

QUALITATIVE METHODS

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Table of Contents

Introduction	2
Research Question	3
Research Design	4
Research Method	4
Data Collection	4
Analytical Strategy	5
Analytical Strategy: Theory	5
Analytical Strategy: Application	6
Alternative für Deutschland	6
Swedish Democrats	8
Ethical Considerations	10
Measures of Quality	11
Results	12
Conclusion	12
Appendix	16
Appendix 1: Facebook Statements	16
Appendix 1.1: AfD statement 1, 21.09.2015	16
Appendix 1.2: AfD statement 2, 14.05.2016	17
Appendix 1.3: AfD statement 3, 21.09.2015	18
Appendix 1.4: SD statement 1, 14.09.2015	19
Appendix 1.5: SD statement 2, 05.10.2015	19
Appendix 1.6: SD statement 3, 11.11.2015	20
Appendix 2: Framework Matrices	21

Introduction

In 2015, over one million migrants fled across the Mediterranean Sea to Europe (UNHCR, 2015). This period of record-high migration flows, which became known as the “European Migrant Crisis” (Pew Research Centre, 2016), was responded to in different manners by European states. In the mainstream political discourses of many liberal democracies, proimmigration policies were advocated for. However, within the same political contexts,

far-right parties promoted anti-immigration policies and closed borders. Despite deviating from the mainstream discourse, these parties managed to gain traction and are increasingly shaping political agendas to this day. Studying discourses of far-right parties during the European Migrant Crisis is therefore highly relevant. Moreover, the topic fits particularly well with the application of qualitative methods, since it involves underlying meaning construction and cases that deviate from norms.

Research Question

With the point of departure in the research topic of far-right discourses on the European Migrant Crisis, the research question was formulated as follows:

How did far-right parties differ in the way they discursively constructed closed border policies on social media during the European Migrant Crisis?

The research question is explorative, as it starts with the word “how”. This is suitable because the topic is devoted to how things are being said, rather than what is being said (White, 2017). The funnel technique was used to narrow down the research topic and point us towards a single research method, time period, policy of interest, and genre (Bryman, 2016).

When conducting research, it is often necessary to apply operational definitions to intangible concepts (Bryman, 2016). In this case, we chose to operationalize the ambiguous terms “European Migrant Crisis” and “closed border policies”. Firstly, the European Migrant Crisis was defined as a period where high numbers of asylum seekers arrived in the EU, which peaked in 2015 to 2016. Secondly, closed border policies were defined as policies where anyone crossing national borders without a passport and/or a visa is rejected.

Further operationalization was avoided due to our epistemology of interpretivism. We chose to take the position of researchers as travelers rather than miners and allowed for concepts to emerge through the data itself. As our approach was mainly inductive, neither a hypothesis nor a theory was established in advance.

Research Design

Research design is “the logical sequence that connects the empirical data to a study’s initial research question” (Yin, 1984, p. 28). We chose to do a comparative case study because it is suitable for projects that focus on multiple cases at a single point in time, rather than single cases or processes. With regards to case selection, two far-right parties are selected, namely Alternative for Germany (AfD) and the Swedish Democrats (SD). The contexts of these parties are similar since Germany and Sweden are both two liberal democracies in Europe where open borders were promoted in the mainstream discourse. Moreover, the AfD and SD had similar approaches to migration, as both were advocating for closed borders.

Differences between the parties include their economic orientation and their ages. SD was founded in 1988 and is positioned further to the middle, while the AfD was established in 2013 and is positioned further to the right. Moreover, Germany and Sweden play different economic and political roles in the European context. It is possible, but not certain, that these differences can be mirrored in the discourses of the parties.

Research Method

We chose Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as our research method because our interest goes beyond the textual content of the Facebook statements (Fairclough, 2000). CDA enables the interpretation of underlying meaning constructions in social interactions (Pedersen, 2012). An alternative option for text analysis would have been content analysis, which would have enabled a broader understanding of the surface-level content (Babbie, 2012). Additionally, CDA is helpful when decodifying distinct rhetoric, such as that of far-right parties. By providing thick description of the socio-political context, we can understand “what is really happening” (Gill, 2000). Often, through CDA, multiple versions of reality can be contested, which will help us to understand the complexity of the parties’ argumentations.

