metaphors activate a cognitive framework of two juxtaposed spaces. The first space dramatizes the aggrieved groups while the second promotes the problem-solver. These metaphors do not only appeal to emotions but also to geometrical reasoning and presidential credibility. They aim to represent populism as the voice of the disenchanted. By the magic of such metaphors and appeals, populist mobilization may go too far in incarnating the collective will and distorting democracy.

Comunicación, política y lenguaje en los ecosistemas digitales (2007-2017): una aproximación teórica

Esta investigación narrativa surge de una revisión bibliográfica multidisciplinar iniciada como línea de investigación del autor en 2015 que incluye campos como la política, el marketing, los medios y el periodismo. Se completa con un análisis histórico reciente para comprender el modo en que la desconfianza daña la salud de las sociedades democráticas y subraya la necesidad de lenguajes basados en una sólida antropología relacional que ayuden a edificar una verdadera “casa común”.

La idea de la “casa común” remite al concepto de comunidad. No en vano comunicación, comunión y comunidad son palabras de raíz semántica común. La solidaridad que resulta del conocimiento mutuo aumenta la empatía, tiende a disolver el anonimato y dispone al diálogo. El auge de la comunicación móvil y los medios sociales aparecen como nuevos episodios de huida del anonimato, de búsqueda de comunicación más allá del mero “contacto” que aleje del individualismo. Los medios de comunicación son medios de relación. Las TIC no anulan la importancia de la comunión y la comunidad. Más bien pueden potenciarlas. Por eso parece lógico que el concepto de comunidad tenga influencia decisiva en la configuración de una política digna de la polis. La política es, en efecto, el lugar de la solidaridad y el bien común.

Sin embargo, la política a menudo se convierte en escenario de batallas donde las armas son el lenguaje agresivo y la confrontación. Las sociedades se tornan partidistas, divididas e ideologizadas. Los políticos y sus asesores de comunicación se centran en el miedo: difunden mensajes simplistas y esquemáticos que siembran la polarización y dificultan las grandes
alianzas que reclaman las crisis sociales. En este contexto de cambio de época, se hacen necesarios nuevos lenguajes que lideres de distintas épocas como Abraham Lincoln, Martin Luther King, Robert Kennedy, Nelson Mandela o, más recientemente, el Papa Francisco, han sabido abrazar.

Esta propuesta parte del análisis de los cambios políticos que se producen tras la crisis económica que se desencadenó en Estados Unidos en septiembre de 2007 y pone de manifiesto males de la comunicación política y la ecología de los medios que agravan la crisis de confianza de los ciudadanos en todos los actores sociales. Su objetivo es alimentar la conversación académica sobre confianza y bien común ofreciendo propuestas y perspectivas de análisis en un contexto político donde destacan las elecciones al Parlamento Europeo de 2019.

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Modern digital hate is hate crime: investigating social media platforms and the gender-based violence faced by women in politics.

According to an Inter-Parliamentary Union’s Report (2016), over 80% of female politicians have experienced some form of sexism, ranging from verbal to sometimes even physical harassment. As a matter of fact, the increasing presence of women on the political scenario has been leading to an equally growing incidence of misogynistic online hate against them. The purpose of this study is to investigate cybernetic instantiations of semiotically-expressed and gender-based hate and how social media platforms (i.e. Facebook and Twitter) can represent the ideal outlet for aggressions targeting women politicians. Prominent female figures from different political spectra, both English and Italian, will be taken into account in this case study. In particular, the British leader of the Conservative Party serving as Prime Minister, Theresa May, the former left-wing President of the Chamber of Deputies of Italy, Laura Boldrini, and the current Mayor of Rome Virginia Raggi, who represents the anti-establishment Five Stars Movement (M5S) are the social actors targeted in the corpus under scrutiny. From a methodological viewpoint, Critical Discourse Analysis as a multifaceted approach (Van Dijk, 2001; Wodak, 2009) can be considered as a keystone in a discourse examination aimed at detecting and deconstructing online hate. In particular, as people craft hate supported by the new digital media communicative affordances, online comments made on the basis of negative associations and stereotypes targeting the ‘Others’ are to be contextualised and examined within a critical perspective (KhosraviNik and Esposito, forthcoming). In the corpus, explicit misogyny seems to take the shape of a more profound chauvinism in which a woman’s political success is not considered in gender-neutral terms but in a patriarchal gender-specific way by men and women alike.

