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**Outer Space as Political Space – A Critical Discourse
Analysis on Utopian and Dystopian Imaginaries within
Tech Elites’ Texts regarding Societies on Mars and Earth**

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Abbreviations

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA)

International Astronautical Congress (IAC)

International Astronautical Federation (IAF)

Internet Research Ethics (IRE)

Neo-Reactionary (NRx)

Sociotechnical Studies (STS)

World Governments Summit (WGS)

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Abstract

This thesis initially highlights the broader context of tech elites and far-right movements emerging within outer space as political space. The issue that this thesis addresses is how tech elites' imaginaries tied to outer space not only extend Earth politics but also could challenge society on Earth. The aims are to critically examine how tech elites over time construct the need for outer space to legitimize ideology and extend far-right imaginaries within discourse on outer space. Then, this thesis critically assesses Elon Musk's and Jeff Bezos' utopian and dystopian imaginaries over time and across text genres to contribute to literature on tech elites and outer space. Methodologically, this thesis re-adapts the Discourse-Historical Approach to triangulate various texts during 2016-2026 related to Musk and Bezos. The analytical procedure follows a three-step inquiry on tech elites' discourse: (1) argumentation, (2) recontextualization, and (3) sociohistorical analysis. The key finding suggests a discursive shift from tech-libertarianism to neo-reactionary(ism) in Musk's texts. This change suggests how tech elites use critical dystopia to justify the need for outer space and challenge the current society on Earth. This finding is socially relevant for understanding how tech elites' imaginaries about outer space relate to far-right ideology in current political discourse. The theoretical and literary relevance of this finding lies in how critical dystopia becomes extraplanetary in the current tech elites' discourse, challenging society on Earth. In all, this thesis contributes to the literature on the emerging relationship between tech elites and far-right imaginaries within discourse regarding outer space.

Keywords: NewSpace, tech elites, Mars, critical dystopia, neo-reactionary, American exceptionalism

1. Introduction

While politics is understood only to constitute society and social order here on Earth, this often overlooks outer space as political space (Doboš, 2024, p.25-26). Doboš (2024, p.25) explains how dominance in outer space helped OldSpace, i.e., traditional nation-state actors, particularly the US, establish the current social order on Earth. Though this stresses the importance of recognizing outer space as part of politics on Earth, this thesis maintains that outer space today rarely gets scrutinized as such. When making headlines, events in outer space that mainly get attention are one-time space launches and announcements from emerging NewSpace actors like tech elites. Often, these actors proclaim visions to establish new societies on distant planets to save humanity (Asaf, 2025). As these imaginaries among emerging space actors are still mostly futuristic, they are treated as mere fantasies (Mitchell et al., 2020, p.3-4). However, van Wingerden & Vigneswaran (2024, p.604) stress the risk of neglecting emerging political phenomena related to these imaginaries, which could challenge social order on Earth.

Within the broader social context, these imaginaries result in exclusionary practices at local sites of NewSpace companies, where space technology from space launches affects everyday life for local communities near these sites (Clua-Losada, 2024, p.249). More broadly, various tech elites within Silicon Valley become more tied to emerging far-right movements and discourse (Hughes, 2026, p.73-74). Recently, the NewSpace actor and tech elite Elon Musk participated in alt-right rallies and debates regarding global culture wars on X, often stressing the threat of wokeism (Leparmentier, 2024; Robins-Early, 2025). Other, more fringe parts of the alt-right movement, like the neo-reactionary (NRx) movement, also become associated with these actors. This particular movement and related ideology instead reflect notions regarding technological acceleration to save society on Earth (Simon, 2025).

Far from fantasies, outer space becomes increasingly intertwined with emerging social and political movements within discourse. It has thus become crucial to address this emerging political phenomenon and related imaginaries to understand outer space as political space.

1.1 Research Issue

Thus, this thesis addresses the research issue of how tech elites' imaginaries about outer space are not just extensions of Earth politics but could also challenge society on Earth. To explore this issue, this thesis examines how tech elites, over time and across text genres, frame imaginaries of outer space in discourse. This then helps to explore and situate this discourse in relation to broader imaginaries and the social and political context of current society.

As an emerging social group, it is important to go beyond previous assumptions about outer space and, more specifically, examine how imaginaries related to outer space become part of current political discourse. This thesis thus specifically explores how this group frames these imaginaries in relation to social orders on celestial bodies. This is relevant for understanding how these imaginaries justify other societies in juxtaposition to society on Earth, which could challenge the current social order. As such, with a specific focus on social orders on celestial bodies, this further enables comparison of various imaginaries among tech elites to better understand them as part of broader imaginaries.

Furthermore, this thesis maintains that this issue is still taking shape as an emerging political phenomenon, being mainly visions within discourse. Thus, this issue requires a diachronic inquiry regarding imaginaries within tech elites' discourse on outer space. This is important for understanding how these imaginaries emerge in the first place within the social context of tech elites. In all, this thesis thus enables inquiry into how these imaginaries take shape in various text genres and how these relate to broader imaginaries in the current society.

1.2 Research Aims

With an inquiry into this issue, this thesis aims to critically examine how tech elites over time construct the need for outer space to legitimize ideology. This is socially relevant to scrutinize tech elites as political actors. This is also relevant for contextualizing these ideologies over time within the tech elites' discourse and comparing various related imaginaries regarding outer space.

Lastly, this thesis aims to critically assess how tech elites' imaginaries extend the current political discourse of far-right ideology within discourse on outer space. This is relevant for the international community to understand emerging political phenomena in relation to outer space.

1.3 Research Questions

To address this issue, this thesis adopts the discourse-historical approach (DHA) (Reisigl & Wodak, 2017, p.93) (see 4. Methodology). This helps to explore the trajectory of these imaginaries over time in relation to the social context of tech elites. The application of DHA for this issue utilizes three relevant areas of inquiry: (1) argumentation, (2) recontextualization, and (3) the sociohistorical level (Reisigl & Wodak, 2017, p.93). From this, three specific research questions relate to the three broad areas of tech elites' discourse:

1. How have tech elites' imaginaries over time justified social orders on celestial bodies within discourse?

2. How have these discourses been realized and transformed over time by tech elites across different text genres?

3. How do these discourses in turn reflect far-right imaginaries and the sociohistorical contexts of these to challenge social orders on celestial bodies?

1.4 Delimitations

While this thesis focuses on imaginaries tied to social orders on celestial bodies, this does not provide an exhaustive inquiry into all relevant celestial bodies within tech elites' discourse. As such, this thesis predominantly centres on tech elites'

imaginaries tied to Earth and Mars, as well as the Moon to a lesser extent. Basically, this choice relates to how both Earth and Mars have been present for a long time in tech elites' discourse (Doboš, 2024, pp.116-117). Earth and Mars essentially provide a diachronic inquiry into tech elites' discourse and help answer related research questions. Also, the Moon is related to the new 'Moon Race', which intensified in early 2026 (Chang, 2025) (see 8. Future Research). As such, inquiry into this recent development is deemed beyond the scope of this thesis. However, with historical events like the Apollo mission, this thesis considers this celestial body important within tech elites' discourse (Glaab, 2025, p.114). Hence, this thesis also explores the Moon within tech elites' discourse.

Relatedly, other celestial bodies in tech elites' discourse, like O'Neill colonies, are also excluded from this thesis. While this could be deemed a subcategory of artificial celestial bodies, this will not be further addressed within this thesis. This relates to this thesis's focus on existing planetary bodies.

1.5 Outline

Then, this thesis adopts the following outline: theory, methodology, analysis, discussion and conclusion, and future research. Within the theory section, this addresses both previous literature and re-adapts theoretical concepts for the analysis. Furthermore, the methodology re-adapts the discourse-historical approach (DHA) to be able to critically assess tech elites' discourses within various social contexts over time. For the analysis, this divides tech elites' discourse into three interrelated areas of discourse. In the discussion and conclusion, this thesis compares findings from the analysis in relation to existing research on this topic and addresses overall social and academic implications regarding these. Then, based on this discussion, the conclusion summarizes key insights and answers to the research questions. Lastly, this section proposes opportunities regarding future research on the topic.

2. Literature Review

This literature review explores and critically assesses theories within social science on tech elites and outer space. This critique involves four broad themes on outer space: (1) reproduction of neoliberalism, (2) reproduction of colonialism, (3) political exit strategy, and (4) utopian and dystopian imaginaries. Lastly, this section provides research gaps within theory and method regarding tech elites' discourse on outer space.

2.1 Commercialisation of Outer Space and Reproduction of Neoliberalism

This first theme within the literature review highlights the understanding of outer space as a reproduction of neoliberalism within tech elites' discourse. Dickens & Ormrod (2007, p.610) apply a critical Marxist-dialectical approach to outer space. This theory asserts the dialectical relationship between society and outer space, where elite groups' imaginaries about outer space shape society on Earth (Dickens & Ormrod, 2007, p.615). These authors thus claim that the commercialisation of outer space is an inherent part of globalisation, where the expansion of neoliberalism into outer space in turn intensifies neoliberalism on Earth (Dickens & Ormrod, 2007, p.615). This thesis accepts the general insight into the dialectical relationship between Earth and outer space as an important contribution to outer space theory. This is also relevant to this thesis's central notion of outer space as a political space to shape society on Earth. However, this thesis rejects the essentialist claim of tech elites' discourse as mere neoliberal discourse. This theory risks becoming discourse itself to understand neoliberalism as an inherent and inevitable process, while overlooking the social context and heterogeneity within tech elites' discourse (Castaño & Santana-Acuña, 2023, p.99-100).

Thus, while this strand of theory provides essential critical perspectives for understanding how outer space shapes society on Earth, this macro-perspective neglects the social context and reduces tech elites to a homogenous group that reproduces neoliberalism. Ultimately, this theory differs from other perspectives, like the decolonial turn, within social theory on outer space.

2.2 Colonization of Outer Space and Reproduction of Earth-Based Colonialism

This theme then highlights the notion of outer space as the reproduction of Earth-based colonialism within tech elites' discourse. Recent decolonial theory critiques the Western-centric aspects of sociological theory regarding outer space (Rubenstein, 2022, p.7). This theory instead critiques tech elites' colonial notions of treating outer space as new and thus distinct from Earth (Mitchell et al. 2020, p.2). As Mitchell et al. (2020, p.3-4) further explain, this becomes a colonial-capitalist enterprise to justify colonial practices in outer space under the notion of outer space as empty lands. This insight helps this thesis to understand the resurfacing of colonial notions within the tech elite's current discourse regarding outer space. Similarly, Taylor (2022, p.62-63) stresses how these imaginaries of these actors also use apocalyptic visions related to Earth to draw upon colonial myths of the new frontier to justify Earth-based colonialism. While Harvey (2025, p.26) also explores these colonial notions within tech elites' imaginaries, decolonial studies neglect the differences in the use of these notions among tech elites. Thus, there is a gap regarding how various tech elites draw upon colonial notions, e.g., new frontiers, in relation to current tech elites' discourse.

Overall, this thesis accepts the general insight regarding discourse on outer space as the reproduction of colonial values. This decolonial approach provides an important contribution to reassessing neoliberal reductionism and situating the colonial context of tech elites' imaginaries regarding outer space. This thesis thus adopts this perspective to examine the various uses of colonial notions in tech elites' imaginaries.

However, recent literature differs from both previous theoretical frameworks, which explore so-called political exit strategies among tech elites.

2.3 Political Exit Strategy – Post-Neoliberalism and Outer Space

This theme explores how outer space becomes a political exit strategy in tech elites' discourse. Essentially, this approach critiques previous theory on outer

space and its assessment of neoliberalism and/or colonialism. Current approaches regarding social groups like tech elites instead highlight post-neoliberalism (Davies & Gane, 2021, p.14). Here, post-neoliberalism becomes an exit strategy from the state to challenge the neoliberal order, i.e., the state as the facilitator of the market economy (Shammas & Holen, 2019, p.6; Davies & Gane, 2021, p.14). Thus, this insight into post-neoliberalism helps to understand tech elites' imaginaries as beyond mere neoliberalism, but instead as strategies to challenge this social order. Another relevant aspect of this approach is the post-neoliberal neo-reactionary (NRx) politics (Davies & Gane, 2021, p.11, p.14). As part of the alt-right movement, NRx politics highlights how non-traditional media differentiate from traditional political discourse, which focuses on critique towards the establishment of neoliberalism (Davies & Gane, 2021, p.14; Finlayson, 2023, p.34-35). This contributes to understanding the social media context of far-right ideologies like the NRx movement. Similarly, Ranger & Ranger (2025, p.295) explore NRx ideology in tech elite Elon Musk's texts. However, this study explores the general aspects of this ideology while neglecting specific contexts, like social media related to NRx discourse. Thus, this thesis addresses the gap regarding far-right ideology, like the NRx movement, in tech elites' discourse on social media. This is relevant for assessing emerging political phenomena in current political discourse tied to outer space as political space.

This thesis maintains that this approach also has limitations. While Utrata (2024, p.1098) stresses the importance of inquiry into these exit strategies, the author also highlights the colonial notions permeating tech elites' exit strategies. She further explains how these imaginaries to go beyond state regulation on distant planets still use notions of new frontiers (Utrata, 2024, p.1098-1101). Thus, this important insight helps this thesis explore NRx imaginaries among the tech elites in relation to colonial notions.

Overall, this approach is an important contribution to the current literature on outer space regarding social media as part of the far-right ideology and the colonial context of tech elites' exit strategies. However, decolonial critique also

underscores colonial notions within these actors' exit strategies. Then, the next section explores utopian and dystopian imaginaries within literature on tech elites and outer space.

2.5 Utopian and Dystopian Imaginaries regarding Outer Space

This last theme explores outer space in relation to utopian and dystopian imaginaries. Within utopia studies, theory focuses on the (1) anti-utopianism, i.e., critiques towards utopias and decline of these or (2) retrotopia, i.e., to envision the future as an idealized past (Garforth, 2009, p.13; Bauman, 2017, p.6). In relation to tech elites, the study by Taskale (2026, p.2) instead explores critical dystopia as an imaginary of current tech elites to frame current society as a present dystopia. As such, this helps contribute to understanding utopian and dystopian imaginaries among these actors as changing and socially contextual. While Taskale (2026, p.2) explores these imaginaries in relation to science fiction, this study largely neglects how tech elites' imaginaries are realized in other contexts. Hence, this thesis addresses the gap regarding critical dystopia as part of the tech elites' discourse on social media.

Within Sociotechnical Studies (STS), Tutton (2021, p.421) claims that tech elites use utopian imaginaries as techno-futures. As such, these imaginaries become the primary exception within late-modernity, which otherwise has a dystopian outlook upon the future (Tutton, 2021, p.420-421). However, this study does not further explore dystopian imaginaries of the tech elites in relation to utopian ones (Tutton, 2021, p.420-421). While Harvey (2025, p.3-4) explores utopian and dystopian imaginaries, the literature on tech elites neglects the general relationship between these two imaginaries. Thus, this thesis further explores the relationship between utopian and dystopian imaginaries within tech elites' discourse on outer space.

Moreover, this thesis argues that literature on utopian and dystopian imaginaries within tech elites' discourse contains both methodological and theoretical gaps. First of all, only Tutton (2021, p.422) employs a longitudinal design to assess traditional media between 2008 and 2017, using data on Elon Musk. Most studies focus on prominent texts, e.g., public speeches and documents in specific contexts

(Rubenstein, 2022, p.210; Utrata, 2024, p.1100). While Rubenstein (2022, p.195) uses tweets as data, this study uses data up until 2021. Thus, these studies mainly use data from 2016 to 2022, which neglects the trajectory of these discourses over time within the current tech elites' discourse. As such, there is a gap regarding diachronic inquiry into different social contexts of these imaginaries within these actors' discourse. This gap helps to inform the methodology in this thesis, which investigates the trajectory of discourse diachronically and across different texts.

