

## A Different Look at Post-Truth and Its Reflections in Political Communication

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## Abstract

Especially today it seems difficult to imagine contemporary election campaigns without voters' exposure to news from mass media such as radio and TV and newer media such as Facebook and Twitter. This work is aimed at expanding the available data and creating a better analysis to go beyond the previous literature. Because the world's media has a tremendous impact on the social conscience, this and its sub-elements form and change public opinion. The mass media is known under the name "Fourth Force ," referring to the original separation of powers theory of the famous French philosopher Montesquieu (2002). This article focuses on the effects and reflections of the concept of post-truth politics in political communication, which has emerged from a global perspective and is still popular in contemporary mass media, including the UK and the USA. It has become a political literature requirement to better analyze the post-truth among the concepts and understandings that manifest themselves especially in the context of the UK's debates on the exit from the European Union, and it is obvious that more studies should be done on this subject. Examining the nature of post-truth more carefully and evaluating it together with its features and linguistic realization tools can also be seen in the details of modern political interviews. The fact that the political interview represents an improvised speech that includes rules and question-answer sequences to inform the nominated audience reveals the difference that it is a common type of political discourse with two distinguished communicators. The fact that this communication is presented as the final addressee on current issues underlines the most distinctive feature. In this research, discourse analysis, pragmatic analysis and contextual analysis are the previously used methods that are focused on besides literature research.

**Keywords:** *Post-Truth, Post-Truth Discourse, Political Communication, Fake News, Political Discourse*

## 1. Introduction

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Post-truth is a term used to include ambiguous statements and evasion techniques, as well as deliberate concealment of information such as fake news and statements. <sup>1</sup>Based on the facts conveyed by the means of mass media, politics poses a threat to our reality. In other words, it is not a coincidence that the facts become completely relative, as we cannot trust any information we obtain in this case.

We see that the first reason for this is due to the widespread use of the internet today. In this case, the fact that many people from all over the world have been accessing this huge universal database since the beginning of the internet age reveals the conclusion that the internet is not just a digital repository of dozens of heritages. So, it is important that the internet is a comprehensive network where people can share their news, thoughts and ideas, events, information, experiences - their lives. Likewise, the fact that satellites provide instant access allows us to have an amazingly fast information transfer rate. As such, the fact that messages, text, audio, and video are transmitted so quickly helps us know what is going on far away. The perception of relying only on received information without any possibility of understanding or proof precedes an intuitive rather than a cognitive grasp. That is, intuition logic is linked to our psychic emotions, as it will not deal with arguments or facts. This includes stereotyping, analogical thinking, expressive attraction, nepotism and outgroup hostility, generalization, etc. It emerges as the second reason for the omnipotence of the mass media, as it is driven by ambivalent psychological concepts such as However, despite the fact that these concepts are far from being a real deterrent, their dependence on their ability to influence our minds and shape our thoughts globally causes the system of checks and balances to conflict with notions of the power of the media.

## 2. The Concept of Post-Truth Politics and Fake News Debates

The concept of post-truth politics is frequently used to explain the emergence of the fake news debate (Davies, 2016, 2019; Tillmans, 2018; Kakutani, 2018). The fact that most of the sources

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<sup>1</sup> Denisova, OK and Poznyak, LP (2014). A textbook on the style of the English language; The style of the English language. Irkutsk: IGLU.

and data in this vast literature belong to the Western mainstream media has led to the introduction of this word group into the literature, especially with the definition of those regions. However, the issue has also been extensively discussed by researchers in various academic disciplines such as political science (Barrera Rodriguez et al., 2017), discourse studies (Farkas & Schou, 2018; Angermuller, 2018), IT (Vosoughi et al., 2017) (Groebner, 2018).<sup>2</sup>The term's existence in both public and academic fields, as well as the way it is used (Hughes, 2016; Chadwick, 2017), strengthens the expression "establishment and consolidation of dominance" as well as its meaning "discourse towards post-truth confusion". We find that research and public debates often focus on specific aspects of this phenomenon, such as the threat of spreading fake news, technologies for spreading fake news, its sources, and means of countering or lying.

