

POLÍTICA

IMAGEM

POLITICS

IMAGE

POLÍTICA E IMAGEM /POLITICS AND IMAGE

CONFERENCE

Português / English

November 15-17, 2018

University of Coimbra - Institute for Philosophical Studies

<http://www.uc.pt/fluc/uidief>

IEF

Instituto de Estudos Filosóficos

Unidade I&D

O Instituto de Estudos Filosóficos (IEF) é uma Unidade de Investigação & Desenvolvimento sediada na Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra (FLUC), que acolhe investigadores de Filosofia doutorados, de todas as proveniências – enquanto membros integrados –, e se encontra aberta a todos aqueles que – na qualidade de membros colaboradores – desejem ingressar na investigação filosófica ou aprofundá-la. O IEF apoia a formação e a iniciação de jovens investigadores e dá expressão e divulgação institucionais à investigação filosófica de topo, nas várias dimensões em que a Filosofia hoje continua a materializar-se. É sua convicção que o trabalho e a meditação filosóficas constituem uma via real para repensar uma herança, pensar e reconhecer os apelos do presente, e dar resposta aos mais urgentes desafios de um futuro sempre interrogante. Com uma consolidada história e uma inigualável expansão internacional o trabalho de pesquisa do IEF concretiza-se nas várias linhas de investigação em que todos os membros se organizam, promove Colóquios, Seminários Permanentes de Filosofia, Aulas Abertas, publicações e contactos nacionais e internacionais que visem o intercâmbio filosófico de mais alto nível e rigor. O IEF dá as boas-vindas a todos aqueles que queiram ou visitá-lo ou associar-se-lhe.

The Institute of Philosophical Studies is a Research & Development Unit based in the Faculty of Arts and Humanities of the University of Coimbra that hosts doctorate Philosophy investigators of all origins – while members – and that is opened to all those – as collaborative members – wishing to join the philosophical investigation or deepen it. The Institute of Philosophical Studies supports the training and initiation of young investigators and provides institutional expression and disclosure to the high-end philosophical investigation, in the several dimensions in which Philosophy is still materializing today. It is its conviction that the philosophical meditation and work are a real path to rethink a heritage, think and acknowledge the appeals from today, and provide an answer for the more urgent challenges of an always inquisitive future. With a solid history and an unmatched international expansion, the research work of the Institute of Philosophical Studies is achieved in the several Research Groups, in which all members are organized, promote Conferences, Permanent Seminars in Philosophy, Open Classes, publications and national and international contacts aiming the philosophical exchange of the highest level and accuracy. The Institute of Philosophical Studies welcomes all those who wish to visit or associate with it.

Welcome Address

Dear Participants,

It is a pleasure to welcome you to Coimbra for what will surely be a stimulating conference on Politics and Image. The city of Coimbra hosts one of the oldest universities in the world, founded in March 1290. It is, thus, a place of centennial academic tradition; but also one where tradition meets novelty and innovation. True to such a spirit, we have established a partnership with Jazz ao Centro Clube (ou com o Serviço Educativo do JACC), one of the cultural hotspots of the city, for the organization of the conference. Hence, sessions will take place in the Faculty of Arts of the University of Coimbra and in Salão Brazil. This collaboration aims to make academic discussions transcend the strict institutional (and physical) boundaries of academia and fertilize a broader intellectual context. In addition, the conference program will be followed by a rich cultural program in Salão Brazil, where the exchange of ideas can continue on a more informal note. We hope you enjoy taking part in the conference as much as we enjoyed organizing it – and that you have the time to discover some of the marvels that the city of Coimbra has to offer.

The Organizing Committee
Pedro T. Magalhães and Constantino Pereira Martins

On behalf of the Institute of Philosophical Studies (IEF) and the University of Coimbra, we cordially greet all those who decided to take part in this important international conference in these three days, to reflect on two themes whose relevance and timeliness we could hardly underestimate. We are proud of your presence and we would like that the welcome given by this old university will permit the necessary tranquility for a mature, timely and fruitful reflection. We also greet the main organizers of this great event and we welcome all with our best wishes.

Em nome do Instituto de Estudos Filosóficos (IEF) e da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra saudamos efusivamente todos(as) que nestes três dias decidiram participar nesta importante Conferência internacional, reunida para refletir sobre duas temáticas cuja relevância e atualidade dificilmente poderíamos subestimar. A vossa presença orgulha-nos sobremaneira e gostaríamos que o acolhimento feita por esta velha Universidade vos desse a tranquilidade necessária para uma reflexão amadurecida, tempestiva e fecunda. Cumprimentamos também os organizadores principais deste magno evento e a todos(as) transmitimos os votos de boas-vindas e melhores trabalhos.

O Coordenador Científico do IEF,
Prof. Dr. Mário Santiago de Carvalho

Agradecimentos especiais

Gostaríamos de agradecer todo o apoio da Catarina Pires, do Jazz ao Centro, que acolheu a ideia de ultrapassar os muros da Universidade e que esteve sempre ao nosso lado nesta caminhada. Agradecimento que estendemos ao Prof. Doutor Mário Santiago de Carvalho, à Universidade Coimbra e ao IEF por terem possibilitado a realização desta conferência. Queremos, também, agradecer a todos os oradores convidados que aceitaram o nosso desafio: Diogo Pires Aurélio, José Bragança de Miranda, Rodrigo Peixoto, João Correia, Jacinto Godinho, Luis Gouveia Monteiro, António Caeiro, Michael Räber, Sérgio Dias Branco. Agradecemos, ainda, a Robert Junqueira pelo apoio logístico prestado aos conferencistas.

Um agradecimento final e especial ao Prof. Doutor Nuno Ferro por toda a confiança e liberdade.

Acknowledgments

We would like to thank Catarina Pires, from Jazz ao Centro, for all the support. Catarina welcomed the idea of going beyond the walls of the University and was always by our side. We extend our thanks to Professor Mário Santiago de Carvalho, to the University of Coimbra and to the Institute of Philosophical Studies (IEF) for making this conference possible. We would also like to thank the keynote and invited speakers who accepted our challenge: Diogo Pires Aurélio, José Bragança de Miranda, Rodrigo Peixoto, João Correia, Jacinto Godinho, Luis Gouveia Monteiro, António Caeiro, Michael Räber, Sérgio Dias Branco. A word of gratitude, too, to Robert Junqueira for providing logistical support to the conference participants

Finally, special thanks to Professor Nuno Ferro for all the confidence and freedom.

The Conference

In an age of social media and instant communication where the visual element has taken such a preponderance, one is almost intuitively led to the dual conviction that images have vast political implications and that politics involves, at its very core, the creation and diffusion of images. Such intuitions, and the need to examine them more closely, served as the point of departure for organizing the present conference. Our aim was to collect a series of reflections, from across the humanities and the social sciences, on the relationship between politics and image. And we were pleased to find out that our call found the plural reception it was looking for.

The relationship between politics and aesthetics, with its manifold reconfigurations from Plato to the philosophy of technology, runs like a red thread through all the panels. Still, most papers go beyond a strictly historical-philosophical perspective and attempt to tackle current theoretical and political challenges. One will encounter both critical perspectives, stressing the oppressive and alienating dimensions of contemporary image production, and more encouraging outlooks pointing towards the emancipatory potential of images.

The effects of the rise of an eminently visual culture on political ideas, institutions, identities, and attitudes will also constitute an important topic of reflection and debate throughout. Should the very concept of democracy be redefined? Must we reconsider the nature and purpose of the public sphere? What should one make of the blurring of the lines between fact and fiction, between information, entertainment and propaganda? These are just some of the urgent questions that the papers will address.

Last but not least, we were also fortunate enough to gather a number of contributions that approach the theme of the conference from the point of view of specific performative and visual-artistic practices. The perspectives of architecture, film, theatre, and photography will, thus, join and enrich the approaches of philosophers and social scientists.

Of course, most of the questions raised in the next three days will – as they must – remain without a definitive answer. However, perhaps one will, in the end, be in a position to formulate new, better questions. If that happens, the conference will have achieved its goal.

Organizing committee

Main interests cover an area of research at the intersection of Theology, Political Philosophy, Cinema and Aesthetics. Graduation and Master in Philosophy. Currently PhD candidate at Nova University of Lisbon with the support of FCT Foundation. His present investigation is focused on Humor and Comedy. The research is building a relation between Cinema and Philosophy, aiming for both theoretical and pragmatic approach.

Constantino Pereira Martins

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Pedro T. Magalhães

Holds a PhD in Political Science from FCSH-Nona University of Lisbon and is currently a postdoctoral researcher at the Center of Excellence in Law, Identity and the European Narratives, University of Helsinki. His research focuses on the concepts of legitimacy and representation from both a theoretical and a historical perspective.