Data Collection

Our data collection process began with establishing an ideal archive. The genre was defined as Facebook statements by the AfD and SD where closed borders were mentioned. We limited the time span to the peak of the European Migrant Crisis between 2015 and 2016. In terms of size, we wanted the ideal archive to consist of few sources since a deep rather than wide analysis suits CDA well. Based on these ideal archive criteria, we generated a final

archive that consisted of three Facebook statements by the AfD and three Facebook statements by SD. In the Facebook posts, a large amount of intertextuality can be found, as they contain links to newspaper articles, statistics, and public statements by party representatives.

SD target Swedish Facebook users as their audience, while the AfD targets German Facebook users. However, the parties might target slightly different demographics. SD use Facebook as a channel for public communication, targeting a broader scope of the Swedish voters. Here, SD are trying to spread their message to new potential supporters. This might motivate them to be more moderate. The AfD uses in-group communication that is targeted towards its closer followers, who accept their non-mainstream rhetoric. They target their followers to confirm already existing beliefs. Additionally, by being so extreme, media coverage is achieved. For a young party, every form of attention is fruitful because they are still in the process of attracting members. These two explanations of different Facebook audiences are confirmed looking at the average likes and comments underneath their posts, where SD have a much larger audience than the AfD, but also our findings of the difference in the discourse later.

Analytical Strategy

Analytical Strategy: Theory

CDA does not only serve as a research method, but also as an analytical strategy. In this study, CDA is conducted based on the three-dimensional framework developed by Norman Fairclough. He divides the process of CDA into three levels, namely the textual level, the discursive level, and the socio-political level (Fairclough, 2001). For the textual level, categories and core concepts are derived. Level two is the discursive level where one elaborates on what is (not) being said and which worldview is constructed. Intertextuality, discursivity, intentionality, and situationality are all considered. Level three is the contextual level where the socio-political context of the parties, beyond the settings of the statements is analyzed. We used NVivo to derive categories and core concepts which were then sorted into tables.

Analytical Strategy: Application

Each of the six Facebook statements was studied separately with regards to the textual level and the discursive level. Jonna analyzed the statements by the AfD and Olga analyzed the statements by SD. While conducting the first level of analysis, two categories for the justification of closed borders emerged, namely “Economy” and “Culture”. Moreover, a third category called “Framing of Migrants” was derived, where the portrayal of migrants was highlighted. The third level of analysis was carried out across all three Facebook statements from SD and AfD respectively since these are part of the same socio-political context.

Alternative für Deutschland

AfD Statement One: 21 September 2015

On the textual level, the AfD presents cultural arguments to closing the borders with security risks and terrorism being the core concepts. The AfD states that incoming migrants are Islamist terrorists, who will pose a security risk to the German society. Additionally, they emphasize that the refugee crisis has exposed the underlying incompetence of the German and European governments (AfD, 2015). On the discursive level, the harsh tone is worth acknowledging. Migration is being securitized (Buzan, Wæver & de Wilde, 1998), heavily generalizing the heterogeneous group of migrants arriving in Germany. The statement is published in the context of a European debate on refugee quotas, which is taking place at the time. Their party board member Weidel comments on this discussion which is then quoted in the post. Attached to the statement is a photo of her speaking at the AfD party convention, which makes the post more personal. The intention is to convince the reader to vote for the AfD and to act against the German and European governments.

AfD Statement Two: 14 May 2016

On the textual level, mainly arguments from the economic category are found. The most apparent core concepts are welfare and burden on public institutions. The AfD emphasizes that refugees impose a significant burden on the welfare state, which the German public is

not willing to carry. In this post, migrants are framed as refugees (AfD, 2016). Secondly, on the discursive level, the AfD repeatedly portrays the refugees as offenders rather than victims. Intertextuality is seen in the reference to Angela Merkel's well-cited sentence "We can do this"¹, which the AfD rephrases into "The tax-payer can do this"². This adds to their narrative about the irresponsible government failing to recognize the will of the "real" people. It also intensifies the "us and them" rhetoric. In this post, statistics are used for added credibility. However, a lot of value-based arguments are included that contribute to the polarization between the "refugees welcome"³ and the AfD movements (Brown, 2019). Additionally, an article of a well-established newspaper is cited, which largely deals with the costs of the refugee crisis in numbers (Spiegel, 2016). The intention is to convince the reader of the acuteness and seriousness of the situation and to point out that voting for the AfD is a way of solving the situation.