In our study, the fact that we examine the post-truth reconceptualization process(s) from its origins in leftist and liberal intellectual criticism of the media system in the 1980s to the early 2000s reminds the result that it reflects its repetition in the form of fake news in the elections, especially in terms of developed countries and their media. Post-truth is also a response to contemporary intellectual criticism in the context of science denial and because of both postmodern thought (its right-wing interpretation) and leftist ideology. For example, as a critique of the mainstream media's intertwining with and legitimizing the political establishment, the original concept of post-truth, rooted in the US American left and liberal intellectual space, brings transparency to the subject. Again, discussing the mainstream media's self-conceptualization as an actor and the ideological background of its position in the public sphere will provide further clarification. Because the fact that it deals with the social media chain within the fake news discourse shows the ambivalent point of view of the mainstream media towards these problematic online practices. Contemporary critique of post-truth and science denial are a problem from the perspectives of the mainstream media, liberal scholars, and the conservative/right-wing intelligentsia because of the left and postmodern intellectual tradition.

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<sup>2</sup> A similar characterization is possible from a philosophical point of view (McIntyre, 2015, 2018, 2019b).

### 3. The Concept of Post-Truth to the Extreme

As the concept of post-truth, which has been exaggerated in recent years, especially in the West, has begun to occupy the various discourses of politicians, commentators, and journalists, it has become an essential issue to critically examine and analyze the relevant literature and its main perspectives and relationships. This extremism is also important in terms of uniting and integrating the different perspectives of knowledgeable academics and journalists in their fields/traditions. It would be more accurate to evaluate the emerging themes as a newer age, post-truth and ancient truths, or post-truth concepts that emerged over the years. This also requires further critical elaboration and discussion on responses to the "truth" of the "post-truth" phenomenon, from the perspective of democracy, power, and freedom of expression. hears.<sup>3</sup>The Cambridge Analytica (CA) discussion on this is a good example. Because when the Guardian reports on CA's parent company, SCL, it is unbiased:<sup>4</sup>

*"In 2015, it secured a \$750,000 contract to help NATO states counter Russian propaganda in Eastern Europe" or*

*"As more contracts come in, SCL has drawn funding from strong investors, including Lord Marland, a trade ambassador under David Cameron" (Doward and Gibbs, 2017).*

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<sup>3</sup> C'est quoi post-truth, new era or time-immemorial? Conceptual reflections for democracy, power, and freedom of expression; Dilara Asardag, Karen Donders

<sup>4</sup> However, in the direct context of the video interview, the focus is on the (unterminated) contract between CA and Russian company Lukoil, and the Russian personal and academic connections of psychologist Aleksandr Kogan in the second part of the text (Cadwalladr and Graham-Harrison, 2018). In other words, the context of foreign connections (in text) suggests that the practice of collecting personal information for psychological programming via fake news (from video) is problematic.

Overall, the use of these propaganda services was not presented as problematic:

*“Behavioral profiling companies were used in the campaigns of both Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton” (Doward and Gibbs, 2017).*

Even the fact that American billionaires helped the UKIP movement is similarly represented:

*“US billionaire Robert Mercer, a prominent Trump supporter who was close friends with Bozell and former Ukip leader Nigel Farage, was so impressed with Cambridge Analytica that it reportedly became the main shareholder” (Doward and Gibbs, 2017).*

However, in the context of foreign intervention, the representation of both the practice and technology of propaganda was framed as a discussion, while the earlier *“domestic”* history of these activities was taken out of context.

#### **4. Public Opinion Shaping of "Objective Facts"**

A 'post-truth society' has been defined as one in which 'objective facts' are less influential in shaping public opinion than appeals to emotions and personal belief.

