



Post-Truth Politics
Post-Truth Politics, Nationalism and
the (De)Legitimation of European
Integration



Höfði Reykjavík Peace Centre
University of Iceland



University
of Victoria

Fake News, Disinformation, and Post-Truth Politics International Conference Agenda

August 31, 2022

2:00pm – 4:00pm **Jean Monnet Network Group Meeting [Closed Session]** Sedgwick C168

6:00pm – 8:00pm **Public Keynote: Disinformation: How we got here, and what happens next**
with Sue Gardner DSB C122

September 1, 2022

7:30am – 8:00am **Registration & Coffee** Club Kwench

8:00am – 8:30am **Elder Welcome & Conference Introduction** Club Kwench

8:30am – 9:45am **Panel 1 – Democracy in the Post-Truth Era** Club Kwench

Eroding the Partisan Partition? A Cross-National Examination of Pandemic Mistrust

Panelist: James Bryan

Moderator
Helga
Hallgrímsdóttir

The Rise of Antisemitism in Times of Post-Truth Politics: A Case Study on Austria's COVID-19 Protests

Panelist: Janine Wulz

Securitization, Lawfare and De-Democratization: How Orbán Built a Populist Propaganda State in Hungary?

Panelist: Miklos Sukosd

Post-Truth Politics, Brexit and European Disintegration

Panelist: Vittorio Orlando

9:45am – 10:00am **Wellness Break**

10:00am – 11:15am	<p>Panel 2 – War & Conflict in the Post-Truth Era</p> <p><i>Using Post-Truth Policies to Legitimize the War</i> Panelist: Volodymyr Paniotto</p> <p><i>Media coverage of Russia’s war in Ukraine: can the truth be distilled from media reports?</i> Panelist: Anton Oleinik</p> <p><i>Examining Gendered Discourses in the Russian Media</i> Panelist: Valentyna Shapovalova</p>	<p>Club Kwench</p> <p>Moderator Miriam Mueller-Rensch</p>
11:15am – 12:15pm	Lunch	Club Kwench
12:15pm – 1:45pm	<p>Keynote: Truth Decay: The Supply and Demand for Malinformation in the United States with Jennifer Kavanagh</p>	Club Kwench
1:45pm – 2:00pm	Wellness Break	
2:00pm – 3:15pm	<p>Panel 3 – Epistemological Legitimacy in Crisis</p> <p><i>Trust and Truth during America’s Age of Anxiety</i> Panelist: Kimberly Tower</p> <p><i>“We’re Not as Stupid as You Think We Are”: How Competing Groups Leverage Malinformation to Undermine Status Quo Legitimacy</i> Panelist: Richard T. Marcy</p> <p><i>Post-Truth, Brexit and the University</i> Panelist: Francis Remedios</p> <p><i>Liberal Visions of American Multiculturalism and Majoritarianism</i> Panelist: A. Carl LeVan</p>	<p>Club Kwench</p> <p>Moderator Hálfdánarson Guðmundur</p>
3:15pm – 3:30pm	Wellness Break	
3:30pm – 5:00pm	<p>Keynote: Rights Inflation in the Age of Post-Truth Politics with Dominique Clément</p>	Club Kwench

8:30am – 9:00am	Registration & Coffee	Club Kwench
9:00am – 10:30am	Keynote: Citizen’s political knowledge and democracy: Can the EU experience provide insights for other polities? with Achim Hurrelmann	Club Kwench
10:30am – 10:45am	Wellness Break	
10:45am – 12:00pm	Panel 4 – Media in the Post-Truth Era <i>Resistance During Lockdown: Fake News and Conspiracies as a Form of Political Protest</i> Panelist: Hans-Jörg Trenz <i>Post-Truth Politics in Newspaper Coverage: COVID-19 and Human Migration in Canada, the US and the UK</i> Panelist: Claude Beaupré <i>In Search for Unexpected Allies? Radical Right Remediation of ‘the 2015 Refugee Crisis’ on Social Media</i> Panelists: Gwenaëlle Bauvois & Niko Pryhönen	Club Kwench Moderator Oliver Schmidtke
12:00pm – 1:15pm	Lunch	Club Kwench
1:15pm – 2:30pm	Panel 5 - The Effects of Social Media in the 21st Century <i>The Rassemblement National online: Investigating the Politics of Gender and Racism of the Radical Right on Social Media</i> Panelist: Maria Sigridur Finnsdottir <i>“It’s about freedom of, you know, everything.” Anti-mask and anti-vaccine “freedom convoys” as transboundary cultural scaffolding</i> Panelist: Edwin Hodge <i>Queering Post-Truth Politics: Silencing, Violence and Resistance in Online Debates about EU Integration</i> Panelists: Charlotte Galpin & Patrick Vernon	Club Kwench Moderator Auður Örlýgsdóttir