References:
The breaking point: speaking for, acting for and standing for ‘the best interest of the people’ in the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis

The foundation of modern democracy is based on the well-acknowledged notion of popular representation (Morris, 2000), or the right of the citizens to have a voice in their country’s political system through which a fiduciary relationship between ‘the people’ and their representatives is established (Simmons, 1993). By referring to the US and UK political contexts, this study explores how the effects of a rift in this relationship caused by the 2008 financial crisis (Weinert, 2007) forced governing parties on both sides of the political spectrum to rethink their political agendas in an effort to intercept the ‘untraceable people’ (Rosanvallon, 2011), or those who had lost their voice. In particular, the study analyzes how elected leaders mobilized and adapted their way of speaking to fellow citizens, outlining two discourse-embedded representational models of ‘the people’: the first, based on a more traditional conceptualization, frames ‘the people’ as a collective community involved in long-term forward-moving social discourse; the second draws on a more populist notion that sees ‘the people’ as individual recipients of a repertoire of actions aimed at an immediate satisfaction of diverse wishes and needs transformed into a persuasively packaged political model to look up to (Inglehart and Norris, 2016). Preliminary observations seem to indicate that this second model, also considering the 2016 electoral outcomes, with its greater degree of emotional load, is more apt at catalyzing the attention of the constituents.

The study’s corpus is made up of a collection of 28 special-issue speeches by two US presidents and two UK prime ministers from 2006 to present day. Both quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis are implemented: the former draws on a corpus-based approach (Baker et al. 2008) to reveal elements of positioning and stance; the latter combines the tools afforded by Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; van Leeuwen 2006; Wodak and Meyer, 2009) to investigate the most recurrent themes containing representational value, supported by the Social Actors Network (van Leeuwen, 1996), Appraisal and Framing Theories (White, 2015; Entman, 2007).

References:
We seem to be out on a limb…’: Separating the British from the EU in parliamentary discourse

In political discourse, Britain has often been said to be “at the heart of Europe” (Musolff 2017) and even leading the European Union (Gibbins 2014). According to Wallace (2017), the dominant narrative of national identity in Britain includes stories of exceptional history and success in terms of national survival. However, there have been competing representations of the UK and its people that challenge the dominant narrative of a strong Britain in Europe; In British parliamentary discourse, the British have also been placed at the margins of the EU, where it is difficult to lead the others.

My study focuses on diachronic changes in the discursive construction of Britain and the British people as outsiders in the EU in British parliamentary debates. The study covers the time period from the start of the UK’s membership in 1973 to the general election of 2015, in which the national referendum on the EU membership was one of the main themes. The data come from the Hansard Corpus (Alexander and Davies 2015-) and the Commons Hansard archives (over 400 million words), and methods of corpus-assisted discourse studies (Baker et al. 2008; Partington, Duguid and Taylor 2013) are adopted in the analysis. The results suggest that even though the identity of a “leader” in the EU has been enforced in the parliamentary discourse, a competing representation of Britain as an “outcast” and as a nation insecure of its role in the EU has been at the background throughout the years of the membership.

References:
The populist rhetorics and its influence on the traditional parties. Romania’s case.

‘Emanation’ of the People and expression of its will, populism witnesses a tremendous expansion all over Europe. From the Independence Party, in Great Britain to Podemos in Spain or Movimento 5 Stelle in Italy, (to cite only a few) parties and social movements are presenting themselves as challengers of the current system and ruling actors. Looked at with anxiety and condescension by the statu quo politicians but invested with hope by skeptical citizens disappointed by traditional institutions that ‘no longer represent anyone’, populism changes the balance of power and the rhetoric of discourse all over Europe.