##### *a. Often a Threat to Science and Politics*

In particular, the flow of events and attitudes that are often perceived as a threat to science and politics, for example, the distrust of science in the post-truth society often leads to events that are seen as corrupting and destructive of democracy. Although it seems like a ritual to state the term as the word of the year in the Oxford English Dictionary in 2016, the detailed characterization is of course presented with different perspectives for each researcher and its author and varies. While political scientist Ari-Elmeri Hyvönen defines the term post-truth politics as 'a stalemate where political speech is increasingly detached from a 'clear' record of factual facts, political theorist Saul Newman lists his point of view with other features: *typical*

*features, lies, falsehood dissemination of information, exaggeration, and distortion of the truth, and more.*

## *b. Typically, 'Post-Truth'*

Typically, “post-truth” is something that is said to be gaining ground recently.<sup>5</sup> It was built on the assumption that there was a time when political debates were marked by facts and rulers acted on truth and were judged according to objective facts. Meta-truth features have long been present in public discourses.<sup>6</sup>

Another debate revolves around the relationship between nonsense and post-truth. Hyvönen says that, unlike careless post-truth discourses, it is necessary to spend some time explaining the distinction between nonsense and post-truth, using absurd analyzes as discourses carefully sculpted with great attention to every detail. In this study, we do not think that it would be appropriate to make such a distinction. Because how do we know, for example, that the previous US President, Donald Trump, did not make his speeches more and in other ways than he seemed? Looking at the implications of similar studies and how they can be understood, it follows that less attention should be paid to the time a person spends or not spending preparing for a public appearance.

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<sup>5</sup> Hyvönen sees an erosion in post-truth politics. Common facts and common sources of information that make his situation historically unique. The new era that Cervera-Marzal finds absurd...

<sup>6</sup> Neurologist Sebastian Dieguez takes a slightly more pragmatic position. Even if the situation is not entirely new, “post-truth” can be a useful concept in a certain way, simply by allowing us to understand a situation in people's cognitive relationship to themselves and to the world around them.

## 5. The "Objective Facts" and the "Post-Truth" Period

As we briefly touched upon above, there are many signs that we are entering a "post-truth" era, defined by the embedding of "objective truths" through an avalanche of people "appealing to the senses and personal belief," according to the Oxford English Dictionary. Critics of this "post-truth" trend prefer to highlight the political dangers of increased government secrecy, politicians' lies, corporate bullshit, media silence, and populist "fake news" speech. Accordingly, it does not seem like a coincidence that they call for the recovery of 'truth' in public life.

Professor John Keane evaluates the current situation from a unique perspective:<sup>7</sup>

*necessary to ask how credible the calls by journalists and others are to recapture 'truth' in our public lives . What exactly is truth? Why is it important? Or is it less important than we think? Are there any limits to telling the truth? Could 'real' be disappearing from our lives and saying goodbye to reality would be a good thing?*

### *a. autobiographically*

Autobiographically, it is also imperative to attach foremost importance to scientific communication in my work on post-truth. Building on these original insights from Corner and Pels that led to crises of trust and authority, it is not hard to discover that telling the public the truth has become entirely private to many citizens. For it is impossible to overcome problems and show that there are proposed solutions while rejecting competitors; Trusting in a sea of doubt and being seen as an authentic, honest truthful are two different things (Harsin 2018a,

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<sup>7</sup> John Keane is Professor of Politics at Sydney University and WZB and Distinguished Professor at Peking University. His publications include *The Life and Death of Democracy* (2009), *Democracy and Media Decadence* (Cambridge, 2013), and *When Trees Fall, Monkeys Scatter: Rethinking Democracy in China* (2017).



2018b). This raises the prospects for being an expert/scholar/researcher, as well as a performer to be taken seriously by the wider public (or members of the scientific community).

### *b. Scientific Intervention in Public Life*

Considered in a context where scientific intervention in public life is an urgent ethical burden, or at least a question, this does not mean that having institutional mandate for credible truth is of no importance in many societies in today's world. Of course, it still matters which institution sees a person as legitimate as a public truth-telling (or technical and public-sphere truth-telling, whose terms are not synonymous) mechanism. This is still important for academic publishers as well. That is, the reality of being politicized in a wider society than ever before is evident.