University of Helsinki / IPRI - <https://www.helsinki.fi/en/researchgroups/law-identity-and-the-european-narratives/people#section-57243>

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Advisory Committee: Diogo Pires Aurélio, José Bragança de Miranda, Manuel José Damásio, Rodrigo Tavarela Peixoto, João Carlos Correia, Mário Santiago Carvalho

Politics and Image / Política e Imagem

MORNING

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Politics and Image / Política e Imagem

15.11.2018

- 9.00 **Registration** (Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra / Faculty of Arts of the University of Coimbra, Hall do Teatro Paulo Quintela, 3rd Floor)
- 9.45 **Welcome Speech** (Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra / Faculty of Arts of the University of Coimbra, Amphitheater III, 4th Floor)
- 10.00-11.00 **Keynote Speech** (Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra / Faculty of Arts of the University of Coimbra, Amphitheater III, 4th Floor)

"O rei vai nu". Aparência e transparência no domínio político

Diogo Pires Aurélio (Universidade Nova de Lisboa)

Writer and Professor. His work includes poetry, literary criticism, essays and scientific studies in the areas of philosophy, politics, literature and communication. His main interest is currently in some concepts such as people, representation, state sovereignty, as well as their relevance for understanding politics in modern times.

<https://www.diogopiresaurelio.pt>

- 11.00-11.30 Coffee Break
- 11.30-12.30 **Session 1 – New media, new politics?** (Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra / Faculty of Arts of the University of Coimbra, Amphitheater III, 4th Floor)
- Panel chair: **Constantino Pereira Martins** (Universidade Nova de Lisboa / Universidade de Coimbra)

The suspicious image

Pedro Pinto de Oliveira (Federal University of Mato Grosso)

Populism: The impact of the new media ecosystem on the emergence of new forms of leadership

João Carlos Correia (University of Beira Interior)

- 14.30-16.30 **Session 2 – The political nature of images: philosophical approaches I** (Salão Brazil)

Panel chair: **Pedro T. Magalhães** (University of Helsinki / IPRI-Nova)

Kant's 'ingenium': image, nature and freedom

Albert Rosell (Autonomous University of Madrid)

Politics and image paradigm through the philosophy of technology

Nataschia Mattucci (University of Macerata)

All images are political

Luca Siniscalco (University of Milano)

From democratic voyeurism to an ethics of democratic spectatorship

Jan Bība (Charles University Prague)

16.11.2018

10.00-11.30 **Session 4 – Images of violence and the violence of images** (Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra / Faculty of Arts of the University of Coimbra, Amphitheater III, 4th Floor)

Panel chair: **Constantino Pereira Martins** (Universidade Nova de Lisboa / IEF - Universidade de Coimbra)

The Matrix of Abjection: The Reclusion of the Spectator

André Dias (ESAD Caldas da Rainha)

Another scene for political recovery: theater's usages of death images published on social networks

Ervina Kotollosi (University of Paris 3-Sorbonne Nouvelle)

The Class of Images

Sérgio Dias Branco (Universidade de Coimbra)

11.30 – 12.30 **Coffee Break**

14.30-16.00 **Session 5 – The visibility of polity and politics** (Salão Brazil)

Panel chair: **Pedro T. Magalhães** (University of Helsinki / IPRI-Nova)

Making Europe and America visible: how art contributes to the (de)legitimation of the existing political order

Eszter Salgó (John Cabot University)

Architecture as Ambassador: American Embassy for the 21st Century

Shaili Patel (Norwich University)

The Emancipatory Potential of Political Images

Michael Räber (University of Zurich)

16.30-18.00 **Session 6 – The political nature of images: philosophical approaches II** (Salão Brazil)

Panel chair: **Constantino Pereira Martins** (Universidade Nova de Lisboa / IEF - Universidade de Coimbra)

Vilém Flusser: Photography as a Myth Generator

Francesco Restuccia (University of Rome – La Sapienza)

Of what is an image an image?

Rômulo Eisinger Guimarães (Federal University of Santa Maria /Friedrich-Schiller-University of Jena)

A Politics of the Encounter

Grace Euna Kim

17.11.2018

9.30-11.00 **Session 7 – The politics of senses** (Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra / Faculty of Arts of the University of Coimbra, Amphitheater III, 4th Floor)

Panel chair: **Pedro T. Magalhães** (University of Helsinki / IPRI-Nova)

Images, what's the point? Automation, artificial intelligence, technologies of (hyper)control

Colette Tron

Politics of Perception: Imagination and Information, Reality and Artificiality

Michael Mallory (University of Wollongong Dubai, U. A. E.)

11.00 – 12:00 **Coffee Break**

12.00-13.00 **Sessão 8 – Conflito e resistência** (Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra / Faculty of Arts of the University of Coimbra, Amphitheater III, 4th Floor)

Moderador: **Pedro T. Magalhães** (University of Helsinki / IPRI-Nova)

O papel das imagens no pensamento do projeto urbano

Paulo Reyes (Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul)

A censura radiofónica: O caso de Mário Silva

Gilberto Pereira (Universidade de Coimbra), **Catarina Pires** (Universidade de Coimbra),
Décio Martins (Universidade de Coimbra) e **Carlos Fiolhais** (Universidade de Coimbra)

15.00-17.00 **Sessão 9 – Mesa-Redonda de Oradores Convidados** (Salão Brazil)

Moderador: **Constantino Pereira Martins** (Universidade Nova de Lisboa / IEF - Universidade de Coimbra)

O direito à presunção da inteligência: a imagem como profecia auto-confirmatória

Luis Gouveia Monteiro (Universidade de Coimbra / Universidade Nova de Lisboa)

VISA pour L'image: Uma visão sobre o Fotorjournalismo (na Europa) no século XXI a partir do maior festival de Fotorjournalismo no continente Europeu.

Rodrigo Peixoto (CICANT / Universidade Lusófona)

O jornalismo contra Trump ou como sobreviver na era psicopolítica digital

Jacinto Godinho (Universidade Nova de Lisboa)

Propaganda e atentado de carácter

António de Castro Caeiro (Universidade Nova de Lisboa)

17.00-18.00 **Keynote Speech – Closing Session** (Salão Brazil)

Da imagem comum

José Bragança de Miranda (Universidade Nova de Lisboa / Universidade Lusófona)

Researcher, lecturer and Portuguese university professor. He has published in the areas of communication and culture, cyberculture and media studies.

<http://rae.com.pt/>

PROGRAMA PARARELO - SALÃO BRAZIL



Quinta-feira, 15 Novembro, 22h

Fuocoammare, de Gianfranco Rosi

seguido de conversa com Ana Biscaia (Clube Mediterrâneo)

Fuocoammare significa 'fogo no mar'. Escrito e dirigido pelo italiano Gianfranco Rosi, estreou no Festival de Cinema de Berlim, sendo galardoado com o Urso de Ouro e distinguido com o Prémio da Amnistia Internacional. Este filme começou por ser uma encomenda do organismo estatal italiano do cinema, o Istituto Luce, sobre a ilha italiana de Lampedusa, mas transformou-se depois num testemunho de duas realidades que, sendo tão próximas em termos geográficos – nunca coincidem realmente. A realidade dos migrantes que vêm do norte de África, metidos em barças ou botes – verdadeiros caixões insufláveis, como dizia alguém –, apinhados no convés ou apinhados e esmagados e encharcados de gasolina ou urina ou vomitado no porão. E a realidade da pequena comunidade que habita Lampedusa, onde atualmente vivem cerca de seis mil pessoas.

Sábado, 17 Outubro, 22h

TELECTU

Vitor Rua e António Duarte revisitam "Belzebu"

"A nave "Telectu" beijou languidamente a superfície do planeta "Salão Brasil".

O oiro do rio cravejava em mil estrelas o firmamento da ramagem; raios de vento solar agitavam os anéis refulgentes da água, argênteos cometas sopravam nas "Rotas" do veludo das folhas.

Cada cintilação era relativa a um som específico no radar mental.

Muito longe, a neblina de Betelgeuse, quase uma "Opera" silenciosa; além, Aldebaran, mais próxima e intensa, chispando clusters; com um ruído fantástico, a fosforescente Alfa Centauri; deleitou-se com a energia sónica radioforme do frutado de Cassiopeia; mini-relâmpagos de "Tenet" alumiam o líquido Orion num som estrídulo percussivo e contínuo de "Arepo".

Ouvia-se o chocalhar do rio na sua curva de Via Láctea, rasgando a vegetação atonal; a nebulosa magalhânica das copas; o estampido dum super nova ofuscante; seguiu-se um vazio silêncio que cegava... depois...

misticamente... glissando e, súbita agitação das folhas audiovisuais prenes de seiva.

Ouviu-se uma gama entre sons infra e ultra, raios resplandecentes "Sator",

Impulsos sonoros analógicos variáveis, cordas eléctricas sibilantes.

Na perspectiva textural, uma corola, Tau Ceti, roçava em elipses as pétalas de Andrómeda; pressentiu-se o

explodir microacústico dum planetóide alojado numa semente; a queda asa delta amarela dum meteoro arpejado vindo do topo da árvore dissonante que ao poisar no solo levantou poeira sideral.

O concreto e o imaginário; mais longe até a vista ficar louca de som imenso: o Sol, que naquela manhã embebedava de radiações audioextravagantes... e nos confins da Galáxia, entre os sons da Natureza - uma melodia arcaica de uma guitarra Fender Jaguar a esvair-se...

"Música!" - o Humano não estava só no Universo...". Vitor Rua

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Abstracts

Session 1 – New media, new politics?