Populism of the last century appeared as right wing populism in the Northern countries (especially after the wave of migrants) and as left wing populism in the Southern countries (Greece, Italy, Spain) and post communist ones; and everywhere it finds a strong electoral support. According to Mudde (2004) Western Europe crosses a populist Zeitgeist since populist parties win votes and the mainstream parties are increasingly using the populist rhetoric. That’s why we consider it contagious and we will analyze populism as contagion.

There is already a multitude of analyzes of the ‘answers’ traditional parties imagined to the electoral success of populist parties (Bale, 2003; Minkenberg, 2001; Monton, 2013; Mudde 2007; Rooduijn, 2014, Van Spanje 2010, inter al.), mainly focused on Western Europe and right wing populism as well as on economic more than ideological populism. That’s why we are interested by the ex communist countries in general and Romania in particular.

Romania’s case is useful for the comprehension of populism due to its slow modernization (end of the XIXth century) rapid forced industrialization (during the communist regime) and its traumatic transition to democracy. These roots and characteristics have contributed to maintaining a populist discourse when aggressive, visible, when latent, but always present in the Romanian political space after the collapse of communism in ’89.

Our analysis aims to reveal in what measure new media and the virtual public sphere contribute to consolidate the populist discourse in the Romanian politics.

We intend to analyze how traditional parties (The Social Democrat Party at the left and the National Liberal Party at the right) modify their electoral discourses in order to include manicheistic elements of the populist rhetoric (also present in the discourses of the new parties such as USR -The Union Save Romania and of a new very important actor-the street).

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Sanders Karen, Maria Jesus Molina Hurtado and Jessica Zoragastua 2017 « Populism and exclusionary narratives:The ‘other’ in Podemos’ 2014 European Union election campaign» in Journal of European Communication vol 32 (6) 352-367
Stefanel Adriana, 2017 „Some Populst Discursive Aspects of the #Rezist Movement” in Adi Ana & Darren Lilleker (eds) #Rezist Romania’s 2017 Anti-corruption Protests: Causes, developments and implications, Berlin, Quadriga University of Applied Sciences, pp116-123
Snapshots from the inside: Top-down and bottom-up images of EU citizenship across media

In this presentation I examine a number of images of EU citizens across media (verbal, visual and multimodal), both the ones encouraged by the European Commission and those devised or rendered by the people, either individually or collectively. This analysis considers explicit and implicit assumptions, the depiction of enemies and allies, and the metaphorical schemata underlying representations to finally discuss the role of such images in the construction of an overarching European Narrative. Within an eclectic theoretical framework broadly based on Critical Discourse Analysis and Positioning Theory, I selectively resort to the theories of Multimodality, Narratology, Conceptual Metaphor and Blending to shed light on prominent aspects such as agency, focalisation, source domains, cognitive complexity, or media constraints.

The corpus under study includes official divulgative literature and online promotional footage from the EU, self-made videoclips by spontaneous European YouTubers, academic papers from EU institutions, flyers from radical left-wing organisations, and instances from the Cartoon Movement. This research, still in progress, is part of a larger project developed with the Faculty of Political Science at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.

The Interdiscursive Construction of Charismatic Relationships

Western societies have recently been facing a crisis of authority accompanied by a shift in the ideological makeup of their political landscapes. I look at the rise of new anti-establishment leaders through the lens of Max Weber’s classical sociological theory of charismatic authority. Weber has been extensively treated in the social sciences, but the role language plays for the co-construction of charisma remains underresearched. According to Weber, “[w]hat alone is important is how the individual is actually regarded by those subject to charismatic authority” (1978: 242). More recently, charisma has thus been conceptualized as a social relationship which is about “symbolic behaviors, emotional appeals, and making events meaningful” (Bligh/Kohles 2009: 485). Drawing on social-constructionist perspectives in and on Weber’s original, I follow cultural pragmatics (Alexander 2004) to focus on the role of language as one resource of charismatization.