### *c. Distrust of Experts*

The distrust of experts brings to the fore the idea that “people in this country have enough experts” (Katz 2017). According to the information we have obtained from academic publications, truth production is another way of saying reproduction and change. More urgency is involved given that post-truth circumstances sometimes pit gun-based thinking against alienated expert knowledge. Besides lectures at conferences and classrooms, now on video, and communication of research in journals and academic books, of course, for a long-time academics have been blamed for fabricating the so-called indifferent truth in the ivory tower. It is possible to cite many human projects as examples, from flu vaccines to war operations to colonialism. In the beginning, some academics did not expect journalists, university public relations, or curious government officials to discover them, as many today's prosumers (producers/consumers) did because some academics embraced public intellectualism. In fact, one of the biggest challenges for scholarly communication and publishing today is, of course, the dangerous choice of an ivory-tower analogy.

If scientific publishing has long been met with some form of suspicion or mystery in the public (tainted by association with the scientists they publish), the stakes seem higher these days. This

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is where the pressure for self-legitimation and public integration seems to be greater than ever. The example of the communication process surrounding the coronavirus reminds us that academics have become ethically self-critical and issues that are politicized to communicate publicly. We believe that the screening of the book "Merchants of Doubt" and the documentary on this subject exemplifies this. Climate scientists have realized that they cannot rely on journalists to make their key findings public and turn them into promotion for democratic deliberative evaluation; this can be cited as another example (Oreskes and Conway 2012; Kenner et al. 2015). This politicization of academic or expert communication also applies to information engineers (social media designers synonymous with Silicon Valley) who politicize their work, make it an object of ethical scrutiny, and organize into an ethical design movement (Clarke 2018). It seems that in a broader promotional culture, everyone should learn the communication game and be an advocate or self-promotional.

The wording of a Guardian article is as follows:

*“Before social media, the filter was provided by media companies that functioned as watchdogs of the news and trained staff in fact-checking and verifying information. In an era of budget cuts and the rise of clickbait and race to the bottom in traditional media, standards have slipped off the board” (Solon, 2016).*

Criticizing social networks by emphasizing the lack of content quality control justifies the call for the reintroduction of the dissension and information bottleneck necessary to protect a democratic system from fake news threats (Herwartz, 2016; Nuspliger, 2018; Sulzberger, 2019). This corresponds to the view that journalists "must place facts in some political or sociological context so that audiences have an idea of how they will weigh the facts and what value they will assign to them," since it is no coincidence that this increases proportionately as the probability of error and misinformation increases (Postman and Brown, 2018, according to Powers, 2008, pp. 48-49). At the same time, the outdated practice of using social media by journalists is being repeated.

*“Technology, in this case social media, is used in accordance with the traditional watchdog role of journalism” (Tandoc & Vos, 2016, p. 12).*

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## 6. True News Media

Accurate news media coverage and the use of the media to achieve political goals are also old concerns. The instrumentalization of the media by political parties and politicians has been discussed in many cases. These include deliberate times (for example, when it comes to party press and partisan media in general, or even community media and other media models for social change); and the development of research on media influences (eg agenda setting, framing, preparation, for example), objectivity and objectivity that should guide journalists but are difficult to achieve in practice. The complexity of journalistic objectivity has long been recognized (Tuchman 1972). To deal with the issue, journalists are trained to disclose what lies behind the news story (political influences, sponsorships, etc.) so that viewers can decide for themselves whether to accept their own version of the facts. However, this is not always the case, and rigorously following this procedure means losing important sources of information (authorities and others) for journalists. Kovach and Rosenstiel (2007) observed that in the nineteenth century, journalists spoke of realism, not objectivity. Over time, the intrinsic value of objective reporting has not been abandoned, but journalists have made more progress. Interestingly, this has begun to question the scientific disciplines' concept of truth as something that can be fully verified. There is also a fundamental distinction between truth and truth in journalism: *Accuracy is about objectivity and confirmation*. Lippmann ([1922] 1997) had already pointed out that news and fact are not the same. More recently, Umberto Eco (2016) has explored the idea of the distinction between journalism and truth in the novel *Numero Zero* and has analyzed the limits of truth in journalism.