Relatedly, this literature also has a theory gap. Most studies on this topic neglect inquiry into the discursive change regarding utopian and dystopian imaginaries in tech elites' discourse. As such, this overlooks the relationship and context between utopian and dystopian imaginaries. Hence, this thesis addresses the gap concerning the relationship between utopian and dystopian imaginaries in tech elites' discourse about outer space. This is relevant to further explore how these imaginaries could challenge society on Earth.

2.6 Contributions

So, this literature review identifies theoretical and methodological gaps in the literature on tech elites and outer space. First of all, this thesis contributes to STS and utopian studies by assessing new imaginaries, e.g., critical dystopia, within tech elites' discourse on social media. Similarly, this thesis contributes to these studies by establishing the relationship between utopian and dystopian imaginaries within these actors' discourse. Also, this helps to inform previously mentioned literature with a diachronic inquiry into the trajectory of utopian and dystopian imaginaries within this discourse. Then, this thesis further contributes to decolonial literature on this topic by examining colonial notions in the current tech elites' discourse. Lastly, this contributes to sociology by assessing far-right ideology, like the NRx movement, in tech elites' discourse about outer space on social media.

3. Theoretical Lens

This theoretical lens re-adapts the concepts of utopian and dystopian imaginaries to assess tech elites' discourse. This is based on dialogue with literature on Sargisson (2012) utopianism, Fernando et al. (2023) techno-utopia, Seyferth (2019), and Abrahamsen & Williams (2025) critical dystopia. Then, this lens explores the concepts of tech-libertarian and neo-reactionary ideology in relation to Lynch (2017) and Ranger & Ranger (2025). Other theories related to the concept of American exceptionalism are explored in studies by Billings (2007), Jansson (2018), and Johnson (2024). The following subsection focuses on Reisigl & Wodak's (2016) discursive strategies using the concept of topos. Related to discursive strategies, the next subsection explores argumentation theory. Works by van Eesterhoven & Grootendorst (1987), van Eemeren & Grootendorst (1992), and van Eemeren et al. (2009) regarding the pragma-dialectical framework address fallacies in discursive strategies. Ultimately, this theoretical lens is conceptualized and visualized (see Figures 1 and 2 in 3.7 Conceptual Framework).

3.1 Utopian and Dystopian Imaginaries – Interdependent Visions

First, the theory in this thesis re-adapts the relationship between utopian and dystopian imaginaries, which this thesis argues are independent visions of the future. As Sargisson (2012, p.8-9) explains, utopianism is both utopian and dystopian imaginaries of the future to critique and transform the current social order. The utopia as imaginary emphasizes the 'good' 'non-place' as an idealized 'not yet realized' future and better social order (Sargisson, 2012, p.7). The similar dystopian imaginary instead becomes the 'bad' place, being the worst imagined trajectory of the current social order (Sargisson, 2012, p.9, p.13). Hence, this insight into utopian imaginaries as complementary visions helps to assess how tech elites can critique and transform society with positive and negative visions.

Moreover, this insight further complements other concepts like Fernando et al. (2023, p.45) techno-utopia. As the authors explain, utopian imaginaries become tied to providing solutions to collective resource problems via science and

technology (Fernando et al., 2023, p.45). This concept helps critically assess specific aspects of tech elites' imaginaries about the current social order, like collective resource issues. Thus, this thesis adopts these general insights that utopian and dystopian imaginaries critique the social order and aim to solve collective resource issues via technology.

While these concepts provide an important understanding of the relationship between tech elites' imaginaries, this is also limited. These concepts essentially treat utopian and dystopian imaginaries as static visions of the future. This thesis thus also needs to address specific utopian and dystopian imaginaries within the current tech elites' discourse. Thus, this next subsection explores the concept of critical dystopia.

3.2 Critical Dystopia – Radical Right Imaginaries

This subsection focuses on the concept of critical dystopia. This helps situate utopian and dystopian imaginaries among tech elites within the broader context of current political discourse, specifically in relation to broader far-right imaginaries.

As Sargisson (2012, p.10-11) and Seyferth (p.5-6) stress, critical dystopia uses both utopian and dystopian imaginaries to challenge genres of utopia and dystopia as well as the current social order of neoliberalism. Critical dystopia contrasts with previous utopian and dystopian imaginaries of early modernity, which are mainly fixed, future-oriented visions. Instead, critical dystopia as mainly dystopian imaginary is situated within the present to critique current social order (Sargisson, 2012, p.10-11; Seyferth, 2019, p.5-6). As such, critical dystopia becomes an imaginary of present dystopia as well as a hopeful utopian alternative within texts. This means challenging neoliberalism as an 'anti-utopian project' that colonizes utopian imaginaries mainly set within the future (Seyferth, 2019, p.5-6). Thus, this thesis adopts and accepts this insight on critical dystopia being situated in the present society, to challenge previous genres and the current social order. This helps situate tech elites' imaginaries within the broader context of current society and explore specific imaginaries set within the present rather than the future.

Furthermore, this thesis adopts Abrahamsen & Williams (2025, p.2) understanding of critical dystopia. Here, critical dystopia is an imaginary of present dystopia to critique the current neoliberalism framed as global managerialism (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2025, p.2). This social order of 'soft totalitarianism' becomes the centre of criticism, where wokeism is framed as the inevitable management and overregulation of all social life (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2025, p.5). Thus, this understanding of critical dystopia offers a helpful contribution to situate tech elites' imaginaries within radical Right discourse that critiques neoliberalism via framings of global managerialism and wokeism.

In relation to social media, this concept also offers a new contextual understanding of critical dystopia situated online with political entrepreneurs partaking in global culture wars (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2025, p.2, p.6). As such, radical Right imaginaries tied to critical dystopia aim to create a global interconnected position within new media, using reflexive and contextual critique of the global liberal present (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2025, p.6, p.9). These insights are relevant to this thesis, helping situate far-right ideology within tech elites' discourse on social media.

Lastly, another important contribution to this concept is the use of historical events as 'historical traumas' to critique the social order of global managerialism in discourse (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2025, p.3). This understanding of the concept helps assess tech elites' imaginaries, especially the use of past events in discourse tied to outer space.

3.3 Ideologies – Tech-Libertarian and Neo-Reactionary Imaginaries

To further assess social orders on celestial bodies, this subsection explores specific ideologies, like tech-libertarianism and neo-reactionary(ism). This helps to situate tech elites' discourse within the broader sociohistorical context of tech elites' and far-right discourse regarding outer space and Earth.

In relation to tech-libertarianism, this is widely understood as techno-utopian imaginaries. As Lynch (2017, p.84-85) proclaims, this ideology highlights the

focus on anti-state utopias with new frontiers, i.e., specific places beyond state control and regulation of neoliberalism, to instead establish a free market. Thus, these insights from this concept help to initially explore imaginaries in tech elites' discourse tied to outer space that challenge the current society.

In relation to the social context, this is similarly understood as corporate visions. These are specifically aimed towards global actors like nation-states to solve global issues with technological advancement and save humanity (Vohnsen, 2024, p.81-82). This understanding helps to situate tech elites' imaginaries within the broad social context, such as international settings.

Then, neo-reactionary ideology, as discourse, attributes agency to technology while obscuring social relations tied to technology, including the roles and relations of social actors like tech elites within the process (Ranger & Ranger, 2025, p.298-299). Essentially, this is being legitimized as the independent and inevitable force of technological progress to save the world from the doomed nature of the current social order (Ranger & Ranger, 2025, p.298-299). As such, this ideology emphasizes technological acceleration for radical transformation of the decadent and doomed present of the current social order (Ranger & Ranger, 2025, p.299-301). Thus, this adopts utopian and dystopian imaginary dichotomy of either rejection or acceptance for technological advancement to save humanity (Ranger & Ranger, 2025, p.298-299). This definition of neo-reactionary ideology thus helps critically assess the current tech elites' discourse. This also helps differentiate and compare ideologies among these actors related to utopian and dystopian imaginaries about outer space and Earth.

3.4 American Exceptionalism – Outer Space as Progress

This section discusses the concept of American exceptionalism. This helps explore and connect tech elites' imaginaries regarding outer space to the broader sociohistorical context related to colonial values.

Mainly, this thesis assesses colonial notions within tech elites' discourse on outer space in relation to the concept of American exceptionalism. As Billings (2007,

p.484) states, this concept highlights collectively shared Western values based on continued progress and freedom, with the means of technology. This thesis defines this concept as specific values within discourse, e.g., innovation, pioneering, continual progress, independent, and freedom as qualities of exceptionalism regarding outer space (Billings, 2007, p.484). Using these values, this helps examine specific colonial notions within the current tech elites' discourse.

In relation to society on Earth, these values thus become part of a broader narrative to construct outer space as a new frontier. As such, the new frontier of outer space is framed as an unlimited resource to continue progress (Johnson, 2024, p.174). This understanding of the concept helps assess the colonial notions of tech elites' discourse on outer space with values like progress.

Then, these colonial notions within discourse become part of broader ideology via self-positioning of saviour and/or victim. Firstly, the opportunity of off-world frontiers as a place of progress is utilized to avoid responsibility for past and present events (Johnson, 2024, p.181-182). This discourse obscures the actions of the past and present, being selective historical framing to justify American exceptionalism as benign and innocent, and thus becomes 'new break' from history (Johnson, 2024, p.181-182). Essentially, this emphasises the overall selective framing of events within this ideology as either saviour of innocence or victim threatened by enemy to justify actions suggested within discourse (Jansson, 2018, p.84, p.88). As such, these insights help connect tech elites' discourse on outer space with colonial values of progress as well as the overall ideology of self-positing as a saviour or victim to escape responsibility.

3.5 Discursive Strategies – Justifications within Discourse

To assess discourses in tech elites' utopian and dystopian imaginaries, this next section explores discursive strategies. This relates directly to argumentation theory, which examines fallacies, i.e., violations of critical debate regarding outer space within tech elites' discourse (for fallacies, see 3.6 Pragma-Dialectical Framework – Fallacies within Discursive Strategies). This theory section then mainly addresses the discursive strategy of argumentation, which ties to fallacies.

According to Wodak (2001, p.73-75), discursive strategies are specific strategies within discourse that aim to achieve linguistic and political objectives. There are five types of strategies: (1) nomination, (2) prediction, (3) argumentation, (4) perspectivization, and (5) mitigation and/or intensification to justify and achieve these aims within discourse. For this thesis, inquiry on discourse strategies within tech elites' discourses relates to how they (1) frames themselves and other social actors as well as objects and events, (2) negatively or positively label themselves and other social actors as well as objects and events, (3) justifies obligations and claims regarding outer space, (4) self-positioning related to ideology, and (5) to direct and avoid responsibility within discourse via intensification and mitigation of obligations and claims (Wodak, 2001, p.73).

All these strategies relate to specific devices. These entail means via metaphors, i.e., an analogy, and allusions, i.e., to refer to significant past events (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016, p.33). Other devices, like nominalization, employ nouns instead of verbs to obscure the agency and responsibility of actors and related processes (Fairclough, 2003, p.13). This thus helps to assess how tech elites' discourse relates to broader ideology and self-positioning via these linguistic means.

Then, for the discursive strategy of argumentation, this thesis assesses topoi within tech elites' discourse. While there are over 13 different topoi, this thesis uses five types: topos of threat, usefulness/uselessness, definition, urgency, and history. The choice of the five topoi is due to limitations of certain topoi, which mainly assess traditional political institutions and argumentation to justify specific policies within a nation-state.

In relation to topos, this thesis defines this concept as a specific topic-based argumentation strategy where these topics justify the conclusion. Firstly, the topos of threat entails how social actors or events are framed as threats that necessitate action to act against these (Wodak, 2001, p.75). This topos helps assess how the tech elites frame threats in discourse about outer space to justify actions. Secondly, the topos of usefulness/uselessness frames the necessity of actions based on the desirability or non-desirability of outcomes (Wodak, 2001, p.74).

This topos helps assess how tech elites frame desirable or undesirable outcomes tied to outer space and Earth to justify actions.

Thirdly, the topos of urgency focuses on the immediate threat of certain consequences that necessitate exceptional actions (Wodak, 2009, p.44). This topos helps to assess how the tech elites frame issues tied to outer space and Earth in terms of urgency to justify actions.

Fourthly, topos of definition entails assigned meaning related to the quality of a fixed attribute, which in turn implies a specific action tied to this characteristic (Wodak, 2001, p.75). This topos helps explore how tech elites justify actions based on fixed characteristics of other social actors within discourse.

Lastly, the topos of history focuses on the historical aspects of argumentation, where historical events and processes are predicted to have social consequences that need to be prevented (Wodak, 2001, p.76). This ultimately helps assess how tech elites use history to justify actions tied to discourse about outer space.

3.6 Pragma-Dialectical Framework – Fallacies in Discursive Strategies

This subsection specifically explores the concept of fallacy. Generally, fallacies are specific violations within critical discussion and debate. Within argumentation, topoi could be either reasonable or fallacious, where the latter is the failed logic of a specific argumentation scheme and thus violates critical discussion (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016, p.35-36). This distinction helps assess tech elites' imaginaries and related justifications tied to outer space as either reasonable or fallacious based on the following fallacies.

This concept also includes limitations in assessing tech elites' discourse. The concept of fallacy mainly assesses critical discussion within the traditional political arena and debate to resolve disputes. As such, this thesis uses ten fallacies to focus on general fallacies that apply to statements by tech elites. Initially, this thesis adopts the argumentum ad baculum and ad hominem, strawman, and false dilemma, which either attack the tech elites' opponent or their arguments. Then, there is the fallacy of denying implicit premises and ambiguity,

where tech elites specifically evade responsibility and evidence for statements in discourse on outer space. Lastly, the fallacies of slippery slope, argumentum ad consequentiam, and argumentum ad populum violate general argument logic within this discourse.

First of all, there are fallacies related to attacking the opponent or their argument. The first fallacy is argumentum ad baculum, which attacks the opponent with an appeal to threat (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992, p.109-110). Relatedly, the fallacy of argumentum ad hominem is the (1) direct personal attack on the opponent's character and/or (2) indirect personal attack to focus on the motives of the opponent (van Eesterhoven & Grootendorst, 1987, p.284-285). These two fallacies in discourse disallow opponents from raising standpoints (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992, p.108). The fallacy of ad hominem violates this rule by undermining the credibility of the opponent (van Eemeren et al., 2009, p.53). Thus, these two fallacies help explore and distinguish how tech elites in discourse on outer space attack and undermine the opponent.

Relatedly, the fallacy of strawman follows similar violations, but here this only refers to the opponent's views as part of a group or creating a fictional group (van Eesterhoven & Grootendorst, 1987, p.286). This also relates to distorting the standpoint of the opponent to be more easily attacked with exaggeration (van Eesterhoven & Grootendorst, 1987, p.286; van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992, p.127-128). Thus, this further helps explore how the tech elites address and attack other groups and alternatives within discourse on outer space.

Then, there is another fallacy related to constructing the opponent's standpoint, being the false dilemma. Furthermore, the fallacy of false dilemma is when the standpoint is presented as an 'either or' scenario, where the alternative is assumed to be opposite to that of the speaker (van Eesterhoven & Grootendorst, 1987, p.292; van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992, p.190). This is utilized to reduce other alternatives and possibilities within critical discourse. Specifically, this fallacy violates critical discussion to make the other alternative undesirable and one's own standpoint as the only alternative (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992, p.190-

191). This helps situate tech elites' imaginaries within utopian and dystopian imaginaries to assess these as a false dilemma.

Furthermore, there are fallacies related to avoiding responsibility. The fallacy of denying implicit premises relates to how implicit premises within discourse are denied (van Eesterhoven & Grootendorst, 1987, p.287-288). Thus, the protagonist obscures and avoids responsibility by evading evidence for the implicit premise within the standpoint (van Eesterhoven & Grootendorst, 1987, p.287-288). This helps assess how tech elites evade proof by denying previous claims within discourse on outer space.

Another fallacy that relates to avoiding responsibility is the fallacy of ambiguity, which violates critical discussion to evaluate statements and premises based on their ambiguity (van Eesterhoven & Grootendorst, 1987, p.292). This could also be divided into referential, syntactic, and semantic ambiguity, e.g., ambiguity on what events are referred to within a claim (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992, p.202-204). This also helps assess how the tech elites avoid responsibility and evade providing evidence for claims by using the fallacy of ambiguity.

