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Narrating the (climate) crisis: Discursive strategies of the AfD on TikTok

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Abstract:

The rising influence of the far right in Europe and the advance of the climate crisis constitute intersecting trends. The AfD in Germany is no exception in gaining discursive and political power in this context of uncertainty. Particularly in the realm of social media and TikTok, the AfD receives unproportionate popularity and visibility, which enable the spread of its ideology-laden discourse and climate change narratives. Hence, in this thesis, I conduct a Critical Discourse Analysis of two AfD politicians' TikTok accounts (Alice Weidel and Maximilian Krah) to understand how and with what implications the AfD's far-right ideologies are discursively conveyed on TikTok in context of the climate crisis. Additionally, I employ the lenses of ontological security and fantasy to explore the appeal of these narratives. I find that various discourses of denial and delay underlie the AfD's climate change narratives and that a delegitimization of the government is intricately linked with them. I then propose that this leads to the simplistic construction of a fantasy, in which the insecurity-evoking issue of climate crisis becomes a politically endogenous issue that can be easily resolved to restore ontological security through nothing more than a change in government. Finally, I use these understandings to explore possibilities to effectively counter the strength of such narratives.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, far-right ecology, social media, ontological security, fantasy, climate change narratives, AfD, TikTok.

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As I am now making the final edits before publishing this thesis, the results of the regional elections in Saxony and Thuringia, in both of which the AfD reached over 30% of votes, are just a week old and still weigh heavily on my mind. Despite their predictability, I feel deeply unsettled by these numbers and the political climate they reflect. Yet, I also want to retain the hope that, in the spirit of this thesis, they will not be able to dominate the political agenda, but instead inspire more and more active participation in shaping a constructive politics, based on values of democracy and justice, and a way forward that embraces change and complexity, and that succeeds in holding fascism at bay.

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1 Introduction

The past years have seen a trend of increasing political power of the far right in Europe and beyond, and Germany's party *Alternative for Germany* (AfD) is no exception (Mudde 2019). Its rise is set in a context of dangerously progressing ecological crises—any political mitigation of which the AfD vehemently obstructs (Malm and the Zetkin Collective 2021). It is also set in a context of socially created global risks, misinformation, and 'fabricated uncertainty' (Beck 1999) that invite ontological insecurity (Kinnvall 2004)—with a political agenda dominated by successive challenges and rapid change, such as global pandemic and war in Europe. The AfD, it seems, has been able to benefit from this complex climate of uncertainty. It has continued to maximise its voting share, with a particular increase among youth, becoming the second-most-voted party at the German elections for the European parliament in June 2024 and being projected to win the upcoming regional elections in Brandenburg, Saxony, and Thuringia (ARD-aktuell 2024e; Infratest dimap 2024a; 2024b; 2024c). These results are tied to a notable influence of the AfD on public discourse, particularly in the digital realm of social media. On TikTok, a video-focused platform and one of the most recent and popular social media apps, the AfD is by far the most popular political party in Germany (Bösch 2023). Directly and without contextualisation, it is enabled to spread its ideology-laden narratives to a mass of young users.

The affinity between far-right populist actors and the social media environment has been studied with various foci. This includes broader analyses of populist communication on social media (Engesser et al. 2017; Ernst et al. 2019) and its relation to truth (Hameleers 2022); more narrow studies focus on mass networking for Trump's election in the US (Gerbaudo 2018), radicalisation of AfD supporters on Facebook (Riebe et al. 2018), and the AfD's overall social media strategy (Medina Serrano et al. 2019), to name just a few examples. However, the role of TikTok for far-right and populist discourse, with its video-focused and high-input interface, remains scarcely understood. One recent study has responded to this lack with a user-centric methodology on AfD interaction on TikTok, but calls for further research to understand the AfD's use of the platform (Bösch 2023). Interestingly, none of these studies consider the far right in interrelation with the climate crisis

nor with individual insecurities resulting from an environment of complex political challenges. The relevance of the intersection between climate crisis and the far right, however, has been thoroughly emphasised (e.g. Ekberg et al. 2023; Allen et al. 2024; Malm and the Zetkin Collective 2021) and its actualisation in digital media has been recently characterised by the example of the Sweden Democrats (Vowles 2024), but there is lacking insight into how it plays out in the highly interactive sphere of social media, where objective facts gradually lose relevance. With this thesis, I aim to respond to this gap, by combining discourse analysis of multimodal social media content with the intersection between the far right and the climate crisis. I further add the lens of ontological security for an understanding of the appeal of AfD narratives in this environment.

In light of the discursive impact of the AfD on TikTok, and motivated by a puzzle over how a political actor can benefit from and gain influence in light of a crisis that they themselves deny, I set out to answer the following research question: *How and with what implications are the AfD's far-right ideologies discursively conveyed on TikTok in context of the climate crisis?* To approach this question, I have divided it into the following sub-questions:

- *What narratives does the AfD connect to the climate crisis?*
- *How does the AfD instrumentalise the topic of climate change to portray the current state of politics in Germany and its own role in it?*
- *What implications does this have for the ontological security of the viewers?*

With a focus on two official AfD accounts on TikTok—corresponding to politicians Alice Weidel and Maximilian Krah who are deemed influential by their number of followers as well as the political offices they hold—I conduct a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) that is then contextualised through the theoretical lenses of ontological security and fantasy.