AfD Statement Three: 13 June 2016

On the textual level, a mix of cultural and economic arguments for closed borders are mentioned with the core concepts being crime and burden on public institutions. The AfD claims that the public institutions are so overwhelmed by the number of criminal charges against refugees that eventually, they will be dropped. They state that this undermines the value of law and order⁴ and compare Germany to a "banana republic". Migrants are framed as refugees, illegal immigrants, asylum seekers, and criminals (AfD, 2016). On the discursive level, this implies that present-day Germany is failing to meet shared cultural values and institutional standards, and therefore is turning into a nation with a dysfunctional and illegitimate political and legal system. With regards to intertextuality, they cite another

article of a well-established newspaper, reporting about criminal and legal cases that are being discarded because of the too-large workload (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 2016). This article makes their post seem legitimate and credible. The intention of the post is to

¹ „Wir schaffen das“

² „Der Steuerzahler schafft das“

³ „Willkommenskultur“

⁴ „Rechtsstaat“

raise awareness of the threat imposed on values and institutions and to suggest that voting for the AfD is the solution.

AfD Level Three: Socio-Political Context

On the socio-political level, Germany was experiencing economic growth and fiscal surpluses at the peak of the Migrant Crisis (Statistisches Bundesamt (Destatis), 2016). Therefore, it is interesting that the AfD repeatedly stressed the economic burden that refugees would impose on their country. Nevertheless, Germany was not prepared for the large number of refugees that arrived. Since there were shortages and insufficient plans in the area of migration policies in the short run, the AfD was able to gain traction. On the cultural side, it is also interesting that the AfD claims that immigrants are not a part of the German population when Germany has a rich history of being an immigrant nation (for example as seen in the migration waves after the second world war of especially Turkish “guest workers” coming in and helping to rebuild the country).

Swedish Democrats

SD Statement One: 14 September 2015

Firstly, on the textual level economic arguments are presented, with the most common core concepts being welfare and foreign aid. SD are stating that open borders entail an inhumane approach to migration policy that drains the Swedish welfare. Closing the borders and providing foreign aid to areas where refugees originate from, is claimed to be a more economically efficient approach. SD do not emphasize cultural arguments in this context. Immigrants are labeled as “refugees” that together make up a wave of “mass immigration” (Sverigedemokraterna, 2015). Secondly, on the discursive level, SD are implying urgency because refugees are posing a direct threat to the Swedish welfare system. Certain information remains unsaid, such as how foreign aid will be financed, why refugees are draining the Swedish welfare, and why open borders are irresponsible. Thus, in this economic discourse, migrants are constructed as costs rather than as assets for the Swedish

society. The intention behind the statement is to suggest that voting for SD is the only way to avoid a systemic collapse.

SD Statement Two: 5 October 2015

Firstly, on the textual level, SD are mainly presenting economic arguments, with the core concepts being welfare, housing, and foreign aid. SD are stating the number of asylum seekers for September 2015, and how the soaring numbers are causing a lack of available housing. SD accuses the government of failing to implement proper migration policies, again suggesting that immigrants should receive aid in their local areas instead. Only that way, the systemic collapse can be counteracted (Sverigedemokraterna, 2015). On the discursive level, an “us” and “them” rhetoric is established in the discourse, where the Swedish Democrats are speaking for the Swedish people, while the government and the Migration Agency stands on the side of the asylum seekers. In terms of intertextuality, there is a reference to statistics from the Swedish Migration Agency, which is a way to gain legitimacy in the political discourse. What is not being said is how the lack of housing, beds and the systemic collapse is related to the number of incoming asylum seekers. Rather, these phenomena are simply assumed to be interlinked.

SD Statement Three: 11 November 2015

On the textual level, SD are using cultural arguments with core concepts being crime and security. Moreover, economic arguments are used, with welfare being the central concept. SD are stating the number of people that were seeking asylum in one week, addressing the acuteness of the situation. The government is paralyzed, and the solution is to regain control over the Swedish borders and reduce the benefits that asylum seekers receive. Increased resources to the police to deport illegal immigrants will be necessary to create a sustainable Sweden. Migrants are framed as “asylum seekers”. Sweden is portrayed as a unified nation that has historically been secure and sustainable but is now on the verge of economic, social, and political collapse (Sverigedemokraterna, 2015). On the discursive level, with regards to intertextuality, statistics from the Swedish Migration Agency are once again used to legitimize the agenda and message of SD. The framing “asylum seeker” also influences the

discourse, because it is a technical term that sends an underlying message of neutrality. In contrast, the term “refugee” is associated with suffering, as it says something about the hardship that fleeing migrants have endured.