Furthermore, there are fallacies related to the logic of argumentation. Firstly, the fallacy of slippery slope is the violation of causal argumentation with a slippery slope scenario, i.e., to avoid action based on the premise that this will lead to an inevitable, extremely negative chain of consequences (van Eesterhoven & Grootendorst, 1987, p.290; van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992, p.164). This helps assess how tech elites negatively associate consequences regarding outer space to avoid responsibility.

Relatedly, *argumentum ad consequentiam* is another violation of causal argument, i.e., the truth and/or acceptability of a standpoint relates to the consequence being favourable or unfavourable in scope (van Eesterhoven & Grootendorst, 1987, p.289). This helps assess how tech elites also positively associate outcomes regarding outer space, which are used to avoid responsibility.

Then, argumentum ad populum violates the defence of argumentation with ‘non-argumentation’, i.e., use of emotional bias of the audience rather than argumentation (van Eesterhoven & Grootendorst, 1987, p.286-287). Essentially, this makes the standpoint easier to defend by appealing to the prejudice of the audience. This helps to assess how tech elites further positively or negatively associate actions and/or outcomes regarding outer space to avoid responsibility.

Overall, these fallacies connect to and help assess the five topoi, which in turn make it possible to critically assess tech elites’ discourse. Thus, this helps address the thesis aim and research question to assess justifications within this discourse.

3.7 Conceptual Framework

Based on previous concepts, this theoretical lens provides a general conceptualization and visualization of tech elites’ imaginaries (see Figures 1 and 2). These two figures respectively highlight tech-libertarianism and neo-reactionary(ism). The latter term is renamed to treat neo-reactionary imaginaries as an ideal-type ideology.

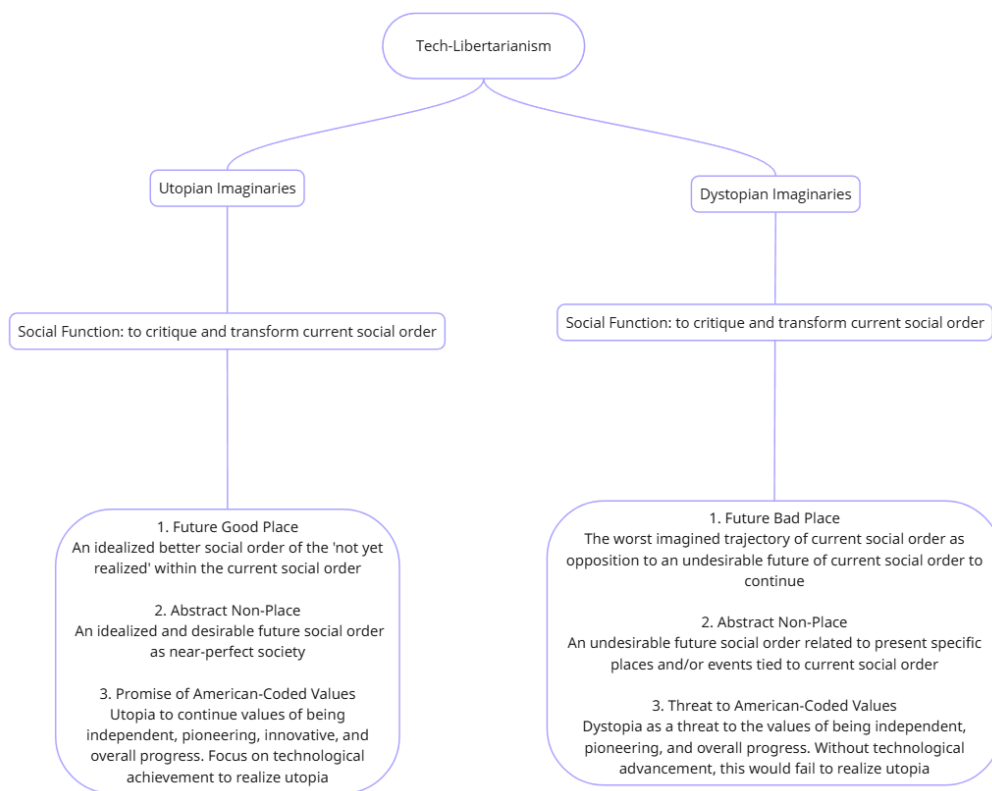
This overall conceptualization helps assess utopian and dystopian imaginaries as interdependent visions that could critique and challenge the current social order. Then, with critical dystopia, this helps explore the specific present-oriented dystopian imaginary as part of the tech elites’ discourse within neo-reactionary(ism). This also helps to distinguish between tech-libertarian and neo-reactionary ideology regarding utopian and dystopian imaginaries within this discourse. This thesis expects tech-libertarianism to be utopian and dystopian imaginaries set in the future, where neo-reactionary(ism) and critical dystopia are set in the present. Another key difference is the context-dependent aspect of dystopian imaginary within neo-reactionary(ism), which focuses on present or past events to critique the current society.

Then, this thesis also integrates colonial notions tied to American exceptionalism in relation to both ideologies. With promises or threats regarding exceptional values being tied to utopian and dystopian imaginaries, tech elites self-position

themselves within these ideologies as either saviour or victim. This thesis expects these values to be more urgently framed within neo-reactionary(ism) to underscore the present dystopia.

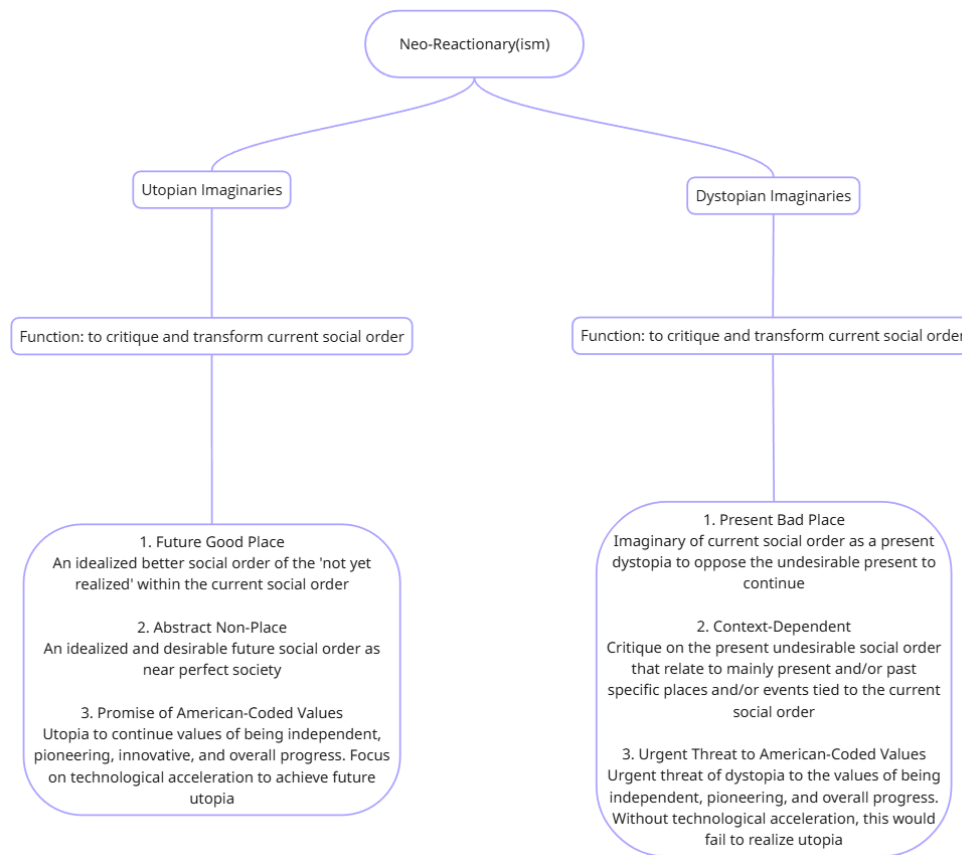
Lastly, specific discursive strategies and fallacies are not visualized in the following figures. However, these are helpful for overall analysis tied to the justifications for these ideologies and related utopian and dystopian imaginaries (for full analysis, see Appendix Table 3).

Figure 1. Utopian and Dystopian Imaginaries related to Tech-Libertarianism



Note. This figure visualises the utopian and dystopian imaginaries within tech-libertarianism. This highlights the future utopia and dystopia with related promises or threats to American-coded values.

Figure 2. Utopian and Dystopian Imaginaries of Neo-Reactionary(ism)



Note. This figure visualises the utopian and dystopian imaginaries within neo-reactionary(ism). This mainly highlights the present dystopia with related urgent threats to American-coded values.

4. Methodology

This section explores the methodology of this thesis and the application of the discourse-historical approach. The overall methodology addresses the following parts: epistemology, rationale, case selection, data collection and method, sampling strategies, data material, analytical procedures, qualitative criteria, ethical considerations, methodological limitations, and summary.

4.1. Epistemology

4.1.1 Critical and Social Constructivist Perspectives

To reiterate, this thesis explores the following research questions: *1. How have tech elites' imaginaries over time justified social orders on celestial bodies within discourse? 2. How have these discourses been realized and transformed over time by tech elites across different text genres? 3. How do these discourses in turn reflect far-right imaginaries and the sociohistorical contexts of these to challenge social orders on celestial bodies?*

First of all, this thesis adopts a qualitative approach (Creswell & Poth, 2025, p.22). The choice of a qualitative approach is relevant and helps assess the complex social process of the emergence of political groups like tech elites within discourse on outer space. Thus, this also helps to assess the social context of these tech elites' imaginaries in relation to broader far-right ideologies beyond statistical accounts.

Then, the specific methodology is based on DHA, in which this thesis combines critical and social constructivist perspectives on ontology and epistemology (Creswell & Poth, 2025, pp. 22, 42). This thesis assumes that social reality regarding outer space is socially constructed as well as socially structured (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016, p.36; Creswell & Poth, 2025, p.42). As such, tech elites' imaginaries on outer space are not to be considered neutral, isolated, or fixed accounts but part of broader discourse and social practices to impose their world-view on other groups (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016, p.25-26). This is relevant for this

thesis to inquire into and critically examine tech elites' imaginaries reflecting unequal power and ideology regarding outer space.

Then, epistemologically, knowledge claims in this thesis become justified by assessing qualitative data related to tech elites' imaginaries (Creswell & Poth, 2025, p.22, p.42). This is relevant for this thesis as texts, being deemed objectified discourse, are assumed to count as knowledge. This helps gain knowledge of the social reality of outer space through the subjective meaning-making within discursive strategies of tech elites (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016, p.26). Thus, this thesis collects texts from tech elites to gain knowledge on these imaginaries to uncover ideology in discourse on outer space (Wodak & Meyer, 2016, p.21).

Furthermore, this thesis does not assume a deterministic viewpoint on tech elites' imaginaries and society (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016, p.36). Instead, tech elites' imaginaries both construct and shape ideology regarding outer space, but also become shaped over time depending on context (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016, p.28; Rheindorf, 2019, p.178). Thus, epistemologically, knowledge about tech elites' imaginaries and social reality regarding outer space can only be gained and justified with critical inquiry on the contexts of these imaginaries (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016, p.36; Creswell & Poth, 2025, p.7).

This thesis understands the context to be both immediate and broader to the social, political, and historical context. With this inquiry on contexts of tech elites' imaginaries, this enables lessening the distance between researcher and tech elites and thus gaining knowledge on how these actors legitimize ideology within imaginaries about outer space (Creswell & Poth, 2025, p.22-23). As such, to assess the context of these imaginaries, this thesis also collects and triangulates various texts in different text genres and related background data on the immediate and broad social context. This helps situate these imaginaries within the historical context and gain knowledge on the trajectory of tech elites' discourse. With different text genres over time, this enables assessing the historical context and ideology taken shape regarding outer space as an emerging political phenomenon.

Similarly, this thesis assumes that diachronic analysis helps contribute to gaining knowledge on the historical context and ideology taken shape in context. Thus, this helps to uncover and critically examine ideologies within tech elites' imaginaries as social practices being shaped over time (Creswell & Poth, 2025, p.22). As such, this thesis collects and triangulates data over time to be able to gain knowledge and lessen the distance between the researcher and the tech elites (Meyer, 2001, p.29-30; Rheindorf, 2019, p.174).

Furthermore, this epistemology also assumes that the researcher is an active and self-reflexive participant who co-constructs and interprets tech elites' imaginaries and critically examines these (Wodak, 2001, p.64-65). This thesis thus brings subjective understanding and assumes an active role as social actor to interpret the tech elite's imaginaries. However, this also relates to limitations. With the researcher's own subjectivity, this introduces bias to the process of understanding and critically examining tech elites' imaginaries (Gorup, 2020, p.523-524). However, this thesis uses triangulation to minimize research bias by assessing the various contexts and data related to tech elites' discourse about outer space (Meyer, 2001, p.29-30). Thus, this thesis adopts various triangulation procedures to avoid researcher bias regarding tech elites' imaginaries.

Moreover, these assumptions have other methodological implications. With the researcher's role as an active interpreter, this method becomes abductive, using various theories and data to assess the context of the tech elites (Creswell & Poth, 2025, pp.22-23). This thesis also becomes interdisciplinary with similar abductive reasoning between different theories and empirical data (Wodak & Meyer, 2016, p.19). As such, this thesis also uses strategies like saturation sampling to assess the various text genres and contexts related to tech elite discourse.

Lastly, there are limitations with this combination of approaches. With the adoption of a critical approach, this thesis focuses on discursive strategies rather than assessing the subjective meaning-making of tech elites regarding outer space. However, this thesis argues that tech elites' imaginaries, through discourse, are part of the socially structured reality of outer space. Thus, these imaginaries

become more than equal meaning-making practices but also hierarchical to impose ideology upon society.

4.1.2 Rationale for Discourse-Historical Approach

In contrast to other CDA approaches, the DHA framework provides for sociohistorical inquiry into utopian and dystopian imaginaries tied to tech elites' discourse. This thesis thus triangulates various texts and related genres over time with data on the immediate and broader contexts of these texts (Wodak & Meyer, 2016, p.11). Hence, this approach allows addressing gaps within the literature on tech elites and outer space about discursive change over time and across different texts (Rheindorf, 2019, p.176-177).

4.2 Case Selection

This thesis uses critical cases to assess tech elites' imaginaries (Creswell & Poth, 2025, p.178). As Castaño & Santana-Acuña (2023, p.99-100) previously stated, there is a risk in assessing tech elites as a homogeneous group. As such, this thesis focuses on tech elites within Silicon Valley. The case selection is based on critical cases of Elon Musk and Jeff Bezos. For this thesis, Musk is the primary case and main research subject, whereas Bezos is the secondary case. This helps to contrast with Musk and assess tech elites as a group.

Overall, the choice of these two tech elites is based on Musk and Bezos being the most public and vocal figures on issues related to outer space (Utrata, 2024, p.1098). Thus, these two critical cases provide in-depth and rich data on tech elites' imaginaries about outer space (Creswell & Poth, 2025, p.190-191). These imaginaries tied to these celestial bodies have been present and politically salient over the years within discourse, making it suitable for the study of discursive change. Thus, these cases are relevant for this thesis, which assesses these imaginaries and the discursive change over time to answer the research questions.

This study thus explores the differences among the tech elites within Silicon Valley. Musk's case becomes relevant for assessing more dystopian imaginaries tied to Earth with plans for Mars, whereas Bezos becomes relevant for assessing a

possible utopian future on Earth (Utrata, 2024, p.1099-1101). Thus, these two cases could contrast one another and thus highlight the various imaginaries, both utopian and dystopian, related to celestial bodies. These cases also help to evaluate existing theory on tech elites and outer space based on the expected extreme values of these individuals (Creswell & Poth, 2025, 191).