The suspicious image

Pedro Pinto de Oliveira (Federal University of Mato Grosso)

According to Albert Jacquard, a question opens up a new world and stimulates the acquisition of new knowledge. Thus, a question raised by Professor Maria João Silveirinha at the Working Group on Political Communication during the 10th SOPCOM, held in November 2017 in Viseu, is our starting point. As she listened to a researcher state “we must be suspicious of images”, Maria João Silveirinha asked: “Must we also, then, be suspicious of words?” In order to reinforce the pertinence of such question, we bring to light George Orwell’s dystopian work, *1984*. From it, we frequently extract useful thoughts regarding image as a form of control, power or spectacle, but we hardly pay attention to another issue raised by the author: the manipulation of the written word, the routine and bureaucratic work of rewriting the past. After all, in novels, words are thrown in the hollows of memory.

With these suspicions finally identified, our exposition addresses the instrumental and final layers of Communication. We deal with the technical manipulation processes of images, which is the traditional locum for suspicion, as well as its use in politics nowadays. Our theoretical base is the relational idea of Communication, as elaborated by philosophers such as Alfred Schütz, in social phenomenology, and John Dewey, in classical pragmatism. We incorporate Daniel Arijon’s notion of technical manipulation in the production of documentaries, as well as in the form he organized facts and arranged reality, the so-called “tampering with”. We also incorporate Graeme Turner’s forms of audio-visual communication with their signifying elements.

We present, then, as a methodological procedure, a study on multiple cases of “political memes”, seeking to assess the relation between their processes of elaboration, the instance of *mediality* seen in the shape of the device, and the construction of meaning, the instance of *finality*.

Mockery, scorn and personal attacks are long-standing procedures in politics, and are almost invariably rooted, according to Hannah Arendt, in prejudices from the past. Memes are new forms of these old communication strategies that increasingly circulate in the internet and are used by social groups of all ideological backgrounds. Our approach seeks to understand both the instrumental use of images and the slandering goal of this kind of cyberactivism. We focus particularly on election campaigns, for there one finds serious distortions of the communicative ideal of democracy.

Populism: The impact of the new media ecosystem on the emergence of new forms of leadership

João Carlos Correia (University of Beira Interior)

In this text, we consider that the type of social interaction dominant in new communication technologies unleashes factors that directly interfere in the configuration of leadership in different political formations: groups, movements, and parties.

At the strictly political level, there is a resumption of pre-modern elements. In the context of media networks and industry, legal-rational authority is replaced by the popularity of the charismatic leader in the sense given by the society of communication. The skills needed to exercise power are now identified with the skills to generate emotional empathy. Irrationalism arising from the exacerbation of affects coexists with the world of instant messaging, live television, inflamed tweets, dramatized controversies, and thematic polarization and fragmentation. Some of the characteristics studied in the literature of the Social Sciences and Humanities are reactivated around the study of the concept of “authoritarian personality”.

The change in political leadership manifests itself not only at the level of institutions operating in the political system. It also manifests itself among opinion leaders who intervene informally at the level of the interactions between people within a group and, currently, in a particular form of the mediatization of these interactions, as it is the case in digital social networks.

There is, thus, a link between the manifestations of populist phenomena and the network of dependencies of individuals on the dominant premises and preconceptions in the communities, including parties, groups, and movements, to which they belong. In particular, in social networks, users are confined to their interest groups, relating to each other via Skype, e-mail, instant messaging and posting, inducing the radicalization of hate groups, which establish and feed echo chambers that reinforce uniform behavior. These themes were discussed by Adorno and Horkheimer (2002), Adorno (1991), Adorno et al (1950), Foucault (1999), and more recently by authors such as Christian Fuchs (2016) and Fuchs and Mosco (2016), among others.

In this text, we regard technologies as social facts that only have the meaning assigned to them by the social agents. In this way, the reductionism of psychologists and sociologists is avoided, and possibilities are established to look dialectically at the potentialities that inhabit the dystopian visions of citizenship. Starting from this theoretical framework, one will focus on expressions of political leadership during the Fox News coverage of the American presidential election night in 2016; the public comments available on YouTube immediately after the election of Donald Trump; and on Christian Fuchs’ comments in his Huffington Post blog.

Session 2 – The political nature of images: philosophical approaches I

Kant's 'ingenium': image, nature and freedom

Albert Rosell (Autonomous University of Madrid)

Between the *Critique of Judgment's* sections 43-51 Kant develops his theory of genius; who thinks as an art legislator, who creates art's rules. 'To create' is for Kant to innovate beyond the given, which he associates with nature; it is to inject newness into the natural *semper idem*. Therefore, he insists that "in [dealing with] a product of fine art we must become conscious that it is art rather than nature" (§ 45). This is equivalent to say that if art is beautiful, if it arouses pleasure, it is because it does not belong to the realm of natural necessity, but to that of spiritual freedom: it is culture and not biology.

However, the distinction between art and nature is not so clean: nature, Kant notes, is beautiful when we perceive it as art and "art can be called fine (*schön*) art only if we are conscious that it is art while yet it looks to us like nature" (§ 45). That nature pleases like art means that we can appreciate it as we appreciate a painting, that is, in the distance and, therefore, subtracted from necessity by the shelter of culture. Yet, that art seems like nature takes us a little further, specifically, to the notion of 'ideology'.

Ideological representation is usually understood as that which hides its material requirements of possibility, henceforth it deceives as it appears to be given and not created. This is the aspiration of the genius: to make art seem "as free from all constraint of chosen rules as if it were a product of mere nature" (§ 45), says Kant. A simulation that goes to the extreme of affirming that "Genius is the innate mental predisposition (*ingenium*) through which nature gives the rule to art" (§ 46). In other words, on the one hand, Kant sees art as an artifice, as a technical milestone, as culture; on the other, its legitimacy and its success consists of not appearing as culture, but a *creatio ex nihilo*, that is, natural. It even goes so far as to suggest that it is nature itself that regulates art.

Thus, creation according to Kant lies between freedom and determination. Freedom, understood as future, as possibility, as novelty coined by the genius; and determination: as bias of the new, as delimitation of behavior, an epigone or a copy of novelty. In other words, although the genius's creation is a sublime exercise of the capacity of self-determination, of human freedom, the reception of its creation is imposing like nature, delimitating. Therefore, that technique (where art is included) seems natural only indicates how automatic and unconscious social relations have become, even though they are the fruit of freedom and, consequently, created or invented.

In short: I will dedicate my paper to the dialogue between freedom and determination in the Kantian enquiries on genius to show the political aspect of visual creation. That is, how modern philosophy thought the image as a technical milestone and, therefore, as a regulator of our actions, experiences and believes.

Politics and image paradigm through the philosophy of technology

Natascia Mattucci (University of Macerata)

The contemporary world, especially at the political level, is hit by historic turning points that political theory, reduced more and more to be 'maid' of the social sciences and less and less to be its 'lighthouse', tries to describe through a new lexicon, sign of a symptomatology that has not yet been configured in a philosophical diagnosis of prospective nature. Just think of the use of expressions such as 'Post-truth', 'Hate speech', 'Politeinment', 'New Populism', to name but a few, used to indicate the change in progress in more recent years. But what tangible changes do we usually refer to while pointing to 'changing times'? In political terms, and especially in the European countries, we refer to the transformation of political representation and the public sphere, whose most obvious sign is the crisis of the intermediate bodies. When the latter phenomenon needs to be described, the political and social sciences consider the financial crisis of 2008 and the effects of globalization as the reference point of their analysis.

Without ignoring the effects of those phenomena, this paper aims to discuss the indispensable contribution that a criticism of the commercial media can offer to a diagnosis of contemporary political changes. Analyzing current politics, especially its relationship with the domain of image, without a critical philosophical support would deprive the diagnosis both of a background and of a perspective. A prophetic analysis of the centrality of the image paradigm, within a reflection on mass media, is contained in the well-known philosophy of technique developed by Günther Anders in the 1950s. His critical philosophy of the media is part of a broader reflection on the imperatives of technology, with clear Heideggerian influence, and on the Copernican revolution that its use produces in human lives. The technical itinerary traced may have some nihilistic results, as demonstrated by the transition from a *homo faber* to a *homo materia*: while the *homo faber* represents the attempt to use technique as a tool to change the environment, in order to make it more suitable for the survival of the human being, the *homo materia* suggests the possibility of manipulating and exploiting the same human nature, as it happens with an energy deposit. Humanity seems blindly projected towards a technicization of its existence, witnessed by the strenuous struggle against the deficient characters of the body, by the full assumption of the logic of instant use, by the prevailing imaginification in every living space.

Anders's *Medienkritik* can be an important interpretative key to contemporary politics. One of the most widespread objections to any criticism of mass media and technology is that the goodness, sociability and humanity of these tools depends on how we use them. This view presupposes that individuals retain the freedom to dispose of the technique and that it is still possible to make a distinction between means and goals. The Andersian criticism focuses precisely on this structural inversion between means and aims, typical of the technique and its mass media declinations. Images of foreign things and people come under the form of intimate, pre-familiarized visitors, and have an almost magical power that produces a significant metamorphosis in the relationships between human beings and the world. One of the most important consequences of the familiarization produced by the mass media is the reduction, almost to the disappearance, of the strangeness between human beings and the world that, in the form of distance, measures the degree of human freedom. The fact that reality in the form of an image (*iconomania*), as well as consumer goods, constitutes the main category of the individual, attests the relevance of this epistemological paradigm for the political sphere. Technocracy exercises a soft power, with a conformist-commercial character, and moves seductively and bloodlessly in order to hide the evaporation of political freedom.