2:30pm – 2:45pm	Wellness Break	
2:45pm – 4:00pm	Keynote: The Post-Truth Populist Challenge to Public-Service Media with Maximilian Conrad	Club Kwench
4:00pm – 4:30pm	Closing Remarks	Club Kwench

Additional Information:

Club Kwench Event Space: The Experience Room, 2031 Store St, Victoria, BC V8T 5L9

University of Victoria Campus [UVic]: 3800 Finnerty Road Victoria BC V8P 5C2

Grand Pacific Hotel: 463 Belleville St, Victoria, BC V8V 1X3

Keynote Speakers Short Biographies:

Achim Hurrelmann is Professor of Political Science at Carleton University in Ottawa/Canada. He currently serves as Chair of the Department of Political Science and as Co-Director of the Centre for European Studies. He is also Vice-President of the European Community Studies Association-Canada (ECSA-C). His research focuses on the politics of the European Union, with a particular emphasis on political discourses about European integration, the democratization of the EU, as well as Canada-EU relations.

Dominique Clément is a Professor in the Department of Sociology at the University of Alberta and a member of the Royal Society of Canada (CNSAS). He is an historical sociologist who specializes in the study of human rights and social movements. Clément is the author of *Canada's Rights Revolution*, *Equality Deferred*, *Human Rights in Canada* and *Debating Rights Inflation*. He has been a Visiting Scholar in Australia, Belgium, China, Ireland and the United Kingdom. His websites, HistoryOfRights.ca and statefunding.ca, serve as research and teaching portals on the study of human rights and social movements

Jennifer Kavanagh is a senior fellow in the American Statecraft Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. A political scientist by training, she has spent her career studying national security threats and their consequences for U.S. foreign policy and defense strategy. At Carnegie, Kavanagh's research explores dynamics in contemporary geopolitics, with a focus on relationships between major powers, including the United States, European Union, Russia, and China. In addition to examining the types of power and influence that matter most in international system, Kavanagh's work considers the domestic political foundations of geopolitical trends and analyzes possible future trajectories and their implications. Prior to joining Carnegie, Kavanagh was a senior political scientist at the RAND Corporation, where she led projects focused on deterrence, military interventions, and U.S. military posture for defense and national security clients. She was most recently director of the Strategy, Doctrine, and Resources Program in RAND's Arroyo Center, which supports the U.S. Army. Kavanagh also co-authored *Truth Decay: An Initial Exploration of the Diminishing Role of Facts and Analysis in American Public Life*, and co-founded and led RAND's Countering Truth Decay Initiative, a portfolio of projects focused on polarization, disinformation, and civic development in the United States. Kavanagh received an AB in government from Harvard University and a PhD in political science and public policy from the University of Michigan. She is also a term member of the Council on Foreign Relations and an adjunct professor in the Security Studies Program at Georgetown University.

Maximilian Conrad is Professor of Political Science at the University of Iceland. His main research interests include European integration and political theory, in particular issues connected to democracy, communication, civil society and the public sphere. Recent and ongoing research includes work on disinformation and post-truth politics. Conrad is the Principal Investigator of the Jean Monnet Network Post-Truth Politics, Nationalism and the (De-)Legitimation of European Integration and of the Horizon Europe project Reclaiming Liberal Democracy in the Postfactual Age (RECLAIM) that is set to start in October 2022.

Sue Gardner is a special advisor to the Wikimedia Foundation, the non-profit that operates Wikipedia. From 2007 until 2014 she was its Executive Director. Previously Sue was head of CBC.CA, the website for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, and before that she was a journalist working in multiple media including the internet, newspapers, magazines, radio and TV. In 2011 *Forbes* magazine named Sue one of the world's 100 most powerful women. Sue serves on boards and advisory committees for a half-dozen global non-profit, educational and grantmaking organizations, primarily related to technology, media, gender and digital freedoms.

Conference Presenters Short Biographies

Dr. Anton Oleinik [Memorial University of Newfoundland, Canada] is a professor of sociology at Memorial University of Newfoundland in Canada. Being a specialist in various forms of content analysis and the developer of a specialized on-line platform, he authored a number of monographs: *Building Ukraine From Within: A Sociological, Institutional and Economic Analysis of a Nation-State in the Making* (Ibidem/Columbia University Press, 2018), *The Invisible Hand of Power: An Economic Theory of Gatekeeping* (Routledge, 2015), *Market as a Weapon: The Socio-Economic Machinery of Dominance in Russia* (Routledge, 2011) and *Organized Crime, Prison and Post-Soviet Societies* (Routledge, 2003).