Using tools from corpus-assisted discourse studies, I outline interactional processes of performing and recognizing charisma. With the current ‘Trump phenomenon’ as a prime example, I study two corpora: a leader corpus including tweets, speeches, press briefings and televised debates to investigate the performative dimension of charismatic interaction; and a follower corpus of the reddit /r/The_Donald, which provides a dense source of multimodal charisma attribution. My analysis identifies monoglossic appraisal (Martin/White 2005), nominalization (Fairclough 2003), savior topoi, and speech act-based authentication as linguistic materializations of charismatic relationships. Highlighting that a discursive dimension is inevitable for understanding contemporary personalized leadership dynamics, this study tackles methodological, data-related and theoretical challenges in interdisciplinary applications of CADS.

References:
Metaphor use in populist, pluralist, and elitist political speeches

This paper explores the differences in metaphor usage in political speeches. First, political speeches of various politicians (Donald Trump, Barack Obama, Boris Johnson and others) are analyzed on having a mainly populist, elitist or pluralist political style. This analysis is performed with a method, developed for a doctoral dissertation, in which populism is looked at as a political performance style in direct relation to elitism and pluralism (Schoor, 2017, 2018 (under review)). The method is based on theories of e.i. Van Dijk (1998, 2015) and Wodak (Reisigl & Wodak, 2015; Wodak, 2009) and on a semiotic analysis revealing the logic behind the three concepts (Greimas, 1987; Schleifer, 1987). This logic defines populism as the exact opposite of the shared features of elitism and pluralism. Also, elitism is the opposite of the commonalities of populism and pluralism, and pluralism is the opposite of what populism and pluralism have in common. This logic occurs at three levels; cognitive, social and communicative. Following this logic, features of the three styles are complemented consulting literature on populism, (e.i. Laclau, 2005; Mudde, 2004; Roeduijn, 2013) elitism (e.i. P. Bachrach, 1971, 1980; Mackie, 2009) and pluralism (e.i Blokland, 2011). After defining the style of a speech, speeches are analyzed on metaphors usage on key concepts, such as ‘the people,’ ‘politicians,’ ‘the nation,’ ‘democracy,’ and ‘politics.’ Besides thematic differences, the metaphor analysis looks for differences in purposes that the metaphors are used for, which can be rational, emotional or strategic (Schoor, 2015).

The analysis suggests that the differences in metaphor usage can partly be explained by the style differences of the analyzed speeches.

References:
A Woman’s Place: the Istanbul Convention in the Croatian Media Discourse

The Croatian ratification of Council of Europe's Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (more commonly known as the Istanbul Convention) has provoked fierce reactions, mostly by right-wing parties, conservative groups and the Catholic Church. The opposition to the Convention mostly focused on the vaguely defined concept of “gender ideology” allegedly threatening traditional family values. The Convention has been at the forefront of media reports for a considerable period of time. Mass protests were organized against the Convention, and a referendum was launched requesting its denunciation following its ratification in April 2018.

The paper will analyze discursive strategies used by the Croatian media, primarily electronic newspapers and internet portals to present the controversies surrounding the Convention. Its objective is to show how the arguments for and against the Convention are discursively presented, taking into account the processes of intertextuality, interdiscursivity and recontextualization, and focusing on the contents, discursive strategies and means and forms of realization. (Wodak et al. 2009).

References:
Representing the people: Laclau and Müller on populism and representation

In this paper, I propose to examine debates about populism through the category of representation. By engaging with the works of Ernesto Laclau and Jan-Werner Müller, I show how our conceptions of representation inform how we think about populism.

While best known today for his theory of populism, Ernesto Laclau also has a distinctive theory of representation, which is developed in *On Populist Reason* (2005) in particular. Like other scholars working with a so-called constructivist conception of representation, Laclau takes representation to be a general category and not just limited to formal political institutions, and he takes representation to be performative in that it also brings about what is represented. Laclau takes populism to be exemplary of his conception of representation because populism is a discourse that brings into being what it claims to represent: the people. As a critic of populism, Müller arrives at very different political conclusions. While he also starts from a conception of representation as performative, he nonetheless limits the effects of representation when it comes to the empirical interests of the people and the institutions of liberal democracy. I show some of the limitations of the ways in which Laclau theorises representation and populism, but I also show how, against Müller and with a constructivist conception of representation, a pluralist populism is possible.