This thesis expects these two cases to provide in-depth data on tech elites' imaginaries about outer space (Creswell & Poth, 2025, p.178). These two actors also represent two of the main NewSpace companies, Musk's SpaceX and Bezos's Blue Origin, with different goals related to Earth and Mars (Mitchell et al., 2020, p.3; Utrata, 2024, p.1099-1101). This thesis thus expects these two cases to reflect extreme values within this group regarding imaginaries relating to key celestial bodies of Earth and Mars.

Lastly, this choice relates to the previous research gaps established in this thesis. With the recent Twitter/X takeover by Musk, this could then provide in-depth information on tech elites' discourse on social media and contribute to the literature (Clayton & Hoskins, 2022). In this regard, Musk is a prolific actor on social media, and thus, this thesis focuses on this case. While Bezos also uses new media, he is not as prolific on social media like Twitter/X. Hence, this thesis primarily focuses on Musk as the main research subject.

4.3 Data Collection and Method

4.3.1 Data Criteria

The data collection for this thesis relates to specific pre-defined criteria. For data to be deemed relevant for the assessment of tech elite imaginaries, this needs to be

- (1) Spoken and/or written texts by Musk and Bezos*
- (2) Related to topics regarding social orders on celestial bodies, e.g., Earth, Mars, and the Moon*
- (3) From the time period between 2016 and 2026*
- (4) Within fields of action related to (a) formation of public attitudes, opinion, and will, (b) international relations, and (c) organisational advertising*

(5) *Based on specific genres of (a) tweets, (b) speeches, and (c) interviews*

4.3.2 Data Triangulation

These data criteria relate to the principle of triangulation (Wodak & Meyer, 2017, p.32). This thesis understands and employs data triangulation as a methodical tool to collect tech elites' texts from different text genres, e.g., tweets and speeches, as well as background data on these text genres to comprehensively understand the sociohistorical context of this discourse (Wodak & Meyer, 2016, p.26-27) (see 4.3.5 Background Data). Similarly, this thesis uses and understands the principle of data triangulation by collecting the same texts, e.g., tweets from different time points. This is relevant to address research gaps in the literature and answer the research questions. Thus, this principle informs the data criteria with data collection over time and across text genres.

4.3.3 Texts, Topics, and Diachrony

In relation to the first criterion, this thesis uses primarily texts as data. This is mainly due to the availability of data, where other methods like fieldwork are beyond the scope of this thesis to assess tech elites (Rheindorf, 2022, p.51-52). However, texts provide non-reactive and rich data for this thesis, which helps assess tech elites' imaginaries as part of discourse (Wodak & Meyer, 2016, p.21).

The second criterion is relevant to exploring the overall tech elites' discourse on outer space. For example, regarding tweets from Musk, search words on the @elonmusk account, like Mars, the Moon, and outer space, help explore various discursive topics related to this discourse.

In relation to the time period, this thesis periodizes texts from tech elites (Rheindorf, 2019, p.204-205). The periodization for this thesis is divided into two specific periods, being 2016-2022 and 2022-2026, to assess Musk's early and later periods, distinguished by the Twitter/X acquisition. This type of periodisation helps minimize researcher bias, which otherwise relates to specific contextual data periodization, such as specific years or single texts. Hence, this thesis uses chronological data between 2016 and 2026 to track the trajectory of discursive

change regarding tech elites' discourse (Rheindorf, 2019, p.204-205). The specific time frame starting in 2016 is relevant to the critical juncture following that year, related to Musk's updated announcement regarding Mars (Musk, 2017, p.46). Mainly, the choice to start in 2016 is that it marks the year of the first notable public speech addressing detailed SpaceX plans for human settlements on Mars. Then, the selection of the two time periods allows for assessment and comparison of the initial plans for Mars with the current tech elites' discourse (Rheindorf, 2019, p.195). In this way, the time frame helps to achieve data triangulation to specifically understand and assess Musk's texts on Mars over time.

4.3.4 Fields of Action and Text Genres

Another important aspect of data collection relates to the fields of action and text genres. Essentially, genre is the various socially conventionalized ways of communication within institutions to realize discourse, e.g., speeches, interviews, and social media posts (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016, p.27-28). Then, a text genre extends to the broader level of abstraction, being called fields of action. This entails different fields that constitute and co-constitute the realization of discourses where text genres belong to different fields of action (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016, p.28). With these concepts, this thesis helps assess tech elites' texts as part of political discourse on outer space and also provides for further analysis on recontextualization (see 4.6.2 Recontextualization Analysis).

To assess current tech elites' discourse, this thesis re-adapts the application of fields of action. Thus, this explores only three specific fields of action (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016, p.29; Wodak & Meyer, 2017, p.11) (see Table 1). This thesis includes (1) Field of Action: Formation of Public Attitudes, Opinion, and Will, (2) Field of Action: International Relations, and (3) Field of Action: Organisational Advertising. Regarding the first field of action, this originally did not include social media. This relates to the focus on traditional political actors, institutions, and text genres within DHA (Reisigl & Wodak, 2017, p.91). However, for this thesis, social media and related text genres are of particular interest and need to be explored to address the gap in the literature on tech elites' discourse. This is

relevant for critically examining tech elites like Musk's presence on social media rather than solely traditional media (KhosraviNik, 2014, p.288). Thus, the choice of the first field of action and adding social media relates directly to answering the research questions to examine different text genres.

The second and third fields of action relate to genres of speeches and interviews. Previous DHA frameworks on fields of action did not originally include text genres like interviews and speeches. These genres also help to examine the discursive change between fields of action within the current tech elites' discourse. These two other fields of action thus help to contrast tech elites' discourse with text genres on social media. Essentially, this thesis explores these fields of action to address specific contexts. As such, the organisational advertising mainly addresses industry, international relations addresses global actors, and the formation of public attitudes, opinion, and will addresses the public.

Moreover, this thesis triangulates data from tech elites' texts to assess and compare different text genres over time related to Musk. This specifically relates to different text genres of (a) tweets, (b) speeches, and (c) interviews. Within data collection, this specifically focuses on data related to tweets from Musk as well as speeches and interviews from both Musk and Bezos. Hence, this provides for comparison over time, 2016-2026, across text genres from speeches to tweets. This priority of tweets relates to research gaps regarding tech elites and Musk's recent takeover of Twitter/X (Clayton & Hoskins, 2022).

While tweets were collected directly, other texts like speeches and interviews were transcribed using A.I. While mistakes within transcription may occur, this thesis continually checks and analyses key quotes from the original data source within the analysis to ensure trustworthiness of findings. This thesis uses verbatim quotes from tech elites to assess these actors' discourse, where correcting language would miss nuances in discursive strategies.

Table 1. Three Fields of Action Related to Tech Elites (re-adapted from Reisigl & Wodak, 2017, p.91).

Field of Action: Formation of Public Attitudes, Opinion, and Will	Field of Action: International Relations	Field of Action: Organisational Advertising
(Sub)genres: social media (e.g., tweets)	(Sub)genres: speeches and interviews on summits of international and/or non-governmental organisations (IGOs or NGOs)	(Sub)genres: speeches and interviews on industry events and/or international congresses and conventions

4.3.5 Background Data

Based on previous text genres and field of actions, this thesis also collects data related to the immediate social context of these (Reisigl & Wodak, 2017, p.90-91). Thus, this thesis collects background information related to the specific texts, e.g., time, place, and event. Likewise, this thesis also collects data on general social, political, and historical events tied to these genres, e.g., Musk's Twitter/X acquisition. This helps to distinguish between various text genres within these fields of action and also to explore the discursive change regarding tech elites' discourse. Hence, with data on the immediate and broad context of these texts and related genres, this ensures data triangulation. Essentially, this thesis uses various text genres like speeches and tweets together with the background data to analyse discursive change (see 4.6.3 Socio-Historical Level).

4.3.6 Databases and Sources

This last section on data collection concerns academic sources related to the thesis process. Searching techniques for collecting academic sources include Boolean operators with AND/OR focusing on keywords, e.g., SpaceX, Musk, utopian/dystopian imaginaries, tech-libertarianism, and NewSpace (Aromataris &

Riitano, 2014, p.51-52). These Boolean operators help to optimize the search and help find relevant research on the topic of outer space (Bramer et. al., 2018, p.536). However, other searching strategies like NOT have not been employed within this thesis, which might affect the scope of retrieving other relevant articles within the literature on outer space (Bramer et. al., 2018, p.536).

Regarding databases, this thesis uses specific databases like Finn, Google Scholar, and EBSCOhost. Essentially, these databases and searching techniques help to provide a comprehensive understanding and selection of academic sources related to research on tech elite discourses. Databases like EBSCOhost provide access to sources published within esteemed journals and recent articles from the last decade. However, this thesis did not use specific criteria for academic texts, e.g., only peer-reviewed sources or published within the last decade. This relates to the risk of confirmation bias regarding the selection of academic sources for this thesis (Rheindorf, 2019, p.47). The selection of academic sources for this thesis instead focuses on exploring the broad areas within the research field related to the topic of tech elites.

4.4 Data Sampling

Regarding data sampling, this thesis combines different strategies to sample tech elites' texts. This thesis uses both stratified and saturation sampling for all texts (Rheindorf, 2019, p.47-48). For other data, like background data, this thesis uses saturation sampling to gather information from the texts themselves on the event, time, and place, and then gathers new data from Google until no new data can contribute to the texts.

First of all, this thesis uses stratified sampling for tech elites' texts. This starts with a search on different but non-overlapping topics, such as Mars, the Moon, and outer space, on X using the @elonmusk account. For YouTube, this includes initial searchwords like Jeff Bezos Moon or Elon Musk Mars. Then, this thesis collects related texts on these topics. After stratified sampling, this thesis uses saturation sampling to select 10 tweets or 10 paragraphs within speeches or interviews on one topic for analysis. This iterative process continues until

saturation or no new data contribute to the topic. When new topics or differences within topics arise, this thesis uses new stratification categories and samples data with the previous sampling procedure until no additional data contribute to the material. These new data help contribute to the initial topic and provide a broader understanding of tech elites' discourse.

The choice to use a combination of sampling strategies is to minimize research and confirmation bias, i.e., to prevent cherry-picking and only select highly salient texts that confirm findings (Rheindorf, 2019, p.47-48). Using a combined strategy of stratified and saturation sampling, this provides both an in-depth and situated understanding of these topics within texts related to tech elites' discourse. While sampling of background data did not use the combined sampling strategy, this instead aims to explore both the immediate and broader social contexts of tech elites' texts.

The choice of specific strategies, like saturation sampling, relates to the aims of this thesis to contribute to the literature on tech elites' discourse. As such, this provides both inductive and abductive approaches to data collection. With refinement of thematic concepts and categories like utopian and dystopian imaginaries being situated within historical and social contexts (Wodak & Meyer, 2017, p.27-28). This thesis then becomes more abductive in scope, to collect and analyse data continuously in relation to theory and different social contexts of these discourses. This then helps to achieve conceptual saturation regarding various broad themes and topics related to utopian and dystopian imaginaries (Wodak & Meyer, 2017, p.27-28; Rheindorf, 2019, p.47).

4.5 Data Material

The data material for this thesis uses Musk and Bezos texts (see Table 1). From 9 public speeches, 100 tweets, and 14 interviews, this data material includes 2 public speeches, 2 interviews, and 7 tweets. Regarding Musk, the material related to this case focuses on all fields of action to assess the discursive change across genres. With data spanning from September 2016 to February 2026, this contains (1) an interview on the 2023 World Governments Summit (WGS) in Dubai, (2) a

public speech on the 2016 International Astronautical Congress (IAC), and (3) tweets from the @elonmusk account. The first speech from 2016 highlights the early era from 2016 to 2022. This relates to Musk (2017, p.46) new plans for Mars, which were then promoted within public speeches like IACs internationally. These speeches mostly focus on explaining the arguments for going to outer space as well as the technological aspects of the future tied to celestial bodies like Mars. Ultimately, this highlights the variety of text genres and fields of action. Here, with (1) IAC to focus on the tech industry and promote SpaceX's Mars vision, (2) WGS addresses international actors, e.g., nation-states, and (3) social media with tweets to address the public and followers.

Regarding Bezos, the data material for this thesis only includes one field of action. This is due to the thesis's focus on Musk as the primary case and Bezos as the secondary case. Data related to Bezos involves (1) an interview for the Business Insider in 2018, (2) a public speech at the 2019 Blue Origin event. Thus, these texts reflect fields of action mainly tied to promotion towards the tech industry. The first interview relates to his early vision of Blue Origin and imaginaries tied to outer space and Earth. Then, the public speech presents his overall vision of Blue Origin and the technical aspects of space travel to promote Blue Origin's focus on Earth.

Table 2. Data Material on Elon Musk and Jeff Bezos Texts

Reference	Title	Genre and Event	Field of Action
Musk, 2016	Making Humans a Multiplanetary Species	Public Speech at 67th International Astronautical Congress (IAC)	Organisational Advertising
Musk, 2020	5 years ago. We need to accelerate progress towards fully reusable rockets...	Social Media Post on X	Formation of Public Attitudes, Opinion, and Will

Musk, 2022	Unless it is stopped, the woke...	Social Media Post on X	Formation of Public Attitudes, Opinion, and Will
Musk, 2023a	A Conversation with Elon Musk 2.0	Interview (Virtual) - WGS (World Governments Summit) in Dubai	International Relations
Musk, 2023b	Rightly so. The disaster that is...	Social Media Post on X	Formation of Public Attitudes, Opinion, and Will
Musk, 2023c	This is crazy – lives are on the...	Social Media Post on X	Formation of Public Attitudes, Opinion, and Will
Musk, 2024	I hope the public is starting to understand...	Social Media Post on X	Formation of Public Attitudes, Opinion, and Will
Musk, 2025	Misses the point. Repeating Apollo would just be...	Social Media Post on X	Formation of Public Attitudes, Opinion, and Will
Musk, 2026	Grok must win or we...	Social Media Post on X	Formation of Public Attitudes, Opinion, and Will
Reference	Title	Genre and Event	Field of Action
Bezos, 2018	Jeff Bezos Talks Amazon, Blue Origin, Family, And Wealth	Interview for Business Insider	Organisational Advertising
Bezos, 2019	For The Benefit of Earth	Public Speech at Blue Origin Event	Organisational Advertising

4.6 Analytical Procedure

This subsection explores the analytical procedure. This thesis uses three broad areas that explore different aspects of tech elites' discourse and directly relate to the three research questions. The analytical procedure includes argumentation, recontextualization, and sociohistorical analysis.

4.6.1 Argumentation Analysis

Initially, this level explores the justifications regarding outer space within the single texts of Musk and Bezos. This relates to text immanent context, i.e., text linguistic level (Reisigl & Wodak, 2017, p.90, p.93). This analytical procedure entails micro-level theory related to discourse strategies and the pragma-dialectical framework. More specifically, this first analytical procedure focuses on argumentation strategy and related fallacies in tech elites' discourse about outer space. This part of the analysis explores the 2016–2022 time period to assess the initial justifications regarding outer space in tech elites' discourse. This contrasts with the next 2022-2026 time period, which is explored in the other parts (see 4.6.2 Recontextualization Analysis and 4.6.3 Sociohistorical Analysis). As such, this helps to answer the first research question in this thesis.

For argumentation analysis, this micro-level analysis centres on three areas: macro-topics, discursive strategies, and linguistic means (Rheindorf, 2022, p.46). The macro-topics entail broader topics and contents of discourses. This thesis conceptualizes these topics within broader categories of utopian and dystopian imaginaries. These broader topics help to organize and assess the more specific discursive strategy of argumentation in tech elites' texts. Then, the discursive strategies entail five specific strategies to legitimize these topics within tech elites' discourse. The initial analysis in this thesis explores and analyses all these strategies within these texts (see Appendix Table 3). The main analysis assesses mainly the five topoi within the argumentation strategy in relation to the ten fallacies in Musk's and Bezos's texts. This is relevant to examining justifications and related fallacies within tech elites' discourse about outer space. Based on macro-topics, argumentation strategy, and fallacies, the analysis assesses linguistic

means. With linguistic means like metaphors, allusions, and nominalizations, this helps in assessing how tech elites justify social orders on celestial bodies.