All images are political

Luca Siniscalco (University of Milano)

With this radical title, we would like to establish a brief itinerary in the history of Western philosophy, showing how from a strict philosophical and theoretical perspective all images have to be considered political because of their ontological and relational nature. Beginning with Plato's famous critique of images (*mimesis mimeseos*), we'll try to explain that both art history and philosophical reflection constantly pointed out that images, in their symbolical structure, have a strong political implication. This topic will be considered with reference to the political and social influence that images exercise, especially in our postmodern and digital 2.0 society. The main focus will however remain purely theoretical: images have a political nature depending on their ontological structure. This thesis proceeds from the etymology of the Greek word politics (*politeia*) and the belief that every symbolical human expression is related to an intersubjective – therefore political and communitarian – meaning.

The analysis of the concept of simulacrum theorized by Jean Baudrillard (*Simulacres et simulation*, 1981), and of the Heideggerian reflections on images, gnosiological process and truth, will conclude our paper, helping us to understand that our contemporary age is “an age of simulacra and simulation, in which there is no longer any God to recognize his own, nor any last judgment to separate truth from false, the real from its artificial resurrection, since everything is already dead and risen in advance”. At the same time, we will present alternative paths to modernisation, based on a mythical and symbolical hermeneutics, in which images can achieve again their philosophical dignity.

From democratic voyeurism to an ethics of democratic spectatorship

Jan Bība (Charles University Prague)

Democratic theorists have suggested many times that contemporary democracies have – thanks to many factors ranging from globalization and the complexity of our societies to new forms of political communication via social media based on images – witnessed a profound change in their nature. While there certainly are many differences among particular theoretical approaches it seems that many of them under different labels like audience, ocular, monitory or counter-democracy (See e.g. Manin 1997, Green 2010, Keane 2009, Rosanvallon 2008) suggest that contemporary citizens dispose of power that is based rather on spectating and surveillance of political elites than on direct involvement in political decision-making.

This raises many questions about the nature of political spectatorship. This paper is concerned mainly with Jeffrey Green's concept of ocular democracy, which seems to be the most ambitious work in the field, as Green intends to re-work democratic theory completely around a citizen-spectator. Green's position has been met with many objections. Its critics pointed to Green's problematic use of theatrical metaphors and suggested that Green has resigned vis-à-vis liberal-democratic malaises, and that the defensiveness of his position betrays some key democratic values like autonomy, celebrating passivity instead. Many also objected to Green's elitism and his defense of plebiscitarianism. (See e.g. Avramenko – Schwartzberg (eds.) 2014; Dobson 2014; Hammer – Kajewski (eds.) 2017; Fitzgerald 2015 a&b; Ryan – Flinders 2017; Urbinati 2014).

Even though I agree with the above-mentioned criticism I do not intend to refuse or disqualify the notion of citizen-spectators completely. Instead, my main focus is on reworking the concept of democratic spectatorship and overcoming the normative deficit present in Green's notion of democratic spectatorship. The paper therefore claims that Green's theory of democratic spectatorship is inappropriate mainly for three reasons: firstly, Green ignores the insights of theoreticians of the so-called representative turn, which allows him both to claim that contemporary democracies are non- or post-representative and place democratic spectatorship under the rubric of plebiscitarianism; secondly, building mainly on Bentham-Foucaultian panopticism, Green pays no attention to spectators and focuses mainly on the impact of the disciplinary gaze on those who are being watched; thirdly, although he insists that his theory has a potential of bringing the People back to democratic theory as a collective spectator, he never thematises horizontal relations among spectators. For all these reasons I claim that rather than a theory of democratic spectatorship, Green provides a theory of democratic voyeurism intent only on seeing political actors humiliated. This was confirmed in Green's later writings where he defends “principled vulgarity” against political elites (Green, 2017).

The paper therefore suggests that a better understanding of democratic spectatorship is needed. To fill this lacuna, the paper turns to a Cavellian notion of aversive democracy (Cavell 1988, Norval 2007) and claims that both its processual perfectionism and embeddedness in everyday practices of the ordinary provide a better starting point for understanding the formation of the democratic identity of citizen-spectators.

Session 4 – Images of violence and the violence of images

The Matrix of Abjection: The Reclusion of the Spectator

André Dias (ESAD Caldas da Rainha)

Something like an intimate flaw in cinema lies in a cruelty whose inner limit is a tendency to present death almost directly. Abjection, more than stemming from the unbearable character of what is shown, could only be defined as an intrinsic excess. To the cruel exposure corresponds a complementary recoil of an “I would prefer not to see”, as a way of protecting the spectator. But the unfortunate tendency in contemporary cinema that we call “the matrix of abjection” inherited an extreme point of saturation of the space of torture and established a new order in the relationship with the spectator, one of progressive reclusion and abatement. In it, we find instances of the contemporary survival of the critical category of abjection, when the ethical without form that sometimes arises from the revulsion of the spectator lays bare a now extrinsic excess. What, then, is left to criticism if not the account of that resistance of the spectator, of his own incorporation into these operations taking place in the zone where cinema relates to him, of the insidious exercises of reclusion and moral complicity that are aimed at him? The shock of this matrix's cinematic signs gives rise to cases and modes in these sensitive points of hate that, in a moral jolt, emit a singularly dark glow; hence their enigmatic status as negative singularities – visibilities that are themselves also made of an (in)determinable matter and irreducible to any discourse. If the matrix of abjection tries to isolate and extract the spectators at stake, asking about the eccentric cinematographic demarcation that

these films represent is thus like tracing along perforated paper, joining those singular small negative points that make up the unprotected zone of the spectator and that ultimately end up drawing a monster's face – the contemporary subject. Of this refusal that are the negative cinematic singularities of the matrix of abjection, of the moral complications and incitation to saying that arise from its reclusion of the spectator, what remains to be done is to reinvent it as part of a political dimension of the modes of existence. Despite its ferocious reappearances, we believe that this matrix is now in an irretrievably posthumous situation, incapable of encompassing the even less subtle representational demands of today. This should only make us more alert to the embedded and inescapable problematic dimension of the political excess of the forms of life.

Another scene for political recovery: theater's usages of death images published on social networks **Ervina Kotollosi** (University of Paris 3-Sorbonne Nouvelle)

This communication aims to analyze two theatrical shows that use publications of images and videos of death on social networks in an attempt to propose a political approach on stage: Rabih Mroué's *Pixelated revolution* and Rabih Mroué's and Lina Majdalani's *33 rpm and a few seconds*. Both were inspired by the publications of ordinary people during the Arab revolution or the war. They show another facet of events, more authentic and closer to reality.

In the case of *Pixelated revolution*, the director and speaker shows and comments a video taken with a mobile phone. We see a soldier shooting and a few seconds later the mobile phone that was filming the scene falls to the ground; we realize that the cameraman of the scene was filming his own death. It is these images of death recovered on social networks that Rabih Mroué analyzes on the stage.

In the case of *33 rpm and a few seconds*, the use of social networks is the main stage support. After the main character's suicide, his friends start writing and commenting on his Facebook page to understand the reasons of this unexpected and painful decision. Thus, the scenic creation of *33 rpm and a few seconds* is exclusively based on a video projection, on the graphic reproduction of the Facebook page and on the messages received on the mobile phone of the dead character. The physical presence of the actors is thus replaced by the comments of "virtual" actors on the Facebook page and the messages received on his mobile phone.

Thus, the introduction of social networks on stage can open a new field of exploration with regard to the relations between theater and politics. All these images, videos and political discussions shared in the virtual space are a consequence of mass self-communication tools such as blogs, forums, and social networks. These platforms give visibility to forms of resistance that are absent from the traditional political space and accelerate the displacement of democracy from the institutional space to society's conversation. Social networks encourage the capacities of self-organization, awareness and mobilization "from below", especially under dictatorial regimes.

The imbrication of traditional politics and the network society potentially opens up new political spaces. We raise and aim to answer the questions: Can social networks and media become an open space to talk about and do politics? Can they bring on stage a different vision of politics?

The Class of Images **Sérgio Dias Branco** (University of Coimbra)

The concept of class has been progressively erased in contemporary discussions around art — and other topics. The explanatory power of this economic and social category, as articulated by Karl Marx, has been annulled precisely at a time when the contradictions of late capitalism are growing, composing an ideological background that creates conditions for the perpetuation of this system. From a Marxist point of view, class is neither a product of Marx's invention nor of anyone who thinks with him, but reflects existing social relations and the dynamics of everyday life. By isolating art production from historical processes, by privileging the inner workings of languages, by favoring an aestheticist approach to art, postmodernist cultural theory has relinquished critical knowledge about art as a phenomenon irremediably pertaining to the social fabric. If in this theoretical framework, cultural differences replaced class antagonisms as the driving force of society, then one must ask how these differences emerge and operate, what determines them and what do they produce, thus recognizing the fundamental importance of their material basis. To think critically about art to its foundations is to re-materialize it as a production process instead of analyzing works of art in an idealist manner. In order to tackle these matters, I will focus on film images understood as material, creative, and symbolic productions, and in the way they evoke class antinomies and expose class marks.