## 7. Post-Truth and Different Projects

Post-truth has recently received a lot of attention in academic circles and many different projects have taken shape. Hyvönen aimed to work on the conceptualization of post-truth to make the phenomenon more visible and thus facilitate a deeper analysis leading to a broader approach to truth in political science. Post-truth is approached through conceptual history or the history of

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ideas. The aim is to understand what is perceived as a post-truth shift in terms of 'the escapist romantic fantasy masking the underlying reality of guilt'. The relationship of this phenomenon with its effects on contemporary critical thought is important. That is, focusing on post-truth politics needs more work, arguing that declaratively focusing on political discourses fails to understand their performative character and strength.

## 8. The Rhetorical Style of Populism Is Nothing New

The rhetorical style of populism is nothing new. Writing in the fourth century BC, Plato, distinguishing between *pistis* (pure belief) and *episteme* (true knowledge), opposed the rhetoric of the Sophists, who presented relative truths as opposed to absolute truths. While relativity was not a familiar term to Plato, he would acknowledge the inherent problem with the doctrine that knowledge and truth exist in relation to culture, society, or historical context. Plato believed that there was such a thing as absolute truth. A fact about a community or society is just a belief. The argument by sophists, or sophistic rhetoric, that simply leads to actions based on beliefs, is relevant to much of political communication (Nehamas, 1990). Such practices are by no means new. In 1782, Benjamin Franklin created the Boston Independent Chronicle to carry propaganda and false stories designed to cement an anti-British mood among settlers in the United States and create the conditions for them to accept arms against their home country (Knudson, 1974). The disclosure of the UK government's arguments to build a stronger case to invade Iraq in 2003 further highlights how fallacy and relative truths are the common currency in persuasion in modern democracies. In fact, such arguments are created daily as statistics are interpreted and counter-interpreted to strengthen the arguments of different parties in parliaments around the world.

Post-truth has been disappearing for some time, with concerns raised about the state of public communication (see, for example, Keyes, 2004). Stephen Colbert used the term "truth" in 2005 to describe "truth from the *deep*, *not from the books*" (Meyer, 2006). Lisbet van Zoonen coined the term I-pistemology, a play on epistemology, the science of knowledge. It is possible to define this phenomenon as "a contemporary cultural process in which people from all walks of life begin to suspect information from official institutions and experts and replace it with facts

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from their own individual experiences and ideas” (van Zoonen, 2012: 57). However, it is necessary to state that post-truth as a term and a phenomenon has become fashionable in the Trump and Brexit campaigns (Farkas & Schou, 2018). The nature of the context of this concept has been previously explored in recent months. Stephen Coleman's (2018) special issue of the European Journal of Communication stated that “it is necessary to understand the changing character of public communication and the new challenges faced by individuals and societies committed to democratic norms and practices”. Baron (2018), meanwhile, presents a manifesto to address the shortcomings of democracy, while arguing that post-truth is a symptom of the failure of politics. Thus, post-truth signs and their potential impact on society are well known. Again, besides the immutability of democratic societies, he continues to explore the meaning of the term as a cultural phenomenon. The articles draw on cultural theory to explore the underlying themes of media and culture, but the effects of the post-truth phenomenon on the principles that underpin public participation, trust, and democracy. Considering landmark events in politics, we cumulatively question what post-truth tells us about the current and future state of the relationship between citizens and states, and more importantly, what role the media plays in contemporary democratic life .

## 9. Political Interview

The political interview is a generic form of political discourse, with two outstanding communicators (an interviewer and an interviewee) representing both improvisational and rules-directed speech in dominant question-and-answer sequences aimed at informing the nominated audience. This requires being the final contact on current issues. It is a frequent, eventful, and highly purposeful type of political discourse with its unique interlocutor nature. It combines the features of political and media discourses (Novikova, 2018). As a type of political discourse, it corresponds to its general principles (Chudinov, 2007): It can also be said that this concept contains expressions of ritualism and informative value, delusion, and tolerance. Often a political interview is linked to some related event or political process. A political interview can be an official document if given by a prominent politician (a minister or president), since such interviews reflect the official position of the government or a political

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party rather than an individual point of view (Pustovar, 2017). A politician participating in any interview always tries to present himself in a positive context, to be persuasive, to resist opposition and win public support. The political interview interview should of course include the conversations of the interviewees and their analysis of their post-truth forms of politics. Discourse analysis can be called a general method of political discourse studies, especially the type of political discussion in question.