SD Level Three: Socio-Political Context

SD are positioned in a socio-political context where the history of Sweden as a welfare nation traces far back into the 20th century and is strongly associated with the Social Democrats. Therefore, it is surprising that SD views asylum seekers as a threat to the welfare state, instead of embracing the historical “welcoming culture”, as the Social Democrats do. They do so in order to undermine the position of the existing government. The Swedish Democrats advocate for giving foreign aid, which relates to the Swedish tradition of showing concern for humanitarian issues and providing aid. Sweden is a country that has a long tradition of giving foreign aid. In comparison to other countries, Sweden is one of the largest donors in proportion to the productivity of its economy (OECD, 2020). SD can incorporate this into their discourse to argue against supporting migrants in Sweden, speaking into a political tradition but using it for a different end goal.

Ethical Considerations

As for ethical considerations in qualitative research, Bryman’s four ethical principles are often considered. Nonetheless, these principles are not fully applicable to our research project, since it is conducted without participant involvement. However, the line between ethics and research quality is blurred. Therefore, we feel a deep responsibility to provide high authenticity and trustworthiness, and not to paint a biased and uninformed image of society. We need to be aware of our own opinions and biases and try to stay subjective in research, especially when working on a highly interpretivist project as we do. Our political views diverge from those of the AfD and SD. Staying aware of this fact has helped us maintain unbiasedness. Additionally, we were cautious of the fact that social media analysis could invade the personal privacy of individuals, but because we decided to use public accounts of parties rather than individuals, this problem is reduced.

Measures of Quality

Due to our interpretivist approach, we have chosen to evaluate our research using the alternative criteria of authenticity and trustworthiness (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). We strengthened credibility through persistent observation, meaning analysing with great depth, rather than breadth. We also made use of peer debriefing, by attending a workshop where our peers offered their opinion from an outside perspective. Credibility could have been strengthened further through data triangulation, implementing different genres or research methods. However, sticking to one genre was useful for our research design since a comparative case study requires comparability of data.

Transferability was strengthened through thick description, which was provided in the interpretation of the socio-political context in our analysis. Nevertheless, CDA tends to fall short on transferability, since we are observing naturally occurring data and interpretation depend on context. To combat this issue, we provided a lot of transparency which allows us to generalize within our context. Namely, the analysis can be transferred to other far-right political parties in Europe operating within liberal democracies which have a tradition of welcoming refugees (e.g.: France or Austria).

Since our study did not involve auditing, we fall short on dependability. Nevertheless, reflectivity was employed, as we constantly adapted to the data (e.g.: adding new analytical categories along the way) which is inherent in discourse analysis and an interpretivist approach. To ensure confirmability, we included the tables for our level one analysis in our appendix so that the interpretation can be confirmed by the raw data. Again, this could have been increased further through data triangulation.

The first criteria of authenticity; fairness, is quite high in our study as we provided thick descriptions of our context in the socio-political level of analysis. We also believe to have achieved quite high ontological authenticity. This is due to plentiful reading of different sources (e.g.: party programs, YouTube speeches, press releases, etc.) before the research. Furthermore, for educative authenticity, we must acknowledge that we are influenced by our own biases, with Jonna being from Germany and Olga being from Sweden. Nevertheless, we see that there is a trade-off between detail and bias, and we prioritized credibility over educative authenticity. We believe given our methodological choices it is very important to interpret deep into the context. Catalytical and tactical authenticity are less relevant for us

since we did not include participants. Nevertheless, we encouraged each other to adapt our research question and categories multiple times, to strengthen these criteria.

Results

On the textual level, the two parties use the same economic and cultural arguments for why borders should be closed. Migrants are mostly framed as refugees which is interesting, as it implies that those people are in a situation of need. We expected the parties to use the more neutral term “asylum-seekers” more frequently. Yet, the parties do differ, since the AfD emphasizes culture more, whereas SD argue from a more economic point of view. On the discursive level, the AfD constructs a narrative that is emotional and provocative, while SD are more moderate and focus on statistics.