Session 5 – The visibility of polity and politics

Making Europe and America visible: how art contributes to the (de)legitimation of the existing political order

Eszter Salgó (John Cabot University)

As Michael Walzer points out, "the state is invisible; it must be personified before it can be seen, symbolized before it can be loved, imagined before it can be conceived." This paper encourages a reflection on the intersection between aesthetics and politics by illustrating how museums (and public spaces such as the High Line in New York) give meaning and "life" to otherwise inanimate and invisible entities such as the United States of America and the "United States of Europe." On the new series of euro banknotes (launched in 2012), the watermark and the hologram display a portrait of Europa. This image of the mythological princess seducing Zeus is from an ancient Greek vase, exhibited today in the Louvre. As the analysis of the European Union's visual narratives (based on this "foundation myth") will show, what Nicholas of Cusa described in *De Visione Dei* as the "all-seeing eye" and what David Morgan calls the "sacred gaze," play a key role in the supranational construction/visualization of the European land of paradise. If in this way the Louvre may contribute to the legitimation of the supranational elite's agenda (to the sacralization of the federalist ideology), the Guggenheim Museum challenges (and ridicules) the aesthetics and the political agenda of the current US President through the installation of Maurizio Cattelan's "America." By identifying in the golden toilet, a tribute not just to Marcel Duchamp's Fountain but also to the theme of the carnivalesque in general (from Pieter Bruegel to Fluxus), the author puts to the fore the

Guggenheim Museum's attempt to offer an alternative definition of America and its demand for a larger space for performative democracy. While Europa's portrait is entrusted to become the "icona vera," the "true image" of a new (supposedly democratic) Europe coming to life, Cattelan's America and Dorothy Iannone's mural depicting three colorful Statues of Liberty on the High Line could be seen as visual (and tactile) representations of a new (truly free and democratic) America coming to life.

Architecture as Ambassador: American Embassy for the 21st Century

Shaili Patel (Norwich University)

Architecture can define a new era of political diplomacy by reflecting American political values of trust, equality, and safety while respecting diverse cultures and addressing both the idea and impact of terrorism itself. Security concerns mixed with programmatic requirements create a need for highly defined public and private separation correlating with transparency and opaqueness, establishing a paradox, that is security and transparency, needing a design solution.

Acts of terror, such as bombings, led embassies to become concrete fortresses isolated from their host communities, contradicting diplomatic actions such as building relationships and developing agreements. In critiques of fortress embassies, a progressive movement is after an analysis of transparency and security as paradoxes. I will propose a new embassy (in Reykjavik, Iceland) focusing on integration of site, landscape, form, skin, and entry that will balance the paradox of embassy design.

A new architecture of American political diplomacy must embody political values of trust, equality, and safety through exploiting the paradox of terrorism (security) and transparency.

The Emancipatory Potential of Political Images

Michael Råber (University of Zurich)

The rule of narrative governs our inherited notions of political subjectivity and agency, such that reading and writing are the established modes of political deliberation. Yet the contemporary citizen-subject is a viewing subject, influenced by film, photos, and other perceptual stimuli as much as by text—images become ever more pertinent politically; they not only respond to political events, but also play an important part in shaping them. Davide Panagia, echoing Rancière, advocates the thesis in *The Poetics of Political Thinking* that political ideas and forms, which usually are conceptualized as "ideologies" or "positions", could better be termed "images". His point is not that they are insubstantial, but rather that they are experienced as legible and interpretable collections of potential meanings. Images, simultaneously infinite in meaning and limited in form, do not demand or instruct. Instead, they *evoke*—they compel understanding, though as open-ended constellations of meaning.

Based on the premise that our political life is essentially marked by the logic of images, this paper explores this logic and asks about its ramifications for conceptualizing democratic citizens as critical subjects: What is it about political images that they can compel critical engagement?

The answer this paper constructs is this: "Images" are essentially nonlinguistic entities that break with language, meaning, necessity, and criteria of meaning, because they are marked by an indeterminacy of meaning and a multiplicity of open-ended possible meanings the images recommend over the representational meaning prescribed by language. Images, that is, "liberate" us from the necessity of definite meanings and criteria that language compels. However, this liberty that images provide is potentially epistemically troubling, yet at the same time also potentially emancipatory. The emancipatory potential of images lies in this: that they have the potential to disrupt existing orders of the sensible (of what counts and should count as sensible) and recreate their possibilities. The political function of images, then, is not that they might enable discussion and judgment (they could do that, too), but that they try to capture our attention and invite us to acknowledge and question the commonsensical ways of perceiving and sensing that guide our (political) life.

Session 6 – The political nature of images: philosophical approaches II

Vilém Flusser: Photography as a Myth Generator

Francesco Restuccia (University of Rome – La Sapienza)

In his *Towards a Philosophy of Photography* (1983), the Czech-Brazilian theorist of media Vilém Flusser approaches the theory of photography in a new key. Instead of focusing on the photographs and their documentary or artistic value, he considers the entire universe of photography as an apparatus, where photographers, cameras, media and recipients are included. Each one of these elements can only be understood in connection to the others. Since today we're all daily consumers of images, this means we now see the world through the categories of photography. Asking whether photography is objective or realistic is not a good question, since reality itself is informed and transformed by photography.

Flusser was probably inspired by Roland Barthes's conception of myth: a picture, which indexically represents its specific referent, also appears as the signifier of a more universal and intersubjective concept. "We do not react in a historical way to photographic documentation of the war in Lebanon, but with ritual magic. [...] Everything in it is either good or evil – tanks are evil, children good, Beirut in flames is hell, doctors in white coats are angels" (1983, 61). Each image contributes in building the myths we use to understand the world.

According to both Flusser and Barthes myths are not lies: they don't hide reality, they inform it, just like making a vase doesn't mystify the clay. However, depending on the myth spread by the picture, our behavior changes. This is why Flusser asserts that photographs *program* us, thanks to their magical instruction. Photography can be used in politics as an instrument to control the masses through the myths they generate, but those who are supposed to be in control are victims of the same myths: no one can place himself outside the universe of photography. According to both Flusser and Barthes, myths are anti-political, since they turn history into nature and processes into unquestionable facts. Can we live without myths? Can we change the myths we live with? Can we politicize our myths?

Of what is an image an image?

Rômulo Eisinger Guimarães (Federal University of Santa Maria / Friedrich-Schiller-University of Jena)

It was for political purposes that Plato expelled the artists of the Polis. And his justification is quite categorical: “for if you grant admission to the honeyed Muse in lyric or epic, pleasure and pain will be lords of your city instead of law and that which shall from time to time have approved itself to the general reason as the best” (*Republic*, X, 607a). What worried the Athenian was the ability of the artist to set up “in each individual soul a vicious constitution”, flattering its irrational component, “by fashioning phantoms farremoved from reality” (*Republic*, X, 605b-c). Forasmuch as “reality”, for Plato, does not refer to the sensible (phenomenal) world, but to the intelligible (noumenal) world, i.e., to the world of ideas, his criticism of the mimetic arts refers to what the artists reproduce, to what they represent in their works – according to him, mere “phantoms” of an eidetic plane, depository of the essential nature of all things.

This paper aims to discuss the concept of *Representation* as “*Res-presentatio*”, i.e., as presentation (*presentatio*) of a thing (*res*). To paraphrase, as it were, Husserlian meditations on the nature of consciousness, i.e., of what a mental state is consciousness – namely, that all consciousness points to an object-of-consciousness, and that every object-of-consciousness concerns a mental state –, the present work focuses on the question: “of what is an image (as Representation) an image?”, or, simply, “what does a Representation actually represent?”.

Starting from Plato's criticism of mimetic arts and based on Emanuelle Coccia's considerations on the ontology of the image, it is assumed not only that a representation is always an *image of “something”*, but also that it is about the nature of this “something” (radically different from the object it represents) that some of the most relevant questions (from a philosophical point of view) about the study of images are focused on. And this not only in what concerns the philosophy of image or aesthetics, but with respect to the very political nature of images. For assuming that every *Representation* is a *presentatio* (actualized image) of some immaterial thing (image-in-potency), as *Res-praesentatio* it is a “*making-something-present*”. Consequently, we argue that it is not in the images themselves (actualized), but in what the images make present – i.e., that of which an image is an image – that the true nature of an image, its *effective attributes* and *expressive dimension*, lie.

A Politics of the Encounter

Grace Euna Kim (European Graduate School)

Today it is tacitly accepted that reality is nothing more than a negotiation of available (and often mediated) fictions. This is further complicated by our culture of constant drive toward self-validation, where the quest for truth is at risk of being nothing more than a performance in itself. How can one demarcate truth then, inside fiction? How much do we need truth, how much do we need fiction? What is the ontology of truth inside fiction?

I investigate these concerns by way of the performative realm of the Imaginary echo and the economy of the gaze—from broad social/political mediations to the banal encounters and repetitions of everyday life. Image-imago-imagination are examined as the ground for the relational processes of becoming, and the phenomenological discourses between space and the bodies that occupy it. This concerns how intersubjective fictions are embodied and reproduced through negotiating imaginaries of desire and the gaze, and retranscriptions of memory and time. How psychic territories reverberate through symbolic language of bodies in space, trespassing into imaginaries of the O/other. How social fictions become consensus through convenient hegemonies of the gaze, and normalized as unwritten law. What is at stake is a self-perpetuating reality fiction that is trapped in a dialectic of individual and collective consciousness, threatening as it redeems—whereby the subject, and thereby the collective body, becomes embodied and absent at the same time.