## 10. Adopting an Ideology Through Fake News

Adopting a leftist ideology through fake news comes, as expected, from a conservative perspective: “In a nutshell, fake news is the popular version of the nihilism of the campus postmodernism of journalism. For progressive journalists, advancing a left-wing political agenda is important enough to justify the creation of misleading narratives and outright lies to deceive the public—in other words, a way to justify the creation of fake but otherwise useful news.” (Hanson, 2017). In this context, the category of "progressive journalism" refers to the mainstream media mentioned in Hanson's article:

*The New York Times, CNN, and CBS. Despite statements about nepotism among the media elite and the spinning practice of the media - "No one defines fake news methodology better than Ben Rhodes, Barack Obama's deputy national security adviser and brother of CBS News president David Rhodes , for the ideological enemy of academia. found in the field and postmodernism. (Hanson, 2017)*

*“And indeed, the mindset of fake news can eventually be traced back to campus. Academic postmodernism ridicules facts and absolutes and insists that there are only narratives and interpretations that gain credit due to the power of the storyteller. [...] Fascinated by reshaped Nietzschean vulgarities about the primacy of interpretation, the work of French postmodernists such as Michael Foucault and Jacques Derrida has now been filtered by the media to a nationwide audience” (Hanson, 2017).*

These views strengthen the views of conservative intellectual Robert Curry, who sees leftist ideas and postmodern thinking against common sense, which, according to him, is the central

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element of American political identity (Curry, 2015, 2019). One of the points he emphasizes is the facts that the premises and principles of postmodernism are “different from the self-evident truths of Jefferson and the Founders, and that these ideas would not make sense even to Woodrow Wilson” (Curry, 2015, p. 149). ). An example of one of the problematic points that he sees as self-contradictory is the claim that “Values are subjective – but sexism and racism are really bad” (Curry, 2015).

Popular public intellectual Jordan Peterson follows this path in his famous self-help book, *The 12 Rules of Life*. From the crimes of Marx and the Soviet regime in Russia (based on Solzhenitsyn's statements), which spanned just a few pages, to the fact that Khmer Rouge leader Khieu "Samphan's ideas were received favorably by French intellectuals," it elevates a great debate. (Peterson, 2018, pp. 301-307). By this moral disqualification, 'leftist ideology' (ignoring the complex history of the left movement as a complex of diverse, often incompatible schools) only serves to expose Peterson's critique of Derrida:

- (a) *does not distance himself from it,*
- (b) *replaces the idea of money with the idea of power,*
- (c) *rejects hierarchical structures (Peterson, 2018, p. 305),*
- (d) *language itself is a means of oppression and exclusion, and*
- (e) *Through his radical view summarized in his claim 'il n'y a pas de hors-texte' (Peterson, 2018, p. 306) he opens everything, including scientific truth, to interpretation.*

Here is Peterson's conclusion against Derrida:

*“For Derrida and his post-modern Marxist collaborators, science is just another power play that purports to benefit those at the top of the scientific world. What does hierarchical position and prestige mean because of skill and competence? All definitions of skills and competences are made only by those who benefit from them to the exclusion of others, and to those who take advantage of them personally and selfishly. [...] While the facts may not speak for themselves [...] this does not mean that all interpretations are equally valid. Some – hurting yourself and others” (Peterson, 2018, pp. 306-307).*

In other words, freedom of interpretation is problematic, and restrictions must be placed on this freedom, based on skill and competence (appropriate expertise), a claim that postmodernism sees as opposing. Peterson accuses left and postmodern thought of denying science, just as McIntyre attacked social constructionism (cf. McIntyre, 2018, pp. 141–148). Both try to prove that the post-truth phenomenon is the result of the left postmodern tradition whose representatives first described the phenomenon.