Overall, this first procedure analyses argumentation strategy within single texts from Musk's and Bezos' texts from the 2016-2022 time period. This also situates these texts within broader ideologies, e.g., tech-libertarianism, using meso-level theory. This complements micro-level theory on argumentation strategy and helps to assess the justifications of social orders on celestial bodies within tech elites' discourse. Ultimately, this helps to then situate and explore the recontextualization of tech elites' discourse.

4.6.2 Recontextualization Analysis

Then, from previous argumentation analysis, the recontextualization level explores the relationship among tech elites' texts. This part of the analysis thus more explicitly compares texts from different fields of action and related text genres. This thesis focuses on the 2022-2026 time period, examining Musk's tweets. Thus, this helps contrast the previous analysis set in 2016-2022. As such, this helps to answer the second research question in this thesis.

In this part, the analysis examines various aspects of recontextualization. This thesis defines this as the overall process of textual and discursive elements translated from one text or discourse to another (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016, p.28; Reisigl & Wodak, 2017, p.90). In this thesis, recontextualization is divided into intertextuality and interdiscursivity (Reisigl & Wodak, 2017, p.90, p.93).

Regarding the concept of intertextuality, this thesis defines it as the translation of textual elements from one text to another in the present and/or past. This thesis explores this in terms of adopting macro-topics from other texts, e.g., 'end of the world' announcements or utopia on Earth or Mars (Reisigl & Wodak, 2017, p.90).

Then, interdiscursivity entails discursive elements being translated from one discourse to another (Wodak & Fairclough, 2010, p.24). This thesis examines this aspect via the use of discursive strategies across text genres. As such, this level of analysis also explores the discursive change of argumentation strategy and related

fallacies. While also addressing the meso-level theory of tech ideologies and related utopian and dystopian imaginaries, this mainly relates to the third part of the analysis.

Essentially, this level of the analysis focuses on Musk's tweets to explore the realization and transformation of tech elites' discourse across text genres. The last analysis section then explores the immediate and broader context of tech elites' texts.

4.6.3 Sociohistorical Analysis

Lastly, this level relates to the sociohistorical context of tech elites' discourse. This thesis assesses the immediate and broad social context of tech elites' texts (Reisigl & Wodak, 2017, p.90, p.93). This part of the analysis focuses more on the meso- and macro-level theory, drawing upon data from both time periods. As such, this helps to answer the third research question as well as address the other research questions.

For the immediate social context, this thesis uses background data on texts' genres and fields of action together with previous analysis to situate discursive change within Musk's texts. This helps explore the specific context of text genres and combine the immediate context with a broader sociohistorical perspective.

For the broader socio-historical context, this thesis uses the analysis from the previous two levels to assess the broader sociohistorical context (Rheindorf, 2022, p.46). With a focus on meso- and macro theory, this part of the analysis utilizes broader social theory. This relates to utopian and dystopian imaginaries, e.g., critical dystopia as well as ideologies, e.g., tech-libertarianism and neo-reactionary(ism). This helps to understand the broader far-right imaginaries in tech elites' discourse. Then, with data on the broader social, political, and historical events, this analysis focuses on Musk's 2022 X/Twitter acquisition (Clayton & Hoskins, 2022). This then contributes to the diachronic analysis, where this thesis divides Musk's texts into 2016-2022 and 2022-2026. This helps

to distinguish between Musk's earlier texts and his new texts on X/Twitter from 2022 until now.

4.7 Quality Criteria

For quality criteria, this thesis adopts four criteria to ensure trustworthiness: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Creswell & Poth, 2025, p.286). Before addressing these, this section describes the general principles in this thesis that ensure trustworthiness. The procedures in this thesis to ensure trustworthiness are the principle of triangulation and the four contexts of discourse. Essentially, this choice relates to minimizing researcher bias and to avoiding a deterministic view of the tech elites' discourse in relation to society (Meyer, 2001, p.29-30).

Regarding the principle of triangulation, this thesis adopts both data and theory triangulation (Wodak & Meyer, 2017, p.32). While previously addressing data triangulation, this thesis also uses theoretical triangulation. This thesis adopts this principle, utilizing interdisciplinary theoretical frameworks to assess tech elites' imaginaries (Wodak & Meyer, 2017, p.32). Another important methodological aspect to ensure trustworthiness is to situate the discourse within four specific social contexts. Within this thesis, this includes (1) text immanent, i.e., single text linguistic level, (2) interdiscursivity and intertextuality, i.e., discourse realization and transformation between texts, (3) extra-linguistic variables, i.e., the immediate social context, and (4) sociohistorical context, i.e., broad social and historical events and processes (Reisigl & Wodak, 2017, p.93). This thesis adopts these contexts to assess the three levels of tech elites' discourse.

Then, to the quality criteria. This thesis understands credibility to relate to representativity, where the social reality of tech elites aligns with the data and interpretations in this thesis (Creswell & Poth, 2025, p.288). This thesis ensures this criterion by gathering data across text genres over time, as well as background information on the immediate and broader social context. Essentially, this helps to ensure that data and findings represent tech elites' imaginaries on outer space. This thesis also ensures credibility with theory triangulation. With micro-level

argumentation theory and meso-level social theory, this minimizes bias from a deterministic view on language and society (Reisigl & Wodak, 2017, p.89). As such, this thesis triangulates data and interpretations via multiple data sources and various theories. This ensures credible and representative findings and interpretations of tech elites' imaginaries (Creswell & Poth, 2025, p.288).

Then, (2) transferability accentuates the focus on providing 'thick descriptions' of elite texts, which allows for applicability to other contexts beyond the thesis (Creswell & Poth, 2025, p.288, p.295). This thesis uses critical cases with tech elites of Elon Musk and Jeff Bezos to provide in-depth descriptions of these imaginaries. Likewise, this uses data triangulation to collect data from various contexts over time (Reisigl & Wodak, 2017, p.89; Wodak & Meyer, 2017, p.32). Together with background data on the immediate and broader social context, this helps generate a 'thick description' of tech elites' imaginaries.

Moreover, (3) dependability is the need for the analysis to be consistent with tech elites' texts (Creswell & Poth, 2025, p.286, p.288). For this thesis, specific audit trails like analytical procedures and excerpts from the analysis are disclosed in this thesis (see Appendix Table 3). Together with the conceptual framework in the theory section, this ensures dependability and transparency of theoretical and analytical procedures and conduct (see Figures 1 and 2).

Lastly, (4) confirmability relates to reflexivity and the role of the researcher within research (Creswell & Poth, 2025, p.293). As such, this thesis explores and addresses biases related to the thesis procedure in relation to reflexivity and research bias (Creswell & Poth, 2025, p.288, p.293) (see 4.8 Ethical Considerations and 4.9.1 Methodical Limitations).

4.8 Ethical Considerations

As this thesis collects data from the internet, ethical concerns relate to the Internet Research Ethics (IRE) (Frankze et al., 2020, p.4, p.9).

Initially, ethics within IRE aims to ensure and protect confidentiality for vulnerable groups on the internet (Frankze et al., 2020, p.7). Thus, this thesis only

uses data from powerful individuals like Bezos and Musk and does not collect data related to vulnerable groups or individuals (Darian-Smith & McCarty, 2017, p.116-117). While important to ensure the confidentiality of research participants in general, this is difficult for public figures like tech elites (Hammersley, 2020, p.473). With Musk and Bezos being the more prolific and vocal on the issue, this thesis chooses not to anonymise these texts. To further ensure the confidentiality of research participants, this thesis focuses on data in the public domain. This involves data that tech elites publish themselves, e.g., tweets, or as part of organisations, e.g., speeches and interviews. Thus, data which would otherwise have been deemed sensitive, like political views, is now within the public domain that is published by themselves and/or by an organisation (Darian-Smith & McCarty, 2017, p.118-120).

Furthermore, as this thesis collects public data, it is not deemed necessary to obtain informed consent (Frankze et al., 2020, p.10; Hammersley, 2020, p.474-475). As research subjects publish data on platforms and agree to the terms and conditions, these conditions also allow for academic inquiry on this data (Macnish, 2020, p.245). The overall data collection procedure aligns with conditions on social media for collecting publicly available data on these sites (Frankze et al., 2020, p.14).

Another ethical concern relates to research's impact on society (Darian-Smith & McCarty, 2017, p.112-114). As this thesis is critical in scope and may itself produce ideology, this could generate harms such as loss of trust in academia for these groups (Darian-Smith & McCarty, 2017, p.115, p.121). This is also related to the power imbalance where the researcher has control over analysis and data collection (Hammersley, 2020, p.478-479). As such, there is a risk of researcher bias and lack of reflexivity within this thesis where findings could reflect the researcher's own social preconscious and ideology of and within academia (Gorup, 2020, p.523-524). While this thesis presupposes ideology within tech elites' texts, this approach, in contrast to other CDA, uses various data and contexts to avoid research bias (Gorup, 2020, p.523-524). Thus, to ensure

academic integrity, this thesis uses procedures like triangulation and audit trails for analytical procedures to ensure transparency (Darian-Smith & McCarty, 2017, p.112-114; Gorup, 2020, p.524). This thesis also minimizes the risk of violating academic integrity. Here, with the application of an interdisciplinary theoretical framework using argumentation and social theory (Gorup, 2020, p.524).

Lastly, this thesis has no commercial interests related to third-party sponsorship (Frankze et al., 2020, p.22).

4.9 Conclusion on Methodology Section

4.9.1 Limitations

There are several limitations with the DHA framework and its application.

First of all, this thesis focuses on tech elites' texts. Although this provides rich and non-reactive data on these actors' discourse, this type of data also lacks information on the specific context (Wodak & Meyer, 2016, p.21). While using general background data to understand the immediate social context, this also has limitations. This thesis mainly samples the broad social context with saturation sampling, which does not provide structured ways of exploring the social context of tech elites. Thus, this thesis overlooks the various social contexts wherein tech elites' texts were produced and distributed.

Secondly, another limitation relates to online and offline texts (KhosraviNik, 2014, p.288). This regards the limitation of online and offline representativity related to these imaginaries and ideologies within tech elites' discourse (KhosraviNik & Unger, 2016, p.213-215). While the traditional context of discourse is often unilinear, social media is reactive and non-linear (KhosraviNik & Unger, 2016, p.214). With ownership of X, Musk becomes both the producer and distributor of discourse (KhosraviNik, 2018, p.435). Thus, this limits this thesis, which treats these data and related text genres as within a similar context and comparable fields of actions.

Thirdly, there are limitations related to applying this methodology to emerging social groups like tech elites (Meyer, 2001, p.22). The DHA was developed for traditional political actors and discourse within fixed fields of action and text genres (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016, p.29; Wodak & Meyer, 2017, p.11). Similarly, the pragma-dialectical framework relates to critical discussion within traditional political debate rather than social media. Also, fields of action are still within traditional political institutions and genres (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016, p.29; Wodak & Meyer, 2017, p.11). While this distinction between fields is important to assess tech elites' discourse across text genres, this divide is not fixed and is changing within the current discourse. Especially when tech elites' speeches and interviews are also distributed on social media, highlighting the blurriness of these text genres (KhosraviNik, 2014, p.292). Hence, this pertains to issues with context and the fixed nature of these fields of action.

Lastly, there are also limitations with the traditional view on discourse within DHA (KhosraviNik & Unger, 2016, p.216-217). While social media is multimodal in scope, DHA is mostly monomodal in its inquiry into texts (Wodak & Meyer, 2016, p.4). Other data, like audiovisual data on statistics in Musk and Bezos texts, could thus provide for a deeper understanding of the multimodality of tech elites' discourses.

4.9.2 Summary

This methodology section has argued for the relevance of DHA as a methodology to address research gaps on tech elites. This helps to assess discursive change within tech elites' discourse and its relation to broader far-right imaginaries. The critical cases of Musk and Bezos help compare and contrast tech elites' imaginaries and evaluate the theory on this topic. This thesis adopts three levels for discourse analysis, which also helps examine tech elites' argumentation strategies to broader far-right imaginaries. To ensure trustworthiness, this thesis adopts data and theory triangulation and four contexts of tech elites' discourse. While most traditional ethical concerns are not relevant for tech elites, there are

concerns related to reflexivity. Then, limitations are mainly related to social media and comparability regarding text genres.

5. Analysis

This three-part analysis addresses each of the research questions within this thesis. The first part explores how Musk and Bezos justify social orders on celestial bodies. This critically assesses mainly argumentation strategies and related fallacies within utopian and dystopian imaginaries of tech elites. Then, the second part examines the relationship between texts and discourses with a focus on Musk's later texts. Lastly, the third part investigates the far-right imaginaries and related sociohistorical contexts of these within Musk's texts.

5.1 Argumentation Analysis

5.1.1 Dystopian Imaginaries

Initially, tech elites' texts during 2016-2022 commonly draw upon the notion of dystopian futures related to Earth. One of these scenarios from Jeff Bezos highlights the future energy crisis.

- *“Now, if you take baseline energy usage, globally across the whole world, and compound it at just a few percent a year for just a few hundred years, you have to cover the entire surface of the Earth in solar cells. So that's the real energy crisis [...].” (Bezos, 2018).*

This quote underscores Bezos' focus on the future energy crisis. This conclusion essentially provides evidence for the standpoint of energy crisis, where a few percent per year increase in energy would require solar cells covering the Earth's surface (Bezos, 2018). Hence, it could in this context be considered reasonable within critical discussion as Bezos provides evidence for his conclusion (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016, p.35-36). However, Bezos uses this crisis event within other statements. This relates to the next quote from Bezos, which justifies the need for outer space.

- *“So, we get to choose. Do we want stasis and rationing or do we want dynamism and growth? This is an easy choice. We know what we want. We just have to get busy if we are out in the solar system.” (Bezos, 2019)*

In this statement, Bezos frames the energy crisis in terms of two scenarios. (1) stasis and rationing are the continuation of the energy crisis if not acted upon. Then, (2) dynamism and growth become realized if going to outer space (Bezos, 2019). This statement and conclusion from Bezos essentially relate to the topics of threat and the fallacy of false dilemma (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992, p.190-191; Wodak, 2001, p.75). Here, Bezos highlights the threat of stasis and rationing, which becomes a danger if not going to outer space (Wodak, 2001, p.75). This becomes a dystopian imaginary with far future stasis and rationing on Earth. While Fernando (et al. 2023, p.45) specifically address tech-utopia to solve collective resource issues, this statement from Bezos also highlights how tech elites justify going to outer space within dystopian imaginaries. With eventual resource scarcity, this threat is imagined as the worst-case trajectory of the current social order if not going to outer space (Sargisson, 2012, p.9, p.13). Ultimately, this becomes a critique of society on Earth with a dystopian imaginary of the continuation of the current society.

Based on van Eemeren & Grootendorst (1992, p.190-191), this argumentation from Bezos becomes fallacious with the use of a false dilemma. Essentially, this becomes framed as a false dilemma of ‘either or’ scenario where the first scenario obscures all alternatives being deemed undesirable beforehand (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992, p.190-191). Thus, this leaves the concluding speaker's alternative of going to outer space as the only valid standpoint. This thus further obscures multiple possibilities or middle ways to justify going to outer space (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992, p.190-191).

Furthermore, this choice between these two futures is related to the next generation, as shown in the following quote.

- *“We have to use the resources of space. We must have a future for our grandchildren and their grandchildren of dynamism. We cannot let them fall prey to stasis and rationing.” (Bezos, 2019).*

Within this statement, Bezos' future dystopian scenario on Earth becomes associated with far future generations (Bezos, 2019). As within previous statements, this further underlines the topos of threat, although here with the fallacy of argumentum ad populum (van Eesterhoven & Grootendorst, 1987, p.286-287). Essentially, this fallacy is utilized by Bezos to defend the argument of going to outer space with 'non-argumentation'. As such, he plays on the emotional bias of the audience with emphasis on threat for far future generations (van Eesterhoven & Grootendorst, 1987, p.286-287). Thus, this argumentation strategy omits his alternative of going into outer space from being scrutinized and avoids responsibility for these actions.