I conclude that truth in this sense is a plurality that, while structured as a fiction, is not necessarily obscured, repressed or impossible, but misplaced, misread, and misnavigated. The singular and emancipatory truth of a situation includes its multiplicities; it is other to its subject(s) while at the same time their discursive affect. It is not the answer to the question, and it is often completely other to what is claimed. This underscores how ideologies and relational fictions are often reproduced by the very language and processes that claim to oppose them. And how often persistent distinctions between truth and fiction work against progress, instead creating an impasse that actually demobilizes the possibility of real political or social action. The question is not relevant anymore as to what is correspondently true or false, but rather as to how the ‘will to truth’ is embodied, read, and reproduced.

Session 7 – The politics of senses

Images, what's the point? Automation, artificial intelligence, technologies of (hyper)control

Colette Tron

This paper would like to contribute to a critique of digital images, from their conception and production to their diffusion and use. What is the finality of these images, considering their technological, social, and economic environment? Which politics support their aesthetics? Do automation, artificial intelligence, big data, and intensive calculation still allow a human dimension?

To this goal, we will survey the history of art and philosophy in search of possibilities to think and interpret the role of technique in the conception of images. Furthermore, we will consider some artists and their work as aesthetic and political positions which, in relation to their specific historical and social context, emerge as a critique of the making of images. To what extent do they trust in or distance themselves from «the intelligence of the machine», to use Jean Epstein's phrase?

The starting point of the analysis will be Dziga Vertov's *Cine Eye Manifesto* (1923). There the author defends a cinema of truth, a realistic cinema where the camera becomes a mechanic eye, more objective than human subjectivity. This is aligned with the project of the Soviet Revolution and the advent of a new man.

Subsequently, we will focus our attention on *Eye machine* (2000), a series of films by the German filmmaker and critic Harun Farocki that conceives the relation between the eye and the machine very differently. Farocki puts forth the concept of «operatory images» as a critique of total automation, and above all, of the project of making these technologies substitute human beings and work for industrial capitalism.

The history of the apparatus/organ called “eye” is particularly topical at a time where we confront the unique development of digital technologies, where computing and calculation constantly form and inform images, shaping their reality and their truth. But is this the truth of reality, i. e. of the real world? And how do we reintroduce the question of truth?

These cases will be related to the history and theory of images made by calculation, from the Renaissance to the digital turn. We aim to question artificial intelligence, the intelligence of the machines, by comparing it to human perception and sensibility, thus seeking to readjust role and purpose of technique and science.

We would like to develop a practical and theoretical structure to think critically about the art of making digital images as an art of (hyper)control. This is a political project for a «non-inhuman world» (B. Stiegler).

Politics of Perception: Imagination and Information, Reality and Artificiality

Michael Mallory (University of Wollongong Dubai, U. A. E.)

Governments and political bodies have long been the creators and implementers of the definition of, and perceptions surrounding, societal purpose. These definitions and perceptions are constantly evolving, but rarely have dramatic or revolutionary changes occurred in the beliefs societies have about the way life is to be lived. The reality that exists, or, as we may also begin to think of this as the artificiality or imagined, is one of power, inequalities, deception, manipulation and control. Rather than questioning this reality, societies have generally accepted the political institutions and processes in existence. Or, if questions do arise, they are often discussed briefly and dismissed as being part of the societal purpose. It is the ‘we know but pretend not to know’, or as Slavoj Žižek calls “disavowal” (Žižek, *Examined Life*, 2008). This paper will look at the instruments and methods used in political perception, and analyze, or imagine, different possible realities that may be possible. How have perceptions created through political means been used to control and manipulate society? How have the methods used in these creations changed? How has the growth of media, technology and the use and creation of data impacted/changed these processes? Especially with the almost daily advances in technology, we are living in societies that can be seen as much more advanced, and likely better off, than was seen in the past. However, because of this, it may be the case that societies are actually becoming less self-directed, and, contrary to conventional thinking, people have less say in the choices they face in their daily lives.

Sessão 8 – Conflito e resistência

O papel das imagens no pensamento do projeto urbano

Paulo Reyes (Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul)

Esta escrita parte de uma reflexão sobre o “ato de projetar” como uma construção de pensamento sobre a cidade contemporânea que é estético e político. Pretende-se refletir criticamente sobre uma noção de cidade pensada a partir de um agenciamento de imagens consensuais, amenizando as diferenças. E, mais particularmente, como o projeto urbano se organiza de maneira a se prestar a esse apaziguamento dos conflitos socioespaciais pelas imagens. O projeto no campo arquitetônico se organiza como um ato resolutivo. Frente a um contexto problemático, se pauta como um idealizador de um futuro consensual que já desde o início está sendo delineado por um conjunto de imagens. Essas imagens, nomeadas por “referências arquitetônicas”, forçam a existência de um consenso que elimina o dissenso.

Este texto, então, busca refletir sobre as imagens não como síntese e apaziguamento das diferenças, mas como produtoras de um pensamento crítico e político. A busca aqui é por um múltiplo de imagens que só podem ser pensadas em uma perspectiva dialética. Então não se fala em imagem, mas em imagens, no plural – imagens dissemelhantes que falam para além de si, no seu entre-imagens. É justamente no confronto entre diferentes que o sentido pode se abrir, mas nunca em síntese, sempre como sintoma, como prefere Didi-Huberman. E ainda é a partir de um certo sentido de estética, como propõe Rancière, que o sentido político aflora como produção de pensamento crítico. A estética é, então, produção de pensamento através de seus dispositivos, a fim de produzir um ato de consciência política sobre uma situação no mundo.

Esse desejo de escrita reflexiva está apoiado nessas duas noções teóricas e críticas: na noção de “dialética sintomal”, de Georges Didi-Huberman, e na noção de “partilha do sensível”, de Jacques Rancière. No entendimento de Didi-Huberman, o que substitui a síntese é o sintoma. Pois ao invés de fechar o sentido resolvendo a diferença, como acontece na síntese, o sintoma abre o que parece perfeito e consagrado para evidenciar as diferenças que estão por baixo e que foram intencionalmente esquecidas. O que Didi-Huberman propõe com esse resgate da noção de sintoma de Bataille é “deixar as formas doentes” a fim de comunicar o mal-estar que foi apagado pelo projeto consensual. Essa postura permite olhar para um processo que não se satisfaz com nenhuma síntese e não se deixa fixar numa acomodação resolutiva. Na perspectiva de Rancière, as maneiras polêmicas na partilha do sensível estão diretamente relacionadas à sua noção de ato político. A ordem política está naquilo que escapa da ordem das identidades, dos lugares e das funções preestabelecidas. É a potência daquilo que vem para desconfigurar o estabelecido.

A censura radiofónica: O caso de Mário Silva

Gilberto Pereira (Universidade de Coimbra), **Catarina Pires** (Universidade de Coimbra), **Décio Martins** (Universidade de Coimbra) e **Carlos Fiolhais** (Universidade de Coimbra)

Mário Augusto da Silva, professor catedrático e director do Laboratório de Física da Universidade de Coimbra, foi afastado compulsivamente das suas funções docentes em 1947, pelo regime ditatorial liderado por António Oliveira Salazar.

O confronto entre ambos remontava a 1923, quando Mário Silva publicou uma série de artigos “Sobre o problema da génese da vida” e da “Geração espontânea”. As suas opiniões foram fortemente atacadas por um núcleo de pessoas associadas ao Centro Académico de Democracia Cristã, do qual fazia parte Oliveira Salazar, que nessa altura era professor de Direito na referida Universidade.

Dez anos depois, em 1933, Mário Silva, juntamente com o seu assistente João Teixeira Lopes, projectaram a criação da Emissora Universitária de Coimbra, com o objectivo de transmitir palestras científicas e culturais. Este emissor, que fazia transmissões diárias, tinha uma boa audição na região Centro do país. Em 1 de Agosto de 1935, com o início das transmissões da Emissora Nacional, veículo de difusão ideológica do regime, a rádio instalada no Laboratório de Física foi rapidamente proibida de emitir. Posteriormente ainda emitiu pontualmente, após uma grande tempestade que atingiu Coimbra em 1941, e que deixou a cidade sem outro meio de comunicação para o exterior.

O regime conhecia a importância da emissão radiofónica e, por isso, não podia deixar que fossem realizadas transmissões desse tipo sem o seu controlo. Para Salazar, a telefonia era a “*maior assembleia que em Portugal se congregou a escutar a palavra de alguém*”. Conhecedor deste potencial, não podia permitir que uma voz crítica do regime pudesse controlar tão importante ferramenta. E assim aconteceu.

Nesta comunicação queremos dar a conhecer o projecto e o trabalho de Mário Silva e de Teixeira Lopes para concretizar esta rádio, assim como as vicissitudes do seu confronto com as autoridades.

Sessão 9 – Mesa-Redonda de Oradores Convidados

O direito à presunção da inteligência: a imagem como profecia auto-confirmatória

Luis Gouveia Monteiro (Universidade de Coimbra / Universidade Nova de Lisboa)

O argumento mais frequente do programador televisivo postula a necessidade de “dar ao público o que ele quer”. É uma previsão que costuma ser feita depois dos factos e que, também por isso, é infalível: as audiências só podem medir o que se emitiu, não o que se podia emitir. A simples ideia de que o público sabe o que quer e de que o programador é capaz de sentir esse pulso das massas, encerra uma dificuldade lógica: é possível querer aquilo que se desconhece?