Carl LeVan [American University, United States of America] is Professor in the School of International Service at American University, where he is the current faculty president and former chair of Comparative and Regional Studies. His research focuses on political institutions, democratization, and governance. His latest book is *Contemporary Nigerian Politics: Competition in a Time of Transition and Terror* (2019). He is the co-editor of three books, including *The Oxford Handbook of Nigerian Politics* (with Patrick Ukata). He has authored or co-authored articles on the Boko Haram insurgency, power-sharing, the economics of coalition governments, federalism, and urban property rights in Nigeria. His 2017 book *Constituents before Assembly: Participation, Deliberation and Representation in the Crafting of New Constitutions*, co-authored with Todd Eisenstadt and Tofiq Maboudi, demonstrates that public participation in constitution-making has positive long-term benefits for democracy. His current book project explores political life in “post-truth” America. Prior to obtaining his PhD in political science from the University of California – San Diego, LeVan worked in the U.S. Congress and then as an adviser to Nigeria's National Assembly. He tweets @Dev4Security and recently launched a podcast, *Rights, Reason and Representation*. He has appeared on PBS NewsHour, NPR's Diane Rehm Show, Voice of America TV, BBC World Television, al Jazeera, MSNBC, Amy Goodman's *Democracy Now!* and *Top of Mind* with Julie Rose on Sirius XM.

Charlotte Galpin [University of Birmingham, United Kingdom] is Associate Professor in German and European Politics in the Department of Political Science and International Studies at the University of Birmingham. Her research focuses on European identities, EU citizenship, Euroscepticism, and the European Public Sphere with a particular interest in gendered and sexualised patterns of in/exclusion. She has published in journals including *Citizenship Studies*, *Comparative European Politics*, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, *Journalism Practice*, and the *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*. Her monograph, *The Euro Crisis and European Identities*, was published in 2017 with Palgrave Macmillan. She is currently working on her second book entitled ‘Gendering Europe: British national identity from EEC accession to EU secession’, funded by the Leverhulme Trust.

Claude Beaupré [University of Victoria, Canada] (she/her) is currently a joint Ph.D. candidate in Political Science at the University of Victoria, Canada, and Contemporary History at the University of Strasbourg, France. Her current doctoral research is on the influence of media in contemporary Canadian migration discourse. She has previously received Masters from York University in Public and International Affairs and from Science Po Strasbourg in History of International Relations. She focused her Master thesis on the Canadian media coverage of the ‘refugee and migrant crisis’ in Europe, 2015-2016. She also holds an honours Bachelor in International Studies from York University.

Edwin Hodge [University of Victoria, Canada] is a lecturer in the department of sociology at the University of Victoria, and a research fellow with the Centre for Global Studies. Edwin's primary research fields include the studies of radicalization, extremism and conspiratorial ideologies in North American societies. Edwin's recent work has examined the role of social media in the spread of Qanon, anti-vaccine and anti-government conspiracy theories.

Francis Remedios, PhD KU Leuven, is an independent scholar who lives in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada. Francis is the author of *Legitimizing Scientific Knowledge: An Introduction to Steve Fuller's Social Epistemology* (2003), *Knowing Humanity in the Social World: The Path of Steve Fuller's Social Epistemology* (2018) and numerous articles on social epistemology.

Gwenaëlle Bauvois [University of Helsinki, Finland] is a researcher at the Centre for Research of Ethnic Relations and Nationalism (CEREN), University of Helsinki (Swedish School of Social Sciences). She holds a PhD in Sociology. Her areas of expertise are anti-immigration transnational narratives in the hybrid media space, right-wing populism, far-right, countermedia and post truth politics.

James Bryan [American University, United States of America] is currently a PhD Candidate at American University's School of International Service. His dissertation focuses on how events change citizen attitudes towards democracy. Specifically, his dissertation uses spatial and quasi-experimental methods to isolate the impacts of partisan-motivated reasoning and protest events. Prior to joining American University, James worked with Professor Sharon Werning Rivera at Hamilton College to design, administer, and analyze the Survey of Russian Elites – a unique project aimed at surveying those with influence in Russian society. His work is primarily quantitative and has been featured in peer-reviewed publications like *Post-Soviet Affairs*, *Democratization*, and *International Politics*. His other research interests include *Comparative Democratization*, *Public Opinion*, and *Russian politics*. James got his BA from Hamilton College, where he majored in *Economics and Government*.

Janine Wulz [University of Victoria, Canada] is a lecturer and researcher at the University of Victoria (Canada) and currently working on her interdisciplinary PhD in teacher education, Holocaust studies and Germanic studies. Her work is focused on Holocaust Education, and she is interested in critical approaches towards education, policy making, historic-political education and language education. Janine studied Political Science, Public Management and Education in Austria (University of Vienna, FH Campus Wien) and Poland (University of Warsaw). She became chair of the Austrian student's union and served on European and national committees for higher education in the areas of student's union, Bologna Process and quality assurance. Since 2014, she worked as a researcher, project manager and country expert at 3s in Vienna, with a focus on European educational politics.