More broadly, this dystopian imaginary is complementary to the utopian imaginary, being tied to American exceptionalism (Billings, 2007, p.484). Essentially, this relates to the myth of the frontier as a place of continual progress that ensures exceptionalism of progress, pioneering, and innovation (Johnson, 2024, p.174). In this utopian imaginary, Bezos frames outer space as resource-rich with unlimited resources (Sargisson, 2012, p.7; Johnson, 2024, p.174). This juxtaposes the threat to future generations, where Bezos suggests future downward social mobility. This relates to overall values of progress based on previous generations' increasing living standards, as Western-coded values of progress like dynamism are under threat (Billings, 2007, p.484; Bezos, 2019). Similarly, this also relates to the threat of future dystopia without innovation and thus stagnation, which also threatens the values tied to progress and pioneering (Billings, 2007, p.484). As such, the alternative of stasis and rationing becomes associated with regulation and a more authoritarian future dystopia on Earth (Billings, 2007, p.484; Bezos, 2018).

Thus, this underlines the ideological perspectivization of how tech elites like Bezos self-position either as saviour or victim within discourse on outer space

(Wodak, 2001, p.73; Jansson, 2018, p.84, p.88). Bezos frames the future generations on Earth to be innocent and the future hope for Earth (Bezos, 2019; Johnson, 2024, p.181-182). This is juxtaposed to become a victim and fall prey to stasis based on the eventual future threat to society (Jansson, 2018, p.84, p.88; Bezos, 2019). Although when Bezos emphasizes innocence and victimhood, this perspectivization obscures the historical and current role, actions, and ultimately responsibility of tech elites (Johnson, 2024, p.181-182). Also, this perspectivisation is not mitigated within discourse but instead intensified with the obligation to go to outer space (Bezos, 2019). Thus, this relates to the moral obligation to save civilisation and humanity (Wodak, 2001, p.73). Tech elites ultimately frame themselves and others as both innocent and benign to self-position as saviours or victims to avoid responsibility for actions (Jansson, 2018, p.84, p.88). Essentially, this is used by Bezos to reproduce colonial notions to further critique current society and social order within utopian and dystopian imaginaries regarding outer space.

Similar to Bezos, other tech elites also proclaim future threats related to Earth in discourse. Then, within the next quote from Elon Musk, this centres on the alternative futures and scenarios tied to Earth.

- *“History is going to bifurcate along two directions. One path is we stay on Earth forever and then there will be some eventual extinction event. I do not have an immediate doomsday prophecy, but eventually history suggests there will be some doomsday event. The alternative is to become a space-faring civilization and a multiplanet species.” (Musk, 2016)*

This statement from Musk underscores the future risk of an apocalyptic event on Earth where the only alternative is to go to outer space (Musk, 2016). Within this text, Musk frames the overall issue in relation to topos of history (Wodak, 2001, p.76). Also, this statement relates to the fallacies of false dilemma and ambiguity (van Eesterhoven & Grootendorst, 1987, p.292; van Eemeren & Grootendorst 1992, p.202). According to Musk, the risk of an extinction event is framed as part

of history (Wodak, 2001, p.76). With history suggesting there will be such an event, Musk intensifies the argumentation, emphasising its inevitability.

Based on van Eemeren & Grootendorst (1992, p.202), this argumentation is deemed unreasonable in relation to the fallacy of ambiguity. Thus, Musk becomes ambiguous within this standpoint without specific evidence on the type of extinction event and logical causation related to this event (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992, p.202-204). Similarly, this exemplifies the linguistic feature of nominalization (Fairclough, 2003, p.13). With nouns like doomsday event, Musk obscures the overall process related to this event (Fairclough, 2003, p.13). This highlights how tech elites within discourse obscure responsibility and agency through nominalization and ambiguity regarding outer space.

Similar to Bezos, this argumentation scheme is also related to the false dilemma (van Eesterhoven & Grootendorst, 1987, p.292). Musk uses the scenario of an extinction event to suggest that all other alternatives are undesirable (van Eesterhoven & Grootendorst, 1987, p.292). This only leaves the concluding alternative as the only valid standpoint, which, like Bezos, neglects and obscures multiple possibilities and middle ground alternatives (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992, p.190-191). Musk further intensifies this argumentation when he suggests that history is bi-directional (Musk, 2016). This reflects the false dilemma, where going to outer space is framed as the only alternative.

Lastly, while Bezos mainly intensifies statements, this contrasts with Musk's claim of not having a doomsday prophecy (Musk, 2016). This specific phrase from Musk then denies the previous premise of the extinction event, which mitigates commitment and ultimately avoids responsibility (van Eesterhoven & Grootendorst, 1987, p.287-288; Wodak, 2001, p.73). While Bezos provides evidence for the threat of an energy crisis, Musk mitigates commitment to a doomsday prophecy, showcasing a more intricate use of discursive strategies. This also underscores the contrast between these tech elites. With Musk's more extreme values, he obscures his role and mitigates his commitment to justify the need to go to outer space. While Bezos intensifies his statements, he also provides

reasonable evidence for his standpoints. Thus, this highlights the difference between tech elites within discourse on outer space regarding discursive strategies.

5.1.2 Utopian Imaginaries

Related to previously mentioned dystopian imaginaries, tech elites' texts during 2016-2022 also draw upon utopian imaginaries in discourse. Initially, one of these utopian imaginaries relates to Earth as a future utopia. In the following statement by Bezos, he focuses on the desirable future of Earth by going to outer space.

- *“[...] if we move out into the solar system for all practical purposes, we have unlimited resources [...] we can have a trillion humans in the solar system which means we would have a thousand Mozarts and a thousand Einsteins. This would be an incredible civilization [...] Earth ends up zoned residential and light industry [...] it'll be a beautiful place [...] we get to preserve this unique gem of a planet.” (Bezos, 2019).*

This statement highlights Bezos's future society with an abundance of resources on Earth and beyond in outer space (Bezos, 2019). In this text, Bezos frames this issue in terms of the topos of usefulness and the fallacy of argumentum ad consequentiam (van Eesterhoven & Grootendorst, 1987, p.289; Wodak, 2001, p.74). He justifies the need for outer space based on the desirability of the outcome (Wodak, 2001, p.74). However, the acceptability of going to outer space is based on the favourable outcome of unlimited resources (van Eesterhoven & Grootendorst, 1987, p.289). Thus, the desirable consequence of unlimited resources in outer space itself does not prove the acceptability of going there (van Eesterhoven & Grootendorst, 1987, p.289). Essentially, this might further obscure the role of tech elites in the process of going to outer space, where the resources and costs related to space travel itself are neglected.

Furthermore, other celestial bodies of outer space are tied to utopian imaginaries. This is highlighted in the next statement from Musk, which relates to Mars.

- *[...] We need to accelerate progress towards fully reusable rockets [...] for there to be a self-sustaining city on Mars". (Musk, 2020).*

In this text, Musk argues for a future civilization on Mars, which necessitates the technological acceleration of space technology. Similar to Bezos, this also highlights the topos of usefulness as well as the fallacy of argumentum ad consequentiam (Van Eesterhoven & Grootendorst, 1987, p.289; Wodak, 2001, p.74). Here, Musk justifies going to outer space and accelerating technology based on the desirability of the outcome (Wodak, 2001, p.74). Similarly, this relates to the fallacy of argumentum ad consequentiam (van Eesterhoven & Grootendorst, 1987, p.289). The desirability of a self-sustaining city does not provide evidence for the acceptability of going to outer space (van Eesterhoven & Grootendorst, 1987, p.289; Musk, 2020). Like Bezos, this obscures the process of going to outer space and establishing civilisation in outer space itself.

More broadly, these imaginaries within tech elites' discourse especially relate to the ideological perspectivisation of tech-libertarianism (Wodak, 2001, p.73; Lynch, 2017, p.84-85). This essentially highlights the future utopia of outer space as both a place of continual progress as well as beyond state regulation (Lynch, 2017, p.84-85). In the case of Musk, this especially ties to colonial notions with focus on independence and a deregulated utopian enclave on Mars (Billings, 2007, p.484; Lynch, 2017, p. p.84-85). Meanwhile, Bezos instead emphasizes colonial values of progress with the utopia based on Earth, with outer space as an unlimited resource. This highlights the difference between these actors regarding justification for social orders on celestial bodies. This also agrees with the thesis's expectations, which expected these two to be different and contrasting imaginaries tied to outer space.

Overall, this part of the analysis highlights the interdependent visions of utopian and dystopian imaginaries to critique current society on Earth (Sarginson, 2012, p.8-9). While Fernando et al. (2023, p.45) explore tech-utopia, which aims to solve collective resource issues, findings related to Bezos showcase both utopian and dystopian imaginaries tied to resource abundance and scarcity to critique the

current order. This also highlights how both utopian and dystopian imaginaries reproduce colonial notions and values like American exceptionalism, as promises or threats to these values in the future. As such, these texts from Musk and Bezos during the 2016-2022 period justify tech-libertarianism as a social order (Lynch, 2017, p.84-85).

Then, the next part of the analysis further explores the tech elites' texts within Musk's discourse on outer space.

5.2 Recontextualization Analysis

This section of the analysis explores the intertextual and interdiscursive elements regarding Musk's texts. With a focus on the 2022-2026 time period, this part of the analysis critically assesses the discursive change across text genres within Musk's current texts. This thus explores new text genres of tweets.

Initially, this section explores the macro-topics related to the 'end of the world' announcement during 2022-2026. This relates to the previous Musk's focus on the doomsday event discussed in the prior section (Musk, 2016). In more recent texts, Musk highlights new threats from the government.

- *"I think we should be maybe a little bit concerned about uh actually becoming too much of a single world government um if I may say that. We want to avoid creating a civilizational risk [...] too much cooperation between governments. If you look at the rise and fall of civilisations throughout history, civilisations have risen and fallen, but it hasn't meant the doom of humanity as a whole, because they have been given all these separate civilisations that were separated by great distance." (Musk, 2023a).*

This statement showcases how Musk frames this macro-topic of 'end-of-the-world' announcement with a focus on world government (Musk, 2023a). Similar to the previous statement in 2016, he justifies the threat of this world government based on the topos of history (Wodak, 2001, p.76). Although here, he instead utilizes the fallacy of slippery slope (van Eesterhoven & Grootendorst, 1987,

p.290; van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992, p.164). This topos of history is utilized to frame previous separation between civilisations as related to preventing civilisational collapse. This topos is then based on the threat of world government (Musk, 2023a). This relates to the fallacy of the slippery slope. Here, Musk's previous statement exemplifies this fallacy, where the action of current cooperation leads to a negative spiral of consequences for humanity (van Eesterhoven & Grootendorst, 1987, p.290; van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992, p.164; Musk, 2023a). However, this chain of consequences is not itself provided evidence for but instead framed as inevitable and negative (van Eesterhoven & Grootendorst, 1987, p.290; van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992, p.164). This might indicate how Musk realizes and transforms discourse related to the topics of 'end of the world' announcement from different genres across time. From previous focus on the extinction event, Musk now instead emphasises the more specific civilisational threat of world government (Musk, 2016). This becomes more intensified within argumentation than in the counterpart in 2016, where the fallacy of slippery slope associates this event with direct negative consequences for the entire civilisation.

Relatedly, within new genres of tweets, this again suggests how Musk, over time, recontextualizes the 'end-of-the-world' announcement topic within new media. As within the next statement related to the issue of wokeism.

- *“Unless it is stopped, the woke mind virus will destroy civilization and humanity will never reach Mars.” (Musk, 2022).*

Within this text, Musk frames the woke mind virus as an urgent issue for going to Mars (Musk, 2022). Hence, this text could be related to the topos of urgency as well as the fallacy of slippery slope (van Eesterhoven & Grootendorst, 1987, p.290; van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992, p.164; Wodak, 2009, p.44). This text highlights the topos of urgency with the focus on the present and immediate threat of the woke mind virus, with negative consequences for humanity related to never reaching Mars (Musk, 2022). Thus, Musk ultimately juxtaposes Mars as a utopia being under urgent threat, which further necessitates exceptional actions to stop

wokeism (Wodak, 2009, p.44). However, this also relates to the fallacy of the so-called slippery slope (van Eesterhoven & Grootendorst, 1987, p.290; van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992, p.164). This is framed as a negative spiral of consequences for humanity, being unable to reach Mars. Musk then assumes causality and inevitability between events without providing evidence for these consequences or how stopping the woke mind virus will alleviate these consequences (van Eesterhoven & Grootendorst, 1987, p.290; van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992, p.164). This fallacy is used to justify exclusionary and immediate actions of stopping the woke mind virus as an urgent threat to humanity, which thus invalidates the opponents' alternative standpoints to that of Musk.

Moreover, within the following statement, Musk focuses on direct actions related to wokeism.

- [...] *The woke mind virus is a parasite that kills its host. It must be eliminated. (Musk, 2023c).*

In this text, Musk focuses on the woke mind virus, as a threat, which needs to be eliminated (Musk, 2023c). This could be related to the topos of definition and fallacy of ad baculum (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992, p.109-110; Wodak, 2001, p.75). Essentially, the previous use of the woke mind virus implies the assigned meaning of a fixed characteristic. Musk specifically uses the metaphor of a virus and a parasite (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016, p.33; Musk, 2023c). Then, this becomes negatively associated with being contagious and framed as a present disease to humanity. Likewise, this also presupposes actions regarding diseases that relate to a cure via eliminating the virus. However, this also relates to the fallacy of ad baculum. This is the variant that bans the topic from further discussion, where Musk threatens the opponent for raising alternative standpoints (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992, p.108). This ultimately further obscures the discussion on outer space and its role, instead focusing on the threat of wokeism.

This is further elaborated upon in the next quotes by Musk regarding wokeism in the present society.

- “[...] *The disaster that is downtown SF, once beautiful and thriving, now a derelict zombie apocalypse, is due to the woke mind virus.*” (Musk, 2023b).
- *“I hope the public is starting to understand just how evil & dangerous the woke mind virus is to our civilization – it is suicidal.”* (Musk, 2024).

In these statements, Musk highlights the previously thriving city of SF, i.e., San Francisco, which has become derelict and a zombie plague (Musk, 2023b). Likewise, Musk further proclaims wokeism to be a threat with evil intent to humanity (Musk, 2024). This in turn could be related to the topos of threat as well as fallacies such as argumentum ad hominem and straw man (van Eesterhoven & Grootendorst, 1987, p.284-285; Wodak, 2001, p.75). Initially, wokeism poses a threat of being suicidal, which becomes directly related to the current society, like San Francisco (Wodak, 2001, p.75). However, this also relates to ad hominem, where this variant focuses on the opponent’s character and credibility (van Eesterhoven & Grootendorst, 1987, p.284-285). The metaphor of mind virus depicts the opponent as inherently bad and unreliable, being both contagious and threatening (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016, p.33). Then, this also frames the opponent as being evil and dangerous to civilisation, which further discredits the motives of the opponent (van Eesterhoven & Grootendorst, 1987, p.284-285). Then, related to the fallacy of straw man, this is committed by Musk when he refers to the opponent as a fictitious non-group, where the standpoint becomes exaggerated and attributed extreme values (van Eesterhoven & Grootendorst, 1987, p.286). Essentially, this fallacy of ad hominem highlights how this statement focuses on discrediting and negatively labelling the opponent's character and motives, rather than addressing or debating the de facto standpoint of the opponent (van Eemeren et al., 2009, p.53). As such, the fallacy of straw man makes the opponent’s standpoint more easily attackable via fictitious non-group and overexaggeration of the opponent’s standpoint (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992, p.127-128).

Relatedly, this wokeism is also tied to threats of technology. Like in the next statement from Musk, which focuses on the new technology of A.I.