A aposta no mínimo denominador comum, que definiu grande parte da história da televisão, a pretexto dos elevados custos da tecnologia e das suas condições de produção, distribuição e consumo, é outra dessas profecias que alimenta a probabilidade da sua confirmação. A presunção da falta de inteligência de um público resulta na oferta de uma dieta mediática que tende a confirmar e a reforçar essa condição.

Presumir a ignorância do interlocutor é um fraco ponto de partida para uma conversa inteligente. O cinema estudou bem esta lição. Walter Benjamin, Hitchcock, Deleuze e Manoel de Oliveira, com tantos outros, insistiram na ideia de que explicar uma coisa é matá-la. “Quando deixas que seja o espectador a perceber uma coisa, sem precisares de a explicar, fazes um amigo para o resto da vida”, dizia Billy Wilder.

No século XXI, as fronteiras entre os dois media estão em acelerada negociação e a televisão, nas novas formas digitais, produzida e distribuída virtualmente sem custos, conquistou a liberdade de ser e de presumir o público que quiser. Será legítimo esperar que abraçará por isso a utopia de nova *Paideia* que se lhe chegou a imaginar no pós-guerra: um médium capaz de educar e entreter, de fazer a educação sentimental das massas?

Por enquanto as redes sociais produzem mais vídeo sobre a vida quotidiana de pequenos felinos domésticos do que inteligência pré-linguística dos sentidos. Será apenas sinal da infância do meio e da sempre violenta reacção com que são recebidos os novos media, por sistema acusados de corromper o homem e o seu intelecto? Ou as raízes da subserviência da televisão ao poder político e económico estão tão enraizadas no seu ADN que, para a presumirmos inteligente, teremos de lhe mudar até o nome?

Numa viagem breve pela história da televisão, pelos momentos chave da indústria e pelos grandes conflitos do século XX e XXI, veremos como teve um papel decisivo na formação de convicções e de decisões políticas. Usando esses momentos-chave, pensaremos como moldou a nossa relação com o real até chegarmos ao momento presente de massificação da produção e distribuição de imagens em movimento.

VISA pour L'image: Uma visão sobre o Fotojornalismo (na Europa) no Século XXI a partir do Maior Festival de Fotojornalismo no Continente Europeu.

Rodrigo Peixoto (CICANT / Universidade Lusófona)

VISA pour L'image é o maior festival de fotojornalismo no continente europeu. Com uma história de mais de 30 anos, tem vindo a ser um ponto de contacto e observatório do trabalho do fotojornalismo praticado em cada ano. Através da observação do festival de 2018 e da análise dos vencedores do VISA d'Or ao longo dos últimos 20 anos, este artigo pretende oferecer uma visão mais ampla sobre um fotojornalismo “europeu” que olha para fora da Europa.

O jornalismo contra Trump ou como sobreviver na era psicopolítica digital

Jacinto Godinho (Universidade Nova de Lisboa)

O mais recente livro do jornalista Bob Woodward, *Fear*, que aborda os bastidores da Administração Trump, é também um sinal de uma batalha épica. Bob Woodward foi, juntamente com Carl Bernstein, um dos protagonistas da mais mítica história da era jornalística, o *Caso Watergate*. O *Caso Watergate*, que levou à demissão de um presidente norte-americano, Richard Nixon, foi o símbolo maior que durante décadas legitimou o jornalismo como quarto poder. Mas mais importante que isso, solidificou o jornalismo como mediador essencial da actualidade. A actualidade, bem ou mal, chegava-nos pela narrativa, pelas imagens, pela interpretação jornalística que dava também estabilidade aos outros campos. Também os políticos surgiam de agrupamentos mediadores do povo, partidos, associações, etc. A política era por isso um combate de representantes e de representações, de visões do mundo.

A eleição de Donald Trump, e os casos eleitorais seguintes: *Brexit*, Itália, Venezuela e agora Brasil indicam que estamos perante um novo quadro da política. Byung-Chul Han chama-lhe a “sociedade da transparência”. Na sociedade da transparência, os mediadores vão desaparecendo, os cidadãos comportam-se como produtores e consumidores directos de informação. O *gosto (like)* é a sua divisa. Não se representam nem se deixam representar por ninguém. Os media tradicionais estão cada vez mais nas margens, afastados dessa nova ágora digital que são as redes sociais, *Facebook*, *Instagram* e *Whatsapp*, onde vale tudo e as *fake news* são a norma.

Os políticos deixaram de ser os representantes do povo e batalham por devir imagem, *même*, estória, ou seja, isco para a contabilidade dos *likes*. Lutam para entrarem no maniqueísta jogo de afectos desta nova comunidade narcísica. Neste campo de *stultitia* generalizada e de desinformação, imperam coordenadas que desafiam as regras tradicionais da política. Ser alvo de muitas acusações, ser odiado por muita gente, traz visibilidade e dividendos políticos. A visibilidade atingida pelo uso generalizado da imagem digital, troncada e falseada, é a arma política dos novos tempos, onde as regras do *pathos* voltaram a superar as do *logos*.

Por isso Bob Woodward, com *Fear*, tenta travar uma última batalha, a da resistência do velho jornalismo contra esta nova política, a que Han chama psicopolítica. Woodward revela que na Casa Branca mesmo os assessores políticos manobram para controlar as decisões imprevisíveis do presidente Trump. A velha política e o velho jornalismo lutam contra a política Web 3.0. Quem vencerá?

Propaganda e atentado de carácter

António de Castro Caeiro (Universidade Nova de Lisboa)

Quais são os princípios da propaganda, do atentado de carácter, da devassidão? Como é possível na antiguidade haver uma projecção da imagem tão complexa que é capaz de durar? Onde está o poder de um sádico assassino que fazia arder tochas humanas? Como é possível que Cícero tivesse identificado Marco António como alvo a abater e tivesse escrito nas Filípicas, ao jeito de Demóstenes, um dos mais devastadores textos que atenta contra o carácter de alguém? A imagem política projectada por alguém como Tácito faz viver em quem o lê ainda mulheres fatais e velhacos. Percorremos alguns dos exemplos da antiguidade a partir da melhor literatura latina e veremos que a psicologia, a lógica do poder, a propaganda, o panfleto, projecta o poder à escala imperial, incontrolável, cheio de paixão, poderíamos até dizer movido pelo mal. E, contudo, por que exerce fascínio sobre nós?

Biographical Notes / Notas Biográficas

Jan Bíba, Ph.D. is head of the Department of Political Science, Faculty of Arts, Charles University. His main interest is democratic theory. On this topic, he has published or edited three books and several articles in both Czech and English. Apart from his own research, he has translated into Czech – among others – works by Nadia Urbinati, Chantal Mouffe, Ernesto Laclau, and Aletta J. Norval. He was visiting fellow at The Centre for Theoretical Studies in Social Science and Humanities, University of Essex; The Centre for the Study of Democracy, University of Westminster, and Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen, Austria.

José Bragança de Miranda Ph.D. in communication, is professor at the Communications Sciences Department of New University of Lisbon, lecturing in "Political Theory" and "Cultural Criticism." Former director of the Department and President of the CECL (Centre for Research on Communication and Languages), and responsible for the "Specialisation in Culture and Communication" at the same department and is editor in chief of the "Review of Communication and Languages" (22 issues). He is author of several essays on cultural, political and aesthetic subjects. In 1994 he published a book on "Analytic of Actuality," having in print another book on "Politics and Modernity." His actual research field centers mainly on culture and technology.

João Carlos Correia holds a habilitation, a PhD and an MA from the University of Beira Interior, where he teaches, as Associate Professor, Society and Communication and News Theory. He was a visiting researcher at the University of Sofia and Pompeu Fabra University (Barcelona). He is co-editor of the journal *Studies in Communication*. He was scientific coordinator of the Research Unit in Communication, Philosophy, and Humanities (Labcom.IFP) and of the Project Citizen's Agenda, and he currently coordinates Remedia – a laboratory and incubator of Regional Media. He is deputy coordinator of the Political Communication Working Group of SOPCOM. He is the author of six books and thirty-five book chapters, and is responsible for the edition of 26 volumes of the *Journal of Communication Studies*. His works are published in Portugal, Brazil, Spain, Argentina, Canada, and the Netherlands. His interests lie in the relationship between Media and Democracy.

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André Dias é professor, crítico e programador independente de cinema. Autor do blogue “Ainda não começámos a pensar” (2005-2012) dedicado às relações entre cinema e pensamento contemporâneo. Licenciado em Ciências da Comunicação pela Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa. Doutorando em Ciências da Comunicação/Cinema na mesma FCSH-NOVA. Professor de Som e Imagem na Escola Superior de Artes e Design das Caldas da Rainha. Membro associado do LIDA – Laboratório de Investigação em Design e Artes.