On the socio-political and contextual level, there are similarities between Germany and Sweden. Both far-right political parties are operating in welfare states with “welcome cultures” experiencing large migration flows, leading to those far-right parties gaining political traction. A difference in the socio-political contexts is that Sweden has a stronger tradition of foreign aid, which is why SD can advocate for it easily. In Germany, the context of the AfD is more Europeanized. Additionally, a difference can be found in the political landscape, where the AfD is a recently established party that is seeking attention especially from discouraged voters, who feel left out by the establishment.

The findings of the study can be linked to securitization theory, which is mainly associated with International Relations and the scholarship of the Copenhagen School. Securitization is the process of political actors transforming certain topics into matters of threat via speech acts. It is an extreme version of politicization that is used to legitimize extraordinary means in the name of security (Buzan et. al., 1998). The securitization of migration was a prominent feature in the discourses of both parties, portraying the European Migrant Crisis as a threat.

Conclusion

In conclusion, we have explored how far-right parties differed in the way they discursively constructed closed border policies on social media during the European Migrant Crisis. This

has been done through a comparative case study, using CDA as our method and analytical strategy. Our findings suggest that both the AfD and SD use arguments related to welfare and crime for justifying closing borders. Nevertheless, the AfD is focused more on culture, whereas SD emphasize economics. Their language also differs, since the AfD is more emotional, while SD are more rational. For further investigation, we would suggest combining this case study with quantitative data, to get more meaningful results. This would also eliminate the trade-off between the detail from qualitative methods and the transferability from quantitative methods.

Generally, we have enjoyed this project very much. We were challenged by the rich intertextuality on Facebook which was hard to navigate from time to time. The topic is interesting to us because we come from a Political Science background and have personally observed the discursive shift around border policies since the Migrant Crisis. It was exciting to discover that language is such a powerful tool, which helps these far-right political parties across Europe to shape political agendas to this day - a development we need to be wary of.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Facebook Statements

Appendix 1.1: AfD statement 1, 21.09.2015

 **AfD** ✓
21 September 2015 · 🌐



Weidel: "Kontingente" und "Quoten" - eine Farce!

Zu den Forderungen nach EU-Flüchtlingskontingenten erklärt #AfD Vorstandsmitglied Alice Weidel:

"Die Flüchtlingskrise legt die Konzeptionslosigkeit und Inkompetenz der Bundesregierung und Europas offen. Neben denen zum Himmel schreienden Sicherheitsrisiken durch eingeschleuste islamische Terroristen wird nun ungeniert über „Kontingente“ und "Quoten" gesprochen.

Meines Erachtens nützen Kontingente in einem Binnenraum, der Freizügigkeit offeriert, schon mittelfristig überhaupt nichts. Wenn die Flüchtlinge nicht in geschlossenen, bewachten Lagern leben, was natürlich nicht möglich ist, werden sie früher oder später ihren Aufenthaltsort im Binnenraum aufgrund der hochgelobten und hochgehaltenen Freizügigkeit, des „Rechts auf Familie“ und der nicht mehr vorhandenen Grenzkontrollen frei wählen. Favoriten werden aus verschiedenen Gründen Deutschland, Schweden und die Schweiz sein.

Es wird dann eine große Gruppe von „Ab- und Untergetauchten“ aller Art geben und ein übles und peinliches innereuropäisches Spiel mit Aus- und Zurückweisungen, das von einem neuen Heer von staatlichen Migrationsbürokraten und Menschenrechts-Anwälten (auf Staatskosten) bewirtschaftet wird.

Europa und Merkel sei Dank!"

See Translation



Appendix 1.2: AfD statement 2, 14.05.2016

 **AfD** 
14 May 2016 · 

Es ist eine irre Zahl!

Die Versorgung der Flüchtlinge wird Deutschland (Bund) bis 2020 insgesamt knapp 94 Milliarden Euro kosten!

Das geht aus einer Aufstellung des Bundesfinanzministeriums für die Verhandlungen mit den Ländern hervor.

Allein für Sozialleistungen bei anerkannten Asylbewerbern, vor allem Hartz-IV-Zahlungen und Mietzuschüsse, veranschlagen die Beamten von Finanzminister Schäuble in diesem Zeitraum 25,7 Milliarden Euro.