Populism Is a Symptom of the Dysfunctionality of Sovereign Rule

Popular culture offers us two dominant interpretations of populism. On the pessimistic view, populism is a form of unhealthy partisanship that galvanizes voters into powerful factions under the influence of demagogues who peddle simplistic “us/them narratives” that tear apart the body politic. On the optimistic view, populist movements are benign, grassroots political movements that by-pass the prejudices of elite actors and flout the stifling rules of political correctness, to hold our political institutions accountable to the needs and interests of ordinary citizens. Critics of populism think it is at bottom a demagogic abuse of the democratic instruments of the modern state. Defenders of populist politics claim that populist movements can save the modern state from its elitist and anti-democratic tendencies, reinstating rule “of the people, by the people, and for the people.”

These two interpretations of populism, while obviously at odds with each other, both completely miss the real significance of populism. At bottom, populism is neither an external threat, nor a political remedy, but a symptom of the dysfunctionality of the sovereign State. Sovereign rule, by monopolizing governance functions in the hands of centralized institutions, inevitably generates an unsustainable gap between the needs of persons and organizations on the ground, and the priorities and knowledge-base of governmental actors. Defenders of populism, who view it as a solution to the dysfunctions of sovereign rule, fail to see that it is part of the problem, insofar as it disguises the simplistic prerogatives of elite actors under the naïve doctrine that they can be an authoritative voice for a breathtaking range of persons and organizations that fall under the jurisdiction of the state. Likewise, critics of populism, who believe it is a wild departure from the behaviour of a functional state, are equally mistaken: for it is precisely the “functional” sovereign state that provides an environment in which the dysfunctions of populism can thrive.
Online Misogyny: Being a Female Politician in the Digital Era

This paper is part of a wider European interdisciplinary project on online hate speech aiming at developing effective strategies to mitigate and counteract the phenomenon.

In recent years, hate speech online has become one of the most frequent forms of human rights violations. It has developed an inherent gender dimension, as women and LGBTQ persons become targets of verbal abuse at a significantly higher rate (Titley et al. 2012). In addition, political discourse is growing on social media and, increasingly, female politicians are victims of disparaging and vicious comments, insults, rape and deaths threats and even simulated sexual violence (Powell and Nicola 2017). Thus, “the expansion of Web 2.0 as a political forum necessitates greater insight into the gendered constructions of political candidates online” (Ritchie 2013: 106).

A corpus of verbal and visual texts collected from the Internet profiles of a group of high-profile European female politicians will be investigated. Following Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough 1995) and social semiotic studies of social media (Jones 2009, Adami 2014, Zappavigna 2013; 2016, Zhao and Zappavigna 2017), the study will explore how these women are represented on social media, particularly when they occupy positions of power in the public arena. Moreover, a multimodal approach will allow us to verify whether verbal and visual communication reinforce detrimental representations of women politicians.

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América Latina el terreno fértil para el populismo

El populismo es un fenómeno político y una estrategia comunicativa. Se ha desarrollado especialmente en América Latina donde líderes carismáticos en representación del pueblo toman el poder y buscan perpetuarse en él.
En esta región del continente americano, donde, a pesar de que la mayoría de sus gobernantes son electos por sufragio universal y sus constituciones recogen Estados democráticos de derecho, hay una creciente desafección política; una percepción de que la democracia no funciona y no convence a los ciudadanos.

Las condiciones políticas, sociales, económicas y culturales de Latinoamérica han facilitado el auge del populismo. Entre ellas destacan: los problemas de la democracia, desafección política, crisis de la clase media y crisis de instituciones. Para que una democracia funcione se necesita al menos un espacio, recursos económicos, una clase media fuerte y salud en las instituciones democráticas. Sin embargo, estos rasgos no siempre se cumplen en los países latinoamericanos. Por lo anterior, podemos cuestionarnos ¿por qué no termina de asentarse la democracia en Latinoamérica y crece la desafección hacia la política y los políticos? Sin duda, las razones son diversas, pero una de ellas pudiera ser que la política en el área se ha “popularizado”, tanto por parte de los de derecha como los de izquierda; se ha rendido a una visión romántica de la política y de la democracia, que a su vez ha dado paso al Estado providencia o Estado benefactor, viendo a esta institución como el remedio de todos los males.