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Grace Euna Kim is an artist and theorist working in immersive and intervening performance as a means to interrogate and reimagine the processes of social reality. Her present research draws from a critique of history and language toward issues of intersubjectivity and the decentered subject, the ideology of bodies in space, the ontology of truth inside fiction—fiction inside truth, and the paradoxes of desire, recognition, and alienation. Her work has been presented in performance, visual art, and research-oriented contexts, recently including Solyanka VPA State Gallery, Moscow (2018), Northwestern University, USA (2018), Port Sevkabel, St. Petersburg (2018), Blueproject Foundation, Barcelona (2017), Museum of Nonconformist Art, St. Petersburg (2017), Seoul Museum (2016), Clervaux Cité de l'Image, Luxembourg (2016), and Incheon Art Platform (2016). She is currently a PhD candidate in Philosophy, Art and Critical Thought under the supervision of Alenka Zupančič at the European Graduate School (CH). She is based in Berlin.

Carlos Fiolhais é doutorado em Física Teórica pela Universidade Goethe, Frankfurt am Main, Alemanha. Recentemente, tem trabalhado em História da Ciência. É professor catedrático da Universidade de Coimbra (UC), onde integra a equipa de investigadores do Centro de Física. É autor de várias dezenas de livros, pedagógicos, científicos e de divulgação científica e cultural, entre os quais *História da Ciência em Portugal* (Arranha Céus, 2013). Foi director da Biblioteca Geral da UC.

Jacinto Godinho is Professor at the Department of Sciences of Communication of the New University of Lisbon and a journalist with the Portuguese Television Network (RTP). He is author of *As Origens da Reportagem – Televisão* (Livros Horizonte, 2011), and has received numerous prizes for his work as a journalist, including the Grande Prémio Gazeta 2006 by the Clube de Jornalistas, for his three documentaries on the series *Ei-los que partem – História da Emigração Portuguesa*.

Luis Gouveia Monteiro é Professor Assistente convidado da FL-Universidade de Coimbra e da FCSH-Universidade Nova de Lisboa. Começou a trabalhar em jornais na redacção do Público em 1993. Esteve na fundação do semanário *Já* e do jornal *O Espelho* e dos canais de televisão *Canal de Notícias de Lisboa*, *SIC Notícias* e *Canal Q*.

Ervina Kotollosi is currently a PhD-student at the University Paris 3-Sorbonne-Nouvelle, working on the usages of social networks on the theatre stage. She works as theatre critic for webzines such as *La coulisse*, *La galerie du spectacle* and *Albapoli*. She has

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Michael Mallory is an Assistant Professor at the University of Wollongong in Dubai, in the Department of Media and Communication. He received his MA from the European Graduate School with a thesis titled *Apparatuses of Control: An Inquiry into Control and Society*. He continued his studies and research at the European Graduate School and received his PhD for the dissertation titled *The Artificial Eye: Artificial Perceptions, Data, and Surveillance* under the supervision of Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Schirmacher. His current research interests are focused on the interactions and relationship between society, technology, media and politics.

Décio Martins é doutorado em História e Ensino da Física pela Universidade de Coimbra, onde lecciona no Departamento de Física da Faculdade de Ciências e Tecnologia. Tem participado em projetos de investigação na área da História da Física. É coordenador do Doutoramento em História das Ciências e Educação Científica e membro da Comissão Científica do Museu da Ciência da Universidade de Coimbra, que integra o Museu de Física, recentemente nomeado como "Sítio Histórico da Física" pela European Physical Society.

Natascia Mattucci is professor of political philosophy at the University of Macerata (Italy), where she teaches philosophy of human rights, political philosophy and language and political communication. Her research topics include the problem of the public sphere, the crisis of political representation, feminist philosophies and gender issues, and philosophy of technology. She has written articles and books on the political thought of Kant, Tocqueville, Arendt, Anders, specifically focusing on the issues of public sphere, political representation, racism, solidarity, the effects of technology, and political communication.

Pedro Pinto de Oliveira is professor at the Faculty of Arts and Communication of the Federal University of Mato Grosso (UFMT). He holds an MA degree in Communication Sciences from the University of São Paulo (USP) and a PhD in Communication from the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG). He was a post-doctoral researcher in Arts and Communication at the University of Beira Interior (UBI). He is a member of the Post-Graduation Program in Contemporary Culture Studies (ECCO/UFMT).

Shaili Patel is a graduate of Norwich University in Vermont, USA, majoring in History and Architecture. She has worked passionately to explore the connection between policy and design implications, a link that is not thoroughly defined and discussed.

Rodrigo Peixoto é Professor na Licenciatura em Fotografia da Universidade Lusófona de Humanidades e Tecnologias. Como fotógrafo, expõe regularmente desde 1999. Está presentemente a realizar um Doutoramento em Estudos de Comunicação como Bolseiro da FCT.

Gilberto Pereira possui licenciatura em Química Industrial (FCTUC) e mestrado em Química Aplicada ao Património Cultural (FCUL). Actualmente encontra-se a desenvolver a sua tese de doutoramento em História da Ciência na Universidade de Coimbra (UC), subordinada ao tema "A investigação científica no Laboratório de Física da UC, entre 1911 e 1972". A sua relação laboral com a UC iniciou-se em 2002 no Museu de Física, sendo actualmente o conservador da coleção de instrumentos científicos do Museu da Ciência da UC.

Catarina Pires tem formação académica nas áreas de História da Arte, Comunicação em Ciência e Museologia. Foi investigadora de temas de Ciência e Arte e História da Ciência. Trabalhou em projectos educativos e curatoriais na área da Museologia da Ciência, Arte e Tecnologia. É *free lancer* nas áreas de programação cultural e produção de exposições. Desde 2016 coordena o Serviço Educativo e é programadora e produtora artística do Jazz ao Centro Clube.

Diogo Pires Aurélio is a writer and a professor. He graduated in Philosophy from the University of Lisbon in 1972. The same year he left the country and moved to Brussels, where the UN granted him the political refugee status. Returning to Portugal in 1974, he worked as a journalist in several media (*República*, *Jornal Novo*, *Diário de Notícias* and *Expresso*) up to 1986. In 1979, he was appointed as Editorial Director of the Portuguese Broadcasting Radio Network (RDP), holding office until 1980. In 1983, the National Print Office (INCM) hired him to design *Prelo*, a cultural magazine of which he was Editor in Chief until 1990. Meanwhile, he had restarted his studies at Nova University of Lisbon, from which he earned a PhD in Modern Philosophy, with a dissertation on Spinoza's political philosophy, supervised by Fernando Gil, as well as the Habilitation in Social and Political Philosophy.

Michael Räber Post-Doctoral researcher at the University of Zurich in the Department of Philosophy at the chair for political philosophy. Visitor to the MacMillan Center at Yale University. Teaches political theory and social philosophy at the undergraduate and graduate level in Zurich. His areas of research are normative political theory, democratic theory, philosophical pragmatism and the history of political thought.

Francesco Restuccia completed his PhD at La Sapienza - Università di Roma with a thesis about Vilém Flusser and idolatry in the age of new media. He recently won a grant for a six months research visit to Sorbonne Nouvelle – Université de Paris 3, with a project on idolatry and theory of communication. His main research interest lies on aesthetics as a common ground between religion and the theory of media and technology. He has published on Flusser, Benjamin, Simmel, Baudrillard, Wiener, as well as on the genealogy of Christian images.

Paulo Reyes é arquiteto e especialista em Design Estratégico. Mestre em Planejamento Urbano e Doutor em Ciências da Comunicação, é Professor do Departamento de Urbanismo da Faculdade de Arquitetura da Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do

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Albert Rosell holds a BA in Art History (University of Barcelona, Extraordinary Prize) and an MA in Philosophical Argumentation and Criticism. Currently, he is a PhD-student in Philosophy and Language Sciences at the Autonomous University of Madrid, working on a thesis entitled “The ‘Hamburg School’ and the foundations of image hermeneutics”.

Eszter Salgó teaches at the Department of Political Science and International Affairs at John Cabot University (Rome). Drawing upon insights from social science, anthropology, art theory and psychoanalysis, in her research she explores the intersection between politics and aesthetics. She studies how both conscious and non-conscious emotive experiences relate to public and political life, the sources and nature of charismatic leadership, the symbolic and the mythological construction of social communities, the emotionalization, dramatization and sacralization of politics. Her most recently published book is *Images from Paradise. Visuals in the European Union's Politics of Transcendence* (Berghahn Books 2017).

Luca Siniscalco studied philosophy at the University of Milano (Unimi) and at the Universität Carl von Ossietzky in Oldenburg (Germany). He graduated in Philosophical Sciences with a thesis on the magazine «Antaios», supported by Giancarlo Lacchin (Chair of Aesthetics - Unimi), with whom he is currently collaborating. He is editor of «Antarès - Prospettive Antimoderne» (Edizioni Bietti) and contributor to various publications, including «Barbadillo», «Intellettuale Dissidente» and «La Biblioteca di via Senato». His publications have been published in many magazines, newspapers and anthologies. He also works as freelance editor and proofreader.

Colette Tron has been working as a critic, author and poet for twenty years. She has participated, in different countries, in collective projects using electronic and digital technologies, and organizes or takes part in colloquiums on forms of art and the digital. By founding the association Alphabetville (www.alphabetville.org) in 2000, she has created a place of reflection around the relations between language and the media, technique and art, aesthetics and society, trying to articulate theory and practice. She has edited two books and published many articles. Colette Tron is also a member of Ars industrialis, an international organization founded by the French philosopher Bernard Stiegler.