Maria Sigridur Finnsdottir [University of Victoria, Canada] (she/her) is a PhD Candidate in Sociology, at the University of Toronto. Prior to pursuing her doctoral studies, she received her BA in Sociology from UVic in 2016, and her MA in Sociology from U of T in 2018. Her research focuses broadly on gender and radical right politics. For her doctoral research, she is examining how gendered inequality operates within radical right political parties, both at the level of supporters and of politicians. This work aims to understand the particular gendered drivers of radical right support, and the place of women in racist and exclusionary politics.

Miklos Sukosd [University of Copenhagen, Denmark] is a media researcher, sociologist and political scientist, associate professor at the Department of Communication at the University of Copenhagen. His research interests include media in Central and Eastern Europe, Russia and China; and environmental communication. He served in major international media research and consultancy projects, including Chair of the COST A30 Action "East of West: Setting a New Central and Eastern European Media Research Agenda", and key expert and team leader in the European Union's "Independent Study on Indicators for Media Pluralism in the Member States".

Patrick Vernon [University of Birmingham, United Kingdom] is a PhD researcher in the Department of Political Science and International Studies at the University of Birmingham. They are currently exploring the heteronormative and racialised dimensions of mass violence and humanitarian intervention. More broadly, they are interested in gendered and sexual mechanisms of colonial global governance, the deconstruction of 'post-truth politics', and cultural figures of selfhood and/or otherness in relation to the Western state. Looking beyond the PhD, Patrick seeks to focus on the lived experiences of refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants traveling to the UK.

Niko Pyrhönen [University of Helsinki, Finland] is a senior researcher at University of Helsinki. His areas of expertise include radical right mobilization (DSocSc, 2015), politicization of immigration and anti-immigration activism, conceptualizations of "the post-truth Era", hybrid mediatization of conspiracy theories and nationalist news framing practices transnationally. He current works in the research projects Mediatized Religious Populism (MERELPO 2021 – 2025) and Social Exclusion, Polarization, and Security in the Nordic Welfare State (SEPOS 2021 – 2023).

Richard T. Marcy [University of Victoria, Canada] is an Associate Professor of Organizational Behaviour at the School of Public Administration, University of Victoria. He has expertise in leadership and leadership development, creativity, and social innovation. His current research is focused on the strategic leadership and radical social innovation of non-violent, avant-garde groups on the Left and the Right, from a political, cultural, and psychological perspective. He has authored or coauthored a number of publications on these topics, to include: *Breaking Mental Models as a Form of Creative Destruction: The Role of Leader Cognition in Radical Social Innovations* (Leadership Quarterly); *Not Only What, But How: The Role of Expertise in Developing Public Sector Leadership* (Routledge); and *Leadership of socio-political vanguards: A review and future directions* (Leadership Quarterly). Before becoming an academic, Richard worked in a number of applied positions in both for-profit and non-profit organizations, to include the Center for Creative Leadership (CCL), Capgemini Consulting, and the United States Marine Corps.

Valentyna Shapovalova [University of Copenhagen, Denmark] is a PhD Fellow in the Media Studies section of the Department of Communication, University of Copenhagen. Her project is a theoretical and empirical exploration of the traditional values and the gendered discourse in the Russian state-aligned media, with the focus being on propaganda and disinformation within the current context of Russia's full scale war in Ukraine. Valentyna's main research interests include Russian digital disinformation and propaganda; feminist media studies; non-democratic media systems; and critical discourse analysis. - Gwenaëlle Bauvois is a researcher at the Centre for Research of Ethnic Relations and Nationalism (CEREN), University of Helsinki (Swedish School of Social Sciences). She holds a PhD in Sociology. Her areas of expertise are anti-immigration transnational narratives in the hybrid media space, right-wing populism, far-right, countermedia and post truth politics.

Vittorio Orlando [University of Iceland, Iceland] (Agrigento, 1993) is currently doing a PhD in Political Science at the University of Iceland under the supervision of Professor Maximilian Conrad; his doctoral research is focused on Brexit in the framework of European disintegration and Post-truth politics.

Volodymyr Paniotto [National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Ukraine] is the General director of Kiev International Institute of Sociology, professor of the National University of "Kiev-Mohyla Academy". He is vice-president of Ukrainian Association of Marketing, a member of Government Body of Sociological association of Ukraine, a member of ESOMAR, WAPOR, AAPOR. He was the first National Representative of ESOMAR in Ukraine (1996-2005). His principal works concern research methodology (survey methods, exit-polls methodology, data validity and reliability, monitoring and estimation); modeling and simulation of social processes; poverty assessment; dynamic of xenophobia.