Man geht davon aus, dass dieses Jahr 600.000 Flüchtlinge ins Land kommen, nächstes Jahr 400.000 und in den Folgejahren jeweils 300.000.

Wie war das Frau Merkel? Wir schaffen das?
Oder: "die Steuerzahler" schaffen das...?

Wir wollen das nicht schaffen!
Wir wollen keine weitere Zuwanderung ohne Regeln.
Wir brauchen das Geld für wichtige Investitionen in unser Land, in unsere Kinder und unsere Zukunft.

Zeit für Veränderung! Zeit für die #AfD!

<http://www.spiegel.de/.../fluechtlinge-bund-stellt-knapp-94-m...>

See Translation



MIT ZU DEUTSCHLAND

Kosten der Asylkrise

94 Milliarden Euro

bis 2020

Alternative für Deutschland

www.alternativefuer.de

Appendix 1.3: AfD statement 3, 21.09.2015

 **AfD** 13 June 2016 · 🌐

Bananenrepublik Deutschland?

Im vergangenen Jahr und im ersten Quartal dieses Jahres leiteten die Strafverfolger deutschlandweit eine Rekordzahl von mindestens 672 561 Ermittlungsverfahren wegen unerlaubter Einreise beziehungsweise sonstiger Straftaten nach dem Ausländer- und Asylverfahrensgesetz ein, doch die meisten landen im Papierkorb.

Von Anfang Januar 2015 bis Ende März 2016 wurden mehr als die Hälfte dieser Fälle - 357 049 - allein wegen Geringfügigkeit wieder eingestellt. Tatsächlich verfolgt werden nur die, die sich noch anderer Straftaten schuldig gemacht haben oder mehrfach illegal eingereist sind.

Eigentlich müsste gegen jeden, der die deutsche Grenze ohne gültige Papiere überschreitet, ein Ermittlungsverfahren eingeleitet werden. Doch hier klafft eine Lücke: Knapp 700.000 Ermittlungsverfahren stehen mutmaßlich um die 1,2 Millionen Menschen gegenüber, die im fraglichen Zeitraum nach Deutschland kamen. Sind womöglich Hunderttausende "Flüchtlinge", „eingereist“, ohne das ermittelt wurde?

Niedersachsen und das Saarland wollen den einfachsten Weg für den überforderten Rechtsstaat Bundesrepublik Deutschland gehen: sie wollen die illegalen Grenzübertritte schlicht „entkriminalisieren“.

Doch was wäre das für ein Signal nach außen, wenn die illegale Einreise nach Deutschland nicht mehr strafbar wäre? Es ist die Kernaufgabe des Staates, sein Staatsgebiet zu schützen!

Zeit für Veränderungen! Zeit für die #AfD!

<http://www.faz.net/.../fluechtlingskrise-hunderttausende-ermi...>

See Translation



Appendix 1.4: SD statement 1, 14.09.2015

**Sverigedemokraterna** ✓

14 September 2015 · 🌐

Allt fler länder i Europa säger nu nej till fortsatt massinvandring. Den liberala invandringspolitiken som varit ledande en längre period når nu vägs ände.

Sverigedemokraterna välkomnar att allt fler länder visar ansvar genom att sätta stopp för den oansvariga invandringspolitik som pågått, för att istället prioritera nödhjälp i krisernas närområden. Genom att rikta hjälpen till flyktingarnas närområden kan vi hjälpa mångdubbelt fler och bedriva en flyktingpolitik som är än mer human, samtidigt som vi undviker att dränera vår egen välfärd.

Det är nu hög tid att Sverige återtar kontrollen över sina egna gränser!

**ÅTERTA KONTROLLEN ÖVER
SVERIGES GRÄNSER**

NU!



Sverigedemokraterna
Trygghet & Tradition

Appendix 1.5: SD statement 2, 05.10.2015



 **Sverigedemokraterna** ✓
5 October 2015 · 🌐

Under september månad ansökte hela 24306 personer om asyl.
Regeringen har nu tillsammans med Migrationsverket förklarat att det råder en akut brist på bostäder och sängplatser.
Regeringens invandringspolitik har havererat totalt. Sverigedemokraterna prioriterar istället hjälp i närområdet före det systemkollaps vi nu står inför.
[See Translation](#)

24306
ASYLSÖKANDE I SEPTEMBER

Sveriges invandringspolitik har havererat
Kräv förändring nu!