- *“Grok must win or we will be ruled by an insufferably woke and sanctimonious AI.” (Musk, 2026).*

This quote highlights the imagined future of woke A.I., which juxtaposes Musk’s own A.I. (Musk, 2026). This essentially relates to the topos of threat and the fallacy of false dilemma (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992, p.190-191; Wodak, 2001, p.75; Bezos, 2019). Musk emphasizes the threat of A.I., although here he focuses on how wokeism has become part of this technology (Wodak, 2001, p.75). However, Musk frames the future as a false dilemma with an ‘either or’ scenario where his alternative is the only valid (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992, p.190-191). Thus, all other alternatives become a threat, which only leaves Musk’s concluding standpoint deemed desirable. This thus aims to justify extreme and exceptional actions to accelerate technology based on the premise of woke A.I. (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992, p.190-191).

Lastly, these imaginaries do not only tie to present and future events of wokeism, but also other events and traumas related to past events like Apollo.

- *“[...] Repeating Apollo would just be a sad remake of a great 60’s movie. We need to go far beyond Apollo and make life multiplanetary with Mars.” (Musk, 2025).*

This statement draws upon the topic of the Apollo, where Musk underscores the negative aspects of repeating this event (Musk, 2025). This essentially highlights the topos of uselessness, as well as the fallacy of argumentum ad populum (van Eesterhoven & Grootendorst, 1987, p.287; Wodak, 2001, p.74). Here, this initially ties to the allusion of the Apollo space mission (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016, p.33). This event is negatively labelled, where Musk frames it as a mere remake of previous American events (Wodak, 2001, p.74). However, this becomes related to the fallacy of argumentum ad populum (van Eesterhoven & Grootendorst, 1987, p.287). Musk frames the Apollo event as historical trauma where humanity has not gone beyond the Moon, which justifies the overall need to go to outer space (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2025, p.3). While Musk draws upon historical trauma,

this becomes a non-argument where the reasons behind going to outer space are obscured. This reflects how tech elites' discourse also uses past events within utopian and dystopian imaginaries rather than being exclusively future-oriented.

Overall, this section highlights the discursive change during 2022-2026 in Musk's texts. His early texts and related dystopian imaginaries focus on more abstract and future threats. Then, during the 2022-2026 time period, Musk's end-of-the-world topic becomes focused on the present dystopian threat of wokeism in the current society. This specific change in tech elites' discourse is further explored in the following section.

5.3. Sociohistorical Analysis

This section of the analysis explores both the immediate and broader social context of Musk's texts. Specifically, this examines utopian and dystopian imaginaries situated within text genres like tweets tied to the NRx movement and the radical Right. This discursive change becomes divided into 2016-2022 and 2022-2026 regarding the 'end of the world' topic within Musk texts, which draws upon the concept of critical dystopia. Also, this section relates to the colonial notions of promises and urgent threats to American exceptionalism. Lastly, this section discusses how Musk's imaginaries challenge the current social order.

Firstly, this section explores how Musk's 'end-of-the-world' topic has changed over time. This discursive change in this thesis is understood as related to critical dystopia (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2025, p.2). As such, Musk's more dystopian imaginaries over time function as a critique of the current social order framed as global managerialism (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2025, p.5). This discursive change is understood to be related to the initial 2016-2022 era and then situated within the later Twitter/X 2022-2026 time period. This part of the analysis covers the immediate and broader social context. This explores the discursive shift from abstract extinction event to single world government, and eventually woke mind virus and woke A.I. within Musk's texts.

5.3.1 Global Managerialism as Single World Government

The first recontextualization, from extinction event to single world government, highlights how Musk's dystopian imaginaries become a specific critique of the current social order framed as global managerialism (Musk, 2023a; Abrahamsen & Williams, 2025, p.2).

First of all, the discursive change from extinction event to single world government relates to a shift between text genres within fields of action (Reisigl & Wodak, 2017, p.91). This shift relates to the fields of organisational advertising and international relations. The 'end-of-the-world' topic in Musk texts became, during 2016-2022, framed as an extinction event (Musk, 2016). This is realized within the field of organisational advertising within the text genre of speech at international congresses. Specifically, this topic and framing are realized during the 2016 67th International Astronautical Congress (IAC) in Mexico (IAF, 2016). This event primarily focuses on inviting global space sectors and industry to network and present new research or technology. This is held by the International Astronautical Federation (IAF), being a leading space advocacy body that holds yearly IACs for the space tech industry (IAF, 2026). Essentially, this highlights how the initial topic of 'end-of-the-world' announcement was framed to the audience of the space and tech industry. As such, Musk thus mainly advertises his SpaceX, where this spectacular apocalyptic event necessitates acceleration for space technology.

In the field of international relations, Musk instead uses the phrase of the single world government (Reisigl & Wodak, 2017, p.91; Musk, 2023b). This is first specifically mentioned in Musk's interview during the 2023 World Government Summit (WGS) in Dubai (Musk, 2016; Musk, 2023a). This event focuses on governance issues like outer space, with representatives from heads of state and ministers, as well as private sector leaders (WGS, 2026a; WGS, 2026b). Essentially, Musk addresses his imaginaries on outer space to governments and their representatives within this text genre. Thus, this becomes a criticism of the overall global order and global actors for not solving global issues (Vohnsen,

2024, p.81-82). This contrasts with the discourse during the 2016-2022 time period. Instead, during 2022-2026, Musk directs blame towards the current global order of nation-states framed as single world government (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2025, p.2). This ultimately ties to a critical dystopia. This critique of nation-state cooperation becomes part of a broader critique of global managerialism as inevitable regulation and management of social life (Musk, 2023a; Abrahamsen & Williams, 2025, p.5).

5.3.2 Global Managerialism as Woke Mind Virus and Woke A.I.

The second recontextualization relates to previous statements on wokeism (Musk 2022; Musk 2026). These statements are within the first field of action, being the formation of public attitude, opinion, and will (Reisigl & Wodak, 2017, p.91). This discursive change highlights how Musk's dystopian imaginaries become more urgent, critiquing the current social order as global managerialism (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2025, p.2).

First, this discursive shift towards topics on the woke mind virus could be addressed in the context of social media. Specifically, this later period of 2022-2026 relates to critical dystopia tied to far-right imaginaries. The 'end of the world' topic changes within text genres like tweets. Regarding the digital platform of Twitter/X, this was already bid upon back in April 2022 until the 27th of October of the same year, when Musk finalized the takeover of Twitter and later renamed it X (Clayton & Hoskins, 2022). This takeover and control over X also converge with the discursive change related to Musk. Increasingly, after the takeover, focus within Musk's texts relates to the threat of wokeism. Here, Musk's critique of wokeism becomes part of a broader global culture war online to challenge global managerialism (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2025, p.2, p.6). Thus, this is linked to the overall global culture wars within online fora where tech elites like Musk act as political entrepreneurs within the radical Right, where dystopian imaginaries critique the social order of global managerialism (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2025, p.6, p.9).

Furthermore, in contrast to previous extinction event statements, this discursive change to wokeism intensifies the previous topic and related argumentation. As mentioned earlier, previous tech elites' dystopian imaginaries were more future-oriented, whereas recently Musk frames dystopian imaginaries as being set in the present (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2025, p.5). With phrases like derelict and zombie apocalypse, this discourse focuses on the present threat of dystopia being already here and could be anywhere (Musk, 2023b; Abrahamsen & Williams, 2025, p.5). This further highlights the use of critical dystopia where Musk frames wokeism as inevitable, contagious, and globally spread out (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2025, p.5). Thus, this highlights the urgent nature of these imaginaries and critiques related to the current social order of global managerialism (Abrahamsen & Williams, p.5).

Relatedly, this more sociocultural aspect of the critique also becomes related to technology with Musk's dystopian imaginaries regarding woke A.I. (Musk, 2026). This highlights the focus on the critique of global managerialism as management via technology (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2025, p.5). This then becomes part of a critique towards the 'soft totalitarianism' of wokeism to result in inevitable regulation of all social life (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2025, p.5). As such, this essentially highlights how Musk's discourse draws upon neo-reactionary(ism) of both utopian and dystopian imaginaries to accelerate technology (Ranger & Ranger, 2025, p.298-299). This is emphasised in the use of false dilemma in Musk's emphasis on either Grok or woke A.I. (Musk, 2026). This reflects the broader ideological perspectivisation of NRx imaginaries, where the dichotomy of either rejection or approval of technological advancement is believed to save humanity from stagnation (Ranger & Ranger, 2025, p.298-299). Thus, Musk legitimizes the need for outer space and means of technology via technological acceleration to avoid the doomed nature of woke A.I. (Ranger & Ranger, 2025, p.299-301; Musk, 2026).

Ultimately, this discursive change essentially highlights the shift from previous tech-libertarianism to neo-reactionary(ism) within Musk's texts. This reflects how

Musk's dystopian imaginaries draw upon different critiques in the present, such as woke mind virus and woke A.I., which relate to both radical Right and NRx imaginaries (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2025, p.5; Ranger & Ranger, 2025, p.298-299). Essentially, these dystopian imaginaries are also contingent upon his utopian imaginaries tied to Mars and A.I. (Musk, 2025; Musk, 2026). Thus, Musk justifies exceptional actions to accelerate technology by going to Mars with dystopian imaginaries of the present and the urgent threat of wokeism, either as a virus or A.I.

5.3.3 Critical Dystopia and American Exceptionalism

In relation to colonial notions, this further highlights the shift from tech-libertarianism to neo-reactionary(ism) during 2022-2026 in Musk's text. In particular, within Musk's texts where focus is placed on the urgent threats to American exceptionalism.

With previous examples of woke mind virus and woke A.I, this highlights the focus on present threats to American values of progress and innovation tied to going to outer space (Billings, 2007, p.484). In particular, these are framed as urgent threats to stagnation and become a critique towards the inevitable management of global managerialism as present dystopia (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2025, p.5).

Another element within this urgent threat to American exceptionalism is Musk's focus on past events regarding outer space, like Apollo (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2025, p.3). In Musk's case, this becomes again tied to the more ideological perspectivisation within critical dystopia. As such, he draws upon critical dystopia to evoke the trauma of not going beyond the Moon (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2025, p.3; Musk, 2025). This becomes a critique of the present dystopia of technological management and overregulation, which directly relates to 'historical traumas' to repeat Apollo. Thus, this imaginary is essentially tied to present threats to values of American exceptionalism regarding technological advancement and progress within outer space (Billings, 2007, p.484). Musk also focuses on the promise of American values with Mars as a new frontier and

utopia. This is utilized to alleviate the historical trauma to repeat Apollo and go beyond to Mars. Thus, Musk draws upon the roles of the victim and saviour with promises and urgent threats, which justify the need to go to outer space.

Overall, this discursive shift during 2022-2026 in Musk's texts highlights both promises and urgent threats within neo-reactionary(ism) to critique and challenge the current social order. This also highlights how Musk draws upon past events related to outer space as part of the far-right ideology tied to critical dystopia.

5.3.4 Challenge to the Neoliberal 'Anti-Utopian Project'

Lastly, Musk's neo-reactionary(ism) with critical dystopia challenges the current social order of neoliberalism as well as overall utopian and dystopian imaginaries (Sargisson, 2012, p.10-11; Seyferth, 2019, p.5-6). While traditional utopian and dystopian imaginaries of early modernity become fixed and exclusively future-oriented, Musk's imaginaries are more present-oriented (Sargisson, 2012, p.10-11; Seyferth, 2019, p.5-6). This could be highlighted in Musk's dystopian imaginaries during 2022-2026, which are reflexive in terms of scale. These could be local, as with the zombie apocalypse and woke mind virus in San Francisco, or international between governments of a single world government (Musk, 2016; Musk, 2023b). Also, these imaginaries are global with a focus on stagnation of civilisation with the technology of woke A.I., and extraplanetary with Apollo (Musk, 2025; Musk, 2026). Thus, rather than ideal and abstract counterparts, these imaginaries related to critical dystopia highlight the reflexive nature of these tied to various contexts and situations over time, focused on the present nature of current dystopia (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2025, p.2, p.6). Thus, critical dystopias could ultimately challenge the 'anti-utopian project' of the current social order (Seyferth, 2019, p.5-6; Abrahamsen & Williams, 2025, p.6, p.9). Whereas current social order mainly colonizes the future, imaginaries tied to critical dystopia colonize the present and past (Seyferth, 2019, p.5-6; Abrahamsen & Williams, 2025, p.2). Thus, Musk draws upon these imaginaries tied to past events to invoke 'historical traumas' to critique the current social order as a present dystopia (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2025, p.3). Similarly, this also manifests the

urgent threat to American exceptionalism, which justifies the need to go to outer space (Billings, 2007, p.484). As such, these aspects become a broader critique, where past events like Apollo reflect the stagnation of civilisation and the end of progress.

Overall, this essentially highlights how emerging groups like tech elites utilise critical dystopia to avoid traditional utopian and dystopian imaginaries. With critical dystopia, Musk provides alternatives beyond neoliberalism as an ‘anti-utopianist project’, to colonize the present and past. This thus also challenges neoliberalism as a social order (Seyferth, 2019, p.5-6).

6. Discussion

This section addresses the relevance and contribution of findings regarding tech elites' discourse. In dialogue with existing research on this topic, this highlights the social, theoretical, and literature relevance of this thesis. This also briefly examines shortcomings related to these findings.

6.1 Social Implications

Initially, these findings are of social relevance to the international community. This helps to understand and situate Musk as a political actor within social media. With tweets during 2022-2026 on wokeism, these mark his role as a political entrepreneur within radical Right and neo-reactionary movements (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2025, p.2; Ranger & Ranger, 2025, p.289-290). During this time period, Musk's texts on X explore more political and cultural issues in the current society on Earth. Essentially, these texts reflect critique on wokeism where Musk, as a political actor, participates in online global culture wars (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2025, p.2, p.6). This critique is ultimately utilized within discourse to challenge current society, where present dystopias on Earth are framed as a threat to going to outer space. This is utilized to justify exclusionary actions to eliminate wokeism (Musk, 2023c). As such, this analysis helps to understand tech elites' new role as a political actor within discourse regarding outer space. This thesis essentially

provides a better understanding of this issue for the international community to address and scrutinize these imaginaries as political ideologies. These far-right imaginaries justify the need for outer space to challenge current society on Earth and attack wokeism.

6.2 Theoretical Implications

In relation to the theory on this topic, these findings tied to Musk are also of academic relevance. The analysis from this thesis explores the concept of critical dystopia, where these findings have several theoretical implications. While far-right ideology and imaginaries draw upon cultural issues in society on Earth, these imaginaries within Musk's texts are extraplanetary in scope. This is exemplified with the use of 'historical traumas' in Musk's texts, like Apollo, where present dystopia extends to outer space (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2025, p.3). These findings could also be interpreted in relation to other research on critical dystopia and tech elites. With Taskale (2026, p.2), this study highlights the importance of exploring the contexts of these imaginaries to challenge society. This thesis's findings on Musk situate imaginaries of critical dystopia within tweets and thus complement previous research (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2025, p.2; Taskale, 2026, p.2). This helps to understand how tech elite imaginaries are recontextualized from different contexts like science fiction and social media, as well as extend to outer space as political space.

6.3 Literature Implications

Moreover, these findings on tweets from Musk have implications for literature within STS, utopian studies, and sociology. While previous literature relates to either retrotopia and anti-utopianism, this analysis helps contextualize current utopian and dystopian imaginaries like critical dystopia among emerging social groups of tech elites (Garforth, 2009, p.13; Bauman, 2017, p.6). As such, this helps to understand how neo-reactionary(ism), which situates within the present and past, could challenge current neoliberalism's mainly future-oriented outlook (Seyferth, 2019, p.5-6). This thesis also helps to reintegrate utopian and dystopian imaginaries as interdependent visions to critique the current social order.

Especially, tech-libertarianism critiques current society with a future dystopian and utopian imaginary to solve collective resource issues. Thus, this helps to reassess the relationship between utopian and dystopian imaginaries within tech elite discourse. Likewise, this helps to understand the present-oriented nature of new imaginaries like critical dystopia.

In relation to sociology, this thesis also helps to contribute to this discipline to go beyond the previous focus on neoliberalism (Dickens & Ormrod, 2007, p.615). With the example of Musk, this helps to contribute to the literature and address these imaginaries in relation to post-neoliberal ideology like neo-reactionary(ism), which challenges neoliberalism.