All the voices mentioned, from the mainstream media to the liberal and conservative intellectual fields, represent the course of the public opinion on post-truth as a product of postmodern thought and another case of discursive change and usurpation of this concept. Slandering poststructuralism and social constructionism using contemporary fake news alarmism supports the West's threat to close certain schools. Social sciences and humanities are examples, as are gender studies programs in Central Europe (Oppenheim, 2018). Manipulation of the core arguments of postmodernism by right-wing propagandists may be bad, but this is not the responsibility of postmodern philosophers, and such actions do not prove the theories themselves wrong. The obvious fact that both moral values and truth—as well as scientific truth—are constructed, or at least the production of them is multifactorial and rarely simple (see interview with Bruno Latour in Kofman, 2018). It is a discourse theory that reveals how the meaning-making processes and concepts of scientific truth change depending on the structure that raises the level of scientific knowledge in the course of history. Just as mainstream media columnists were convinced of the 'reality' of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq in the early 2000s, or the British press was convinced of soap made from human flesh during the First World War (Neander & Marlin, 2010), or for German media audiences, Jews and other races or nations were convinced of scientific evidence that they were different and therefore less valuable; The alarmist tendency of emotion-based persuasion in the mainstream media towards postmodern and critical thinking expresses the post-truth logic as so-called carriers.

The common point of criticism of all the actors mentioned here is to defend the truth from the left or postmodernism. It is not difficult to see that the liberal and mainstream media perspective advocates scientific truth, the conservative perspective represents common sense, and the popular conservative intellectual fights for merit-based expertise against the opposition of

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leftist, postmodern, or constructivist thought. However, it is wrong to use common sense, expert-based claims, or scientific truth as an ideological tool in the struggle against the theories of social sciences. The need to search for an alternative inherent in the postmodern tradition of social sciences is made ridiculous by reducing it to scandals such as the famous Sokal experiment (Sokal & Bricmont, 2003; cf. Angermuller, 2018). The idea of finding alternatives to mainstream sources, both in science and in political values, represents the core of any hegemonic discourse that opposes the "there are no alternatives" doctrine. However, this very idea is justified by the constant alarm about the risks of the post-truth era.

## 11. Conclusion

Post-truth politics, a political culture that appeals to emotions that surpasses reality, is perceived by many as a provocation. Many continue to identify a social and political crisis in the fact that participants in public deliberations and decision-making processes without hesitation or shame present alternative truths. It is natural for the reactions to be violent accordingly. It seems natural for academic studies to state that this concept is legitimate and understandable, based on the available sources of many newspapers, articles, and literature. Still, some aspects tend to be against the understanding of the truth.

In this study, we remained of the opinion that it would be correct to propose to approach the issue of post-truth politics as openly as possible. This is not because, like many former and current heads of state in the US and Europe, demanding to advocate a particular policy or way of doing politics, it is not to legitimize lies, fraud, fake news, and the use of alternative facts. However, we argue that it is especially important to understand the post-truth political discourses, to the extent desired and to the extent that post-truth wants to change the political climate, to see the political discourses as performing discourses rather than informing. In that case, it should be noted that the most critical issue is related to the interestingness of understanding political discourses correctly. This is beyond established parameters and known patterns. It is necessary to advocate a persuasive understanding, beyond "post-truthers", of these concepts, which also means questioning ideas about the types of arguments allowed or the type of discourse appropriate in each situation. In addition, it would not be wrong to claim that the

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basic operation of all political discourses is within the scope of this issue, although it may be in a much more moderate way most of the time. The constructivist and main idea in this study is that post-truth political discourses function as expected of the functioning of political discourses. It is not overlooked that the task is to change and transform reality, even to create a new reality. This, besides the fact that the main point of the article is not to determine the "correct" reading of Austin's concept of usefulness; rather, to underline that a performative discourse is not typically governed by truth-value. But the approach to answering the question "where does the force come from and how is the force formed" consists of determining and mapping the procedures and rules, that is, the conditions necessary for a statement to take place. However, political discourses really change, transform, and break away from its established conceptuality at certain points. It has been argued here that post-truth politics offers a definitive example of this. While a speaker's intention is a very fragile tool, a discourse that includes a performative discourse, a political discourse, and especially a post-truth, is derived from the form and consequences of communication. While the question of accountability and responsibility always remains, dozens of questions may arise from the idea of a 'responsible reader'. A political discourse in general, and a post-truth political discourse, cannot achieve and function without the concept of deed or promise.

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