 *Sverigedemokraterna*
Trygghet & Tradition

Appendix 1.6: SD statement 3, 11.11.2015



The image shows a Facebook post from the official page of Sverigedemokraterna (Sweden Democrats). The post is dated 11 November 2015. The text of the post discusses the situation in Sweden regarding asylum seekers, citing a report from the Migration Agency that over 10,000 people had applied for asylum in the previous week. It states that the government is acting in a state of emergency and that Sweden is facing a larger catastrophe. It calls for immediate action to regain control of Sweden's borders, to tighten the rules for asylum seekers, to increase resources for the police to deal with illegal immigrants, and to stop the generous welfare system for immigrants. Below the text is a large blue banner with white and yellow text. The banner reads '10 800 PERSONER SÖKTE ASYL FÖRRA VECKAN' (10,800 people applied for asylum last week). Below this, it says 'VI MÅSTE OMEDELBART' (We must immediately). Then, it lists four points, each preceded by a yellow 'X' mark: 'INFÖRA GRÄNSKONTROLLER' (Introduce border controls), 'AVVISA ILLEGALA INVANDRARE' (Reject illegal immigrants), 'ÅLDERSTESTA ALLA ENSAMKOMMANDE' (Age-test all unaccompanied minors), and 'SLOPA FRIKOSTIGA FÖRMÅNER' (Cancel generous welfare benefits). At the bottom of the banner is the Sverigedemokraterna logo, which consists of a yellow flower and the text 'Sverigedemokraterna Trygghet & Tradition'.

Sverigedemokraterna ✓
11 November 2015 · 🌐

Situationen i Sverige blir allt mer akut, Migrationsverkets senaste rapport larmade om att Sverige under föregående vecka hade över 10 000 asylsökande. Regeringen står handlingsförlamad samtidigt som Sverige står inför en allt större katastrof.

Vi måste agera nu för att återigen få kontroll över Sveriges gränser, samtidigt som vi kraftigt skärper de förmåner som de asylsökande får. Med ökade resurser till polisen kan de påbörja avvisningen av illegala invandrare och därmed återigen lägga grunden för ett hållbart Sverige.

**10 800 PERSONER
SÖKTE ASYL FÖRRA VECKAN**

VI MÅSTE OMEDELBART

- ✗ **INFÖRA GRÄNSKONTROLLER**
- ✗ **AVVISA ILLEGALA INVANDRARE**
- ✗ **ÅLDERSTESTA ALLA ENSAMKOMMANDE**
- ✗ **SLOPA FRIKOSTIGA FÖRMÅNER**

 *Sverigedemokraterna*
Trygghet & Tradition

Appendix 2: Framework Matrices

culture matrix X				
	A : crime	B : security risks	C : terrorism	D : undermining shared values
1 : AfD Party = AfD	<p>unerlaubter Einreise</p> <p>sonstiger Straftaten</p> <p>anderer Straftaten schuldig gemacht</p> <p>mehrfach illegal eingereist</p> <p>der die deutsche Grenze ohne gültige Papiere überschreitet, ein Ermittlungsverfahren eingeleitet werden</p> <p>illegalen Grenzübertritte</p> <p>illegale Einreise nach Deutschland</p> <p>keine weitere Zuwanderung ohne Regeln</p>	<p>unerlaubter Einreise</p> <p>zum Himmel schreienden Sicherheitsrisiken durch eingeschleuste islamische Terroristen</p> <p>geschlossen, bewachten Lagern</p>	<p>islamische Terroristen</p>	<p>Bananenrepublik</p> <p>zum Himmel schreienden Sicherheitsrisiken durch eingeschleuste islamische Terroristen</p>
2 : SD Party = SD	<p>Med ökade resurser till polisen kan de påbörja avvisningen av illegala invandrare</p>	<p>Med ökade resurser till polisen kan de påbörja avvisningen av illegala invandrare</p>		