Accordingly, the following chapter situates this thesis in the field of far-right ecology and provides a background on climate obstruction, social media, and the AfD. I then move on to an introduction of CDA, ontological (in)security, and fantasy as theoretical frameworks, before establishing my methodology. Analysis and discussion are structured into three sections: the production of discourse; the narratives of denial, delay, and delegitimization; and implications of this discourse in terms of ontological security and fantasy. I conclude with a few cautious considerations of possibilities to counter the strength of these examined narratives.

2 Background

2.1 The field: Far-right ecology

In the context of progressing environmental degradation and climate crisis, ‘political ecology’ provides a perspective on societal causes, responses, and consequences to these crises (Liverman 2015) and on the material and ideological environments inherent in their political mobilisation (Allen et al. 2024). It challenges the idea that ecological questions could be approached from an apolitical lens (Robbins 2012). Instead, political, cultural, and economic power dynamics are taken into consideration for an understanding of the societal contestation of ecological issues.

The role of the far right in this context is one that warrants consideration. For the purpose of this thesis, I follow common practice in using the term ‘far right’ to describe the overarching spectrum of actors on the political right, ranging from anti-liberal populist parties—that, at least by classification, are part of the democratic spectrum—to an anti-democratic scene that includes extreme right, (neo-)Nazi, (neo-)fascist, as well as *völkisch*-nationalist¹ movements (Forchtner 2020; Salzborn 2018). The far right, thus, comprises a multi-faceted, dynamic, and internally contradictory group of actors and agendas. The AfD—democratically elected but at least in parts assessed as right-wing extremist (Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz 2019, cited in Meister, Biselli, and Reuter 2019)—forms part of this spectrum.

Parallel to other far-right actors, the AfD has been increasing its influence in recent years, despite—or precisely because of—its anti-environmental politics amidst ecological crises. Indeed, the advance of ecological and climate crises and the increasing influence of the far right can be regarded as intersecting phenomena. A recently growing body of literature has meticulously drawn out the various ways of political intervention of far-right actors for the pursuit of a business-as-usual, fossil-based, anti-environmental agenda (e.g. Allen et al. 2024; Malm and the Zetkin Collective 2021; Sommer et al. 2022).

¹ *Völkisch* derives from the German noun “Volk” (‘people’). *Völkisch*-nationalism refers to the belief in the nation as a naturally given and ethnically pure community; it is also connected to a blood-and-soil ideology (bpb, n.d.; Puschner 2016)

Paradoxically, the far right is also inherently ecological. Far-right ideology is intricately linked with a reliance on nature and the local environment and utilises the claim of its preservation from an alleged destruction by non-white people as a basis for racism and nationalism (Allen et al. 2024). The configuration of far-right ecological meaning-making is varied, ranging from a mere aesthetic idealisation of local landscapes through an ecological worldview of organic interconnectedness to deathly eco-fascism (Forchtner 2020; Lubarda 2020). Yet, there are combining ideological features that are comprised in the notion of ‘far-right ecologisms’ (Lubarda 2020); they include a social naturalism that regards nature as a blueprint for society, a persistence on autarky, and a mystic organicism that views living beings as rooted and spiritually linked to their environments. This intersection of ecology and far-right ideology has a long history that, in Germany, is also intricately linked to the Nazi regime, while it dates back to even earlier currents of nature conservation (Biehl and Staudenmaier 2011). Until today, environmentalism is utilised as a seemingly non-political realm, where far-right narratives do not remain contained among actors with a consistently far-right world view, but find their way far into society (see e.g. Gottschlich 2023). Recently, the visual dimension of far-right ecologisms’ multifaceted manifestations has begun to be acknowledged in far-right studies through multimodal analysis (e.g. Forchtner 2023; Forchtner et al. 2024).

2.2 The puzzle: Climate obstruction

In response to the climate crisis—which in contrast to ‘local nature’ and the landscapes of the ‘homeland’ is a global and abstract phenomenon that endangers nationalist ideals of rootedness, supremacy, and autarky—far right actors have joined forces with the conservative and neoliberal spectrum and its strategies to defer climate action. For decades, a network reaching from fossil fuel companies through conservative think tanks to far-right political actors has been obstructing effective climate action; their strategies have included the spread of misinformation on climate science as well as the propagation of calculated policy elements including the marketisation of emissions and shift of responsibility to the consumer, which enable greenwashing (Ekberg et al. 2023; Malm and the Zetkin Collective 2021).

Resulting attitudes and discourses around climate change can be roughly divided into denialist stances and discourses of delay, which have been variously classified. On the one hand lie trend, attribution, and impact scepticism; they constitute the rejection of evidence for the upward trend of global temperatures, its causal connection to anthropogenic greenhouse gas emissions, and the negative impact of global warming, respectively (Van Rensburg 2015; Lamberty and Nocun 2023). On the other hand resides a recognition of the facts and its interpretations, which nonetheless is accompanied by societal inertia or response scepticism; while inertia constitutes ignorance and socially organised denial (Norgaard 2011), response scepticism actively mobilises against climate policy (Ekberg et al. 2023). For this purpose, it relies on particular narrative patterns that have been classified into four discourses of delay: redirecting responsibility, pushing non-transformative solutions, emphasising the downsides, and surrendering (Lamb et al. 2020).

It is within this context of deferral strategies leaking into mainstream discourse and intersecting trends between ecological crisis and rise of the far right that I situate my examination of narratives spread by the AfD on TikTok.

2.3 The setting: Social media and TikTok

Social media has become an essential part of life, ranging from private use, through promotion of organisations and initiatives, to distribution of news and educational content. Acknowledging this, political parties increasingly show presence on various social media platforms, including TikTok (Stieglitz and Dang-Xuan 2013; Guinaudeau, Munger, and Votta 2022). Social media thus constitutes an increasingly relevant realm of applied discourse and a sphere of interest as well as challenges for CDA (Bouvier and Machin 2018; Jørgensen and Phillips 2002). For instance, the distribution of discourse, ideology, and knowledge are no longer restricted to central institutions; instead, social media allows diverse opinions to be presented as facts, so that the assumed authority of authorship is challenged (Bouvier and Machin 2018). At the same time, discourse becomes increasingly fragmented along algorithms and aestheticized via the multimodal integration of text, image, sound, and design (Bouvier and Machin 2018). Thus, the question of how the medium shapes the message becomes relevant, and new methods for data

collection and presentation become necessary (Muis, Klein, and Dijkstra 2020; Bouvier and Machin 2018)

The social media environment appears particularly fruitful for populist political communication, as actors find themselves able to spread their ideologies freely and largely without filter (Engesser et al. 2017; Ernst et al. 2019), construct their own truth claims (Hameleers 2022), and employ rebellious and emotionalised narratives in times of crisis (Gerbaudo 2018). Far-right populist parties, such as the AfD, use this medium effectively to mobilise, for instance through a large network of supportive and fake accounts as well as by addressing young people who seek political orientation and an outlet to frustration (Bösch 2023; Nilan 2021).

The video-sharing platform TikTok is interesting in that regard. Launched in China in 2016 and effectively entering the international market in 2017, it was ranked the most popular app in 2019 and 2020 and has reached over four billion downloads (Iqbal 2024). Over half of its 1.8 billion active users are below age 24 (Iqbal 2024). Its content's original focus on lip-sync and dance videos has expanded to include a variety of pop-culture related themes, comedy skits, and beyond—increasingly interspersed with political content (Guinaudeau, Munger, and Votta 2022). Among German political parties on TikTok, the AfD is by far the most popular, with the account of the AfD fraction in national parliament (@afdfraktionimbundestag²) reaching 455,900 followers as of July 2024. This compares to other parties' accounts on national level with, for instance, a mere 23,800 followers for the Greens (@diegruenen), 37,300 followers for the Left party (@die.linke), and 8,973 followers for the Social Democrats' recently established account (@deinespd). The AfD, it seems, has found effective strategies to maximise its discursive impact in this environment.

2.4 The case: AfD

The *Alternative für Deutschland* ('Alternative for Germany', AfD) is Germany's most established far-right party. It first entered the national parliament in 2017 and currently holds a share of 10.5% of the seats (Decker 2022a; Deutscher Bundestag, n.d.-c). In the European elections in June 2024, the AfD particularly increased its

² The handle (@username) is used to unambiguously identify each TikTok account and forms part of the link to access the account, i.e. tiktok.com/@username.

voting share among young people by 11%, reaching a result of 16% in this age group as well as in the overall elections (ARD-aktuell 2024e).

In contrast to other far-right parties in Europe, the increased popularity of the AfD has not been accompanied by a shift to more moderate positions, but rather by a continuous radicalisation (Arzheimer and Berning 2019; Malm and the Zetkin Collective 2021). While the party was founded in 2013 with a conservative-right focus on EU scepticism, it since then has increasingly shifted to the far right, centring its anti-immigration agenda, with which it has influenced public discourse and forced other parties to respond (Ulrich, Kramer, and Till 2022; Seibriger 2024; Atzpodien 2022; Bale et al. 2010). Concerning climate change, the AfD has consistently held a denialist stance (Ekberg et al. 2023). With its populist appearance and its agitative character that speaks to decided far-right as well as protest voters, it has benefitted considerably from discontent with the governance of Chancellor Olaf Scholz (SPD) and his coalition among Social Democrats, Greens, and Liberals (Endt, Parth, and Reinbold 2024). The AfD has become a demographically as well as geographically overarching phenomenon, successfully mobilising voters of all societal classes (Endt et al. 2