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Populism(s) in Power: collective identities and social imaginaries from SYRIZA to Trump

The increasing normalisation of populist discourses, on both the Left and the Right, and the consolidation of populists in government has raised a critical question: what happens to populists when they achieve power? By employing a rigorous analytical framework, this paper investigates the transformations of populist discourse in the topical cases of SYRIZA and Donald Trump.

Mainstream research maintains that ‘populist parties are by nature neither durable nor sustainable parties of government’ (Mény and Surel 2002:18); they inevitably fail to realise their promises once in power (Canovan 1999). Arguably, in applying a comparison between the pre- and the in-power phase, current research makes evident an analytical shift from the form to the outcomes of populism; properties that are not constitutive to the concept. As a result, not only is the concept of populism at risk of ‘stretching’ (Sartori 1970) but our ability to systematically analyse populism in power is hampered. Emanating from the minimal definition of populism as a discursive logic that juxtaposes ‘the people’ against ‘the elite’ (Laclau 2005), this project aims to examine to what extent, and how, the aforementioned signifiers are transformed across time within the space of power.

This paper applies two within-case comparative analyses between the campaigning and the governing periods. It considers visual and text material found in manifestos, posters, rally speeches and programmatic statements and applies a discourse-analytical methodology to examine the redefinitions in the representations of the people and the elite, as well as the key frames articulated by the populist leaders. The contextualisation of discourse in ‘normal’ and ‘exceptional’ moments contributes to the debate whether populist discourse is a continuous feature or a matter of degrees.

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The Sovereign as a Network of Political Judgment

The problem of representation of the sovereign demos, as an absolute collective subject that can never be made fully present, seems impossible to resolve through the lens of democratic
theory, which presupposes a unity in which the people-as-a-whole is the sovereign. Republican theory, on the other hand, is predicated on the ontological social division between the few who dominate and the many who resist oppression, and thus conceives of ‘the people’ not as the people-as-a-whole but as the many, as the common people who lack ruling power and thus must be the guardians of liberty.

In his 1793 constitutional plan for the French republic Condorcet proposes to constitutionalize the popular councils that arose during the revolutionary experience into a ‘popular branch,’ a decentralized network of radically inclusive local assemblies with the power to initiate and veto legislation, as well as to exercise periodic constituent power. In the paper I first analyze Condorcet’s project for a popular branch, which is aimed not as self-government but at controlling elected representatives, and his conception of the people through their institutionalized form. Building on Condorcet, I then argue ‘the people’ as the many assembled locally, is not a homogeneous, bounded subject but one that operates as a network of political judgment in permanent flow. The people as network would be a subject with as many brains as assemblies, in which collective learning, reaction against domination, and social change would happen organically and independently from representative government and political parties.

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"'We want to trust the people' - National identity construction and the EU Referendum".

In times of rising Euroscepticism, the interplay of a supranational European identity and various national identities remains a hotly debated topic. Seeing as these identities are frequently renegotiated in moments of historical impact for a nation (Risse 2010), this paper examines discursive identity constructions during the United Kingdom EU membership referendum 2016. Drawing on the Discourse Historical Approach to Critical Discourse Studies (Reisigl & Wodak 2001, 2009), this paper illustrates how political actors strategically construct different visions of British national identity to support their arguments for or against the EU. To this purpose, a corpus-assisted critical discourse study of transcribed parliamentary proceedings in the House of Commons between May 7th 2015 and June 15th 2016 is undertaken. This paper focuses specifically on a sub-corpus of utterances by Conservative politicians, as the party’s MPs campaigned for both sides. Corpus linguistic methods show that appeals to "the people" are particularly high amongst members of the Conservative party. This is in line with Billig's (1995) observation that national identities are often subtly reinforced by politicians via strategic language use for the creation of in- and out-groups. Although members of the same political party can be assumed to have roughly similar ideological backgrounds, further analysis of my data shows that arguments for and against membership are founded on differing conceptions of what "the [British] people" encompasses. These findings suggest that part of the reason for the Leave campaign's success may have been that they more adequately addressed the voter's sense of self.

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