framing matrix

	A : asylum seekers	B : criminals	C : extreme immigration wave	D : illegal immigrants	E : illegitimates	F : mass immigration	G : refugees	H : submerged and disappeared	I : terrorists
1 : AfD	Asylverfahrensgesetz Asylbewerber	anderer Straftaten schuldig gemacht keine weitere Zuwanderung ohne Regeln	Man geht davon aus, dass dieses Jahr 600.000 Flüchtlinge ins Land kommen, nächstes Jahr 400.000 und in den Folgebahren jeweils 300.000.	der die deutsche Grenze ohne gültige Papiere überschreitet, ein Ermittlungsverfahren eingeleitet werden	Hunderttausende "Flüchtlinge" „eingereist“		"Flüchtlinge" Flüchtlinge Flüchtlinge Flüchtlingskontingenten Flüchtlingskrise Flüchtlinge	Ab- und Untergetauchten	eingeschleuste islamische Terroristen
2 : SD	asylsökande asylsökande asyl			illegala invandrade		massinvandring	flyktngamas flyktngpolitik		

economy matrix		A : burden on public institutions	B : foreign aid	C : generous benefits	D : housing	E : poverty	F : unemployment	G : welfare
1 : AfD		<p>Ährne das emittelt wurde</p> <p>überforderten Rechtsstaat</p> <p>Doch was wäre das für ein Signal nach außen, wenn die illegale Einreise nach Deutschland nicht mehr strafbar wäre? Es ist die Kernaufgabe des Staates, sein Staatsgebiet zu schützen!</p> <p>Ähre Zahl</p> <p>Allein für Sozialleistungen</p> <p>Oder: "die Steuerzahler" schaffen das...?</p> <p>Ährles und penliches imereuropaisches Spiel mit Aus- und Zurückweisungen auf Staatskosten</p>		<p>Allein für Sozialleistungen bei anerkannten Asylbewerbern, vor allem Hartz-IV-Zahlungen und Mietzuschüsse, veranschlagen die Beamten von Finanzminister Schäuble in diesem Zeitraum 25,7 Milliarden Euro.</p> <p>Favoriten werden aus verschiedenen Gründen Deutschland, Schweden und die Schweiz sein.</p>	<p>Allein für Sozialleistungen bei anerkannten Asylbewerbern, vor allem Hartz-IV-Zahlungen und Mietzuschüsse, veranschlagen die Beamten von Finanzminister Schäuble in diesem Zeitraum 25,7 Milliarden Euro.</p>	<p>Wir brauchen das Geld für wichtige Investitionen in unser Land, in unsere Kinder und unsere Zukunft.</p>	<p>Allein für Sozialleistungen bei anerkannten Asylbewerbern, vor allem Hartz-IV-Zahlungen</p>	<p>Es ist eine Ähre Zahl!</p> <p>Die Versorgung der Flüchtlinge wird Deutschland (Bund) bis 2020 insgesamt knapp 94 Milliarden Euro kosten!</p> <p>Oder: "die Steuerzahler" schaffen das...?</p> <p>wichtige Investitionen in unser Land, in unsere Kinder und unsere Zukunft.</p> <p>Ährles und penliches imereuropaisches Spiel mit Aus- und Zurückweisungen, das von einem neuen Heer von staatlichen Migrationsburokraten und Menschenrechts-Anwälten (auf Staatskosten) bewirtschaftet wird.</p>
		<p>Med ökade resurser till polisen kan de påbörja avvisningen av illegala invandrare och därmed återigen lägga grunden för ett hållbart Sverige</p> <p>Regeringens invandringspolitik har havererat totalt.</p> <p>Sverigedemokraterna prioriterar istället hjälp i närområdet före det systemkollaps vi nu står inför.</p>	<p>prioritera nödhjälp i krisernas närområden</p> <p>Genom att rikta hjälpen till flyktingarnas närområden kan vi hjälpa mångdubbelt fler och än mer human, samtidigt som vi undviker att dränna vår egen välfärd.</p> <p>Regeringens invandringspolitik har havererat totalt.</p> <p>Sverigedemokraterna prioriterar istället hjälp i närområdet före det systemkollaps vi nu står inför.</p>		<p>Regeringen har nu tillsammans med Migrationsverket förklarat att det råder en akut brist på bostäder och sängplatser.</p>			<p>Genom att rikta hjälpen till flyktingarnas närområden kan vi hjälpa mångdubbelt fler och bedriva en flyktingpolitik som är än mer human, samtidigt som vi undviker att dränna vår egen välfärd.</p> <p>Regeringens invandringspolitik har havererat totalt.</p> <p>Sverigedemokraterna prioriterar istället hjälp i närområdet före det systemkollaps vi nu står inför.</p>
2 : SD								