Another implication for literature relates to data triangulation within this thesis. With diachronic inquiry, this analysis helps to understand the differences among tech elites' discourse regarding outer space. Initially, both Musk and Bezos drew upon tech-libertarianism, whereas from 2022 to 2026, Musk used more critical dystopia and neo-reactionary(ism). Likewise, these tech elites also use different discursive strategies where Bezos provides evidence and intensifies statements, whereas Musk mitigates and evades evidence for statements. This highlights the relevance of assessing differences among the tech elites regarding discursive strategies. As such, this contributes to the literature on this topic to address differences among tech elites within discourse on outer space.

Ultimately, this also helps to contribute to decolonial literature. This thesis helps to integrate tech elites' use of both utopian and dystopian imaginaries tied to American exceptionalism. This thus further contributes to understanding the relevance of both utopian and dystopian imaginaries as interdependent visions in relation to various ideologies of tech elites.

6.4 Limitations of Analysis

This subsection explores the various limitations within the analysis related to the methodology and theory.

6.4.1 Methodological Limitations

Initially, the limited amount of background data on the broad social context of tech elites' discourse reduces the ability for a more in-depth inquiry and analysis of the sociohistorical context of tech elites' texts. While this thesis helps to understand the political event of Twitter/X acquisition, there is a need for more research and in-depth inquiry on the broad social, political, and historical events in relation to tech elites' discourse on outer space.

Another methodological limitation relates to the comparative analysis between Musk and Bezos, where this thesis only conducts diachronic analysis for Musk's texts. This also reduces the ability to compare findings and relate these to other contexts. Thus, there is a need for this type of analysis between these two cases, as well as other tech elites in Silicon Valley, to understand discursive change among these actors regarding outer space.

Lastly, other limitations relate to the application of the field of actions. With limited scope and empirical data related to tech elites within specific fields as well as text genres, this does not provide an exhaustive analysis of the discursive change within tech elites' texts. Thus, there is a need for the use of more fields of action and related text genres within future research.

6.4.2 Theoretical Limitations

Regarding theoretical limitations, this thesis and related analysis do not comprehensively adapt the pragma-dialectical and discursive strategies. With a limited amount of topoi and fallacies within this thesis's framework, this analysis lacks a more in-depth understanding of the argumentation strategies and fallacies within tech elites' discourse on outer space. There is thus a need to further explore more topoi and fallacies within tech elites' discourse on outer space.

Another theoretical limitation relates to the analysis and related theory, which in this thesis mainly focuses on the micro- and meso-levels of tech elites' discourse. While this thesis also assesses macro-level utopian and dystopian imaginaries regarding outer space, there is also a need for more macro-level understanding of

these discourses as part of late modernity and globalisation within macro-level frameworks.

7. Conclusion

Overall, this thesis uses and re-adapts the discourse-historical approach. This helps to address how tech elites, over time, justify discourse about outer space within utopian and dystopian imaginaries. This thesis focuses on Musk as the main case where Bezos contrasts Musk. The diachronic analysis focuses on Musk's texts between 2016-2022 and 2022-2026. This thesis critically assesses his texts across different text genres and in relation to broader far-right ideologies.

Firstly, this thesis answers the first research question: *1. How have tech elites' imaginaries over time justified social orders on celestial bodies within discourse?* This thesis highlights how both utopian and dystopian imaginaries within 2016-2022 tech elites' discourse are used to justify tech-libertarianism as a social order. The utopian imaginary constructs the need for going to outer space based on the desirable outcome of unlimited resources. This imaginary draws upon colonial notions of the new frontier beyond state regulation. In juxtaposition, the dystopian imaginary draws upon the threat of resource scarcity and 'end of the world' scenario on Earth. While both Musk and Bezos stress the need for outer space to justify tech-libertarianism, this thesis also highlights differences among tech elites. Musk justifies tech-libertarianism based on colonial values of independence on Mars and dystopian imaginaries of Earth within 'end of the world' scenarios. Bezos instead emphasizes the colonial values of progress with a future utopia based on Earth, with outer space as an unlimited resource. While Bezos intensifies and provides evidence for his justifications, Musk mitigates and avoids commitment to his statements. These findings help to stress the importance of assessing both utopian and dystopian imaginaries as part of tech elites' ideology in discourse on outer space. This also highlights the relevance of assessing differences among the tech elites and their discourse on outer space.

Then, this thesis answers the second research question: *2. How have these discourses been realized and transformed over time by tech elites across different text genres?* This thesis suggests a discursive shift in 2022-2026 from tech-libertarianism to neo-reactionary(ism) in Musk's texts. Early texts from Musk draw upon future dystopian imaginaries with an abstract 'end of the world' event on Earth. In 2022-2026 on X, his tweets shift focus to the urgent threat of wokeism on Earth. This thus highlights that dystopian imaginaries of Musk are set in the current society on Earth. From the previous focus on future dystopias, this implies a shift within Musk's dystopian imaginaries set in the present and in text genres on social media. In this discourse shift, Musk also draws upon past events like the Apollo mission, further highlighting a shift from previous future-oriented dystopian imaginaries. These findings are thus relevant for understanding new imaginaries among emerging social groups, like tech elites in text genres on social media.

Lastly, this thesis answers the third research question: *3. How do these discourses in turn reflect far-right imaginaries and the sociohistorical contexts of these to challenge social orders on celestial bodies?* This thesis suggests that Musk's 2022-2026 discourse ties with far-right imaginaries like neo-reactionary(ism), which challenge neoliberalism as a social order using critical dystopia. This relates to the key event of Musk's X takeover in 2022, which marks his 2022-2026 era. This entails how Musk becomes more active in the global culture war online on X and increasingly imagines society on Earth as the current dystopia. This becomes part of a broader critique of neoliberalism as global managerialism. This relates to the critique of the overregulation of current society, where wokeism becomes part of all aspects of social life. This is then justified by Musk to accelerate technology to go to Mars. This finding is of social relevance to understand how tech elites' imaginaries regarding outer space tie with far-right imaginaries within current political discourse. Moreover, Musk also extends critical dystopia into outer space by evoking the past trauma of not going beyond the Moon, which further challenges the current neoliberalism. This is also of

theoretical relevance to understand how critical dystopia as an imaginary extends into outer space to challenge society on Earth.

Ultimately, this thesis helps to understand how tech elites become political actors and use outer space as political space. With critical dystopia, this increasingly ties tech elites' imaginaries to the radical Right and NRx movements to challenge society on Earth.

8. Future Research

Based on this thesis, there are several areas for future research on tech elites' imaginaries regarding outer space.

Initially, future research on utopian and dystopian imaginaries could assess various multimodal data related to these discourses (Rheindorf, 2022, p.46). Thus, this provides for possibilities of assessing statistical data, images, and videos related to tech elites' discourse. This could also complement diachronic analysis regarding the tech elites to provide for a more in-depth inquiry into the discursive change among these actors regarding outer space.

Similarly, future research could also adopt methodical triangulation and conduct field research and ethnographic interviews (Wodak & Meyer, 2016, p.21). Here, online ethnographic observation and focus groups could be used to understand the emergence and change of discourse to complement existing data and analysis (Wodak & Meyer, 2017, p.18, p.28; Rheindorf, 2019, p.183).

As methodological and analytical limitations relate to the number of fields of action adopted and examined, future research could address utopian and dystopian imaginaries among tech elites by exploring more fields of action. Relatedly, future research could also assess other new text genres within social media to further understand the use of critical dystopia online in tech elites' discourse. Similarly, a more exhaustive inquiry into the pragma-dialectical framework and discursive strategies could contribute to a more in-depth understanding of tech elites' discourse about outer space. Relatedly, future research could also assess broader

social, political, and historical events tied to tech elites' discourse to understand the broad sociohistorical context of this discourse in relation to far-right ideology.

Lastly, in relation to the so-called 'Moon Race', future research could assess the new role of this celestial body within tech elites' imaginaries. This could help to continue assessing the discursive change in tech elites' discourses. Similarly, other celestial bodies like O'Neill colonies could also be assessed to further understand the role of these within tech elite discourse on outer space.

Final Comment

This thesis illustrates how outer space becomes political space within tech elites' discourse. Being tied to radical Right and neo-reactionary imaginaries on social media, this helps to understand how tech elites' discourse regarding outer space could challenge society on Earth. Thus, this thesis stresses the social and academic importance of understanding outer space as political space. Without this assessment and further scrutiny on this issue, these actors could further use space as a 'new' space to challenge the current society on Earth.

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Appendix

Table 3. Argumentation Analysis on Utopian and Dystopian Imaginaries among Tech Elites (adapted from Reisigl & Wodak, 2016, p.42-44)

Utopian and Dystopian Imaginaries among Tech Elites	
Discursive Strategies	Devices
<p>Nominations:</p> <p>Discursive construction of actors, processes, phenomena, events, objects et cetera.</p>	<p><i>Social Actors:</i></p> <p><i>Deictics:</i> We, I, you, they</p> <p><i>Concrete:</i> A.I., woke A.I., X</p> <p><i>Collectives/Metonyms:</i> ‘civilisation’, ‘single world government’, ‘collective consciousness’.</p> <p><i>Objects/Phenomena/Events:</i></p> <p><i>Concrete:</i> Apollo, Earth, Mars, technology (e.g. reusable space rockets)</p> <p><i>Collectives/Metonyms:</i> ‘extinction/doomsday event’, ‘civilisation of stasis’, ‘rationing’, ‘real energy crisis’[Earth], ‘self-sustaining city’ [Mars]</p> <p><i>Ideological matter:</i> threat and ‘end-of-world’ announcement [Earth], ‘stasis’, ‘stagnation’, and ‘derelict’ social order, saving humanity/Earth/civilisation/consciousness</p> <p><i>Processes/Actions:</i></p> <p><i>“[...] Making life multiplanetary on Mars really is about preserving the light of consciousness [...].” [Mars] Aug 3, 2025</i></p>

	<p><i>“[...] to achieve a fully self-sustaining civilization on Mars.”</i></p> <p><i>“[...] this generation builds the road to space [...]” [Earth]</i></p>
<p>Predictions:</p> <p>Discursive designation (positive or negative) of actors, processes, phenomena, events, objects et cetera.</p>	<p><i>Social Actors:</i></p> <p><i>We:</i> ‘light of consciousness’, ‘civilisation’, ‘humanity’, ‘future generations’, ‘collective consciousness.’</p> <p><i>Them:</i> ‘virus’, ‘mind virus’, ‘plague’ [wokeism],</p> <p>‘too much cooperation’ ‘single world government’ ‘woke A.I.’ [government, nation-states and IGOs]</p> <p><i>Objects/Phenomena/Events:</i></p> <p><i>Allusions:</i> “[...] probably one of the greatest achievements of humanity.” [Apollo]</p> <p><i>“[...] Repeating Apollo would just be a sad remake of a great 60’s movie.” [Apollo]</i></p> <p><i>Metaphors:</i> <i>“The woke mind virus propagates like cordyceps through government [...].” [wokeism, government]</i></p> <p>Feb 26, 2025</p> <p><i>“[...] The disaster that is downtown SF, once beautiful and thriving, now a derelict zombie apocalypse, is due to the woke mind virus.”</i></p> <p>[wokeism, Earth]</p> <p><i>Processes/Actions:</i></p>

	<p><i>“It's this generation’s job to build that road to space so that the future generations can unleash their creativity“ [Earth]</i></p> <p><i>“We should strive to extend the light of consciousness into the cosmos.” Jan 23, 2020</i></p> <p><i>“We have to preserve collective consciousness” [Mars]</i></p> <p><i>“Unless it is stopped, the woke mind virus will destroy civilization and humanity will never reached Mars.” [wokeism, Mars]</i></p>
<p>Argumentation: Validity claims related to truth and moral rightness</p>	<p><i>Claims of Truth:</i></p> <p><i>Topos of History</i></p> <p><i>“[...] history suggest doomsday event. The alternative is to become a space-faring civilization and a multiplanet species.”</i></p> <p><i>“[...] creating a civilizational risk [...] throughout history civilizations have risen and fallen but it hasn't meant the doom of humanity as a whole because they've been, they've been all these separate civilizations”</i></p> <p><i>Topos of Definition</i></p> <p><i>“I hope the public is starting to understand just how evil & dangerous the woke mind virus is to our civilization – it is suicidal.”</i></p> <p><i>“The woke mind virus is a parasite that kills its host. It must be eliminated.”</i></p> <p><i>Topos of Usefulness/Uselessness</i></p>

	<p><i>“[...] if we move out into the solar system for all practical purposes, we have unlimited resources [...] we can have a trillion humans in the solar system which means we would have a thousand Mozarts and a thousand Einsteins. This would be an incredible civilization [...]”</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Topos of Threat</p> <p><i>“[...] there will be some eventual extinction event.”[Earth]</i></p> <p><i>“[...] for a few hundred years, you have to cover the entire surface of the Earth in solar cells. So that's the real energy crisis [...]”</i></p> <p><i>“[...] we will eventually end up with a civilization of stasis [...]”</i></p> <p><i>“If we are too much of a single civilization then [...] the whole thing may collapse.”</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Topos of Urgency</p> <p><i>“Unless it is stopped, the woke mind virus will destroy civilization and humanity will never reach Mars.”</i></p> <p><i>“[...] We need to accelerate progress towards fully reusable rockets [...] for there to be a self-sustaining city on Mars.” [Mars]</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Claims of Normative Rightness:</i></p>
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	<p><i>“[...] We need to accelerate progress towards fully reusable rockets [...] for there to be a self-sustaining city on Mars.” [Mars]</i></p> <p><i>“We have to use the resources of space. We must have a future for our grandchildren and their grandchildren of dynamism. We cannot let them fall prey to stasis and rationing”</i> [Earth]</p> <p><i>“[...] becoming too much of a single world government [...] We want to avoid civilisational risk” [Earth]</i></p> <p><i>Fallacies: e.g. fallacy of false dilemma, ambiguity, ad hominem, ad baculum, ad populum, slippery slope et cetera</i></p>
<p>Perspectivization: Perspective(s) from the speaker in terms of distance and/or involvement</p>	<p><i>Ideological perspectives: American exceptionalism, tech-libertarianism, and neo-reactionary(ism)</i></p> <p><i>Self-position: (1) frame near future and/or present as threat to ‘civilisation’ and thus self-position as victims of dystopian social order on Earth (e.g. energy crisis, single world government, woke A.I. et cetera). Then, (2) frame themselves as benign saviors with an alternative optimistic future of ‘new frontiers’ and better social orders of utopias (outer space e.g. Mars and Earth as ‘self-sustaining city’ and ‘growth and dynamism’). These techno-</i></p>

	<p>logical solutions, i.e., technological acceleration, highlight a focus on saving humanity/civilisation from future and/or current dystopian social orders. Ultimately, (3) frame themselves as innovators and pioneers of continual progress and technological advancement. This is juxtaposed to the dystopian future or present social order and related actors with the utopia of ‘self-sustaining city’ on Mars or ‘growth and dynamism’ on Earth. This is to ultimately serve as a critique to transform the current social order (global managerialism)</p>
<p>Mitigation or Intensification: To mitigate or intensify the illocutionary force, i.e., intent of statements from the speaker</p>	<p><i>Epistemic</i> Mitigation: <i>“[...] some eventual extinction event, however far in the future that may be.” [Earth] Nov 8, 2019</i></p> <p><i>“I’m not obviously not suggesting war or anything like that, but I think we want to be a little bit wary of actually cooperating.”</i> Intensification: <i>“[...] history suggest doomsday event.”</i></p> <p><i>Deontic</i> Mitigation: <i>“I don't have an immediate doomsday prophecy“.</i> [Earth] Intensification:</p>

	<p><i>“[...] we must preserve the light of consciousness [...].” Jun 25, 2018</i></p> <p><i>“I don't want my great grandchildren's great grandchildren to live in a civilization of stasis [...].” [Earth]</i></p> <p><i>“We have to use the resources of space. We must have a future for our grandchildren and their grandchildren of dynamism. We cannot let them fall prey to stasis and rationing.”</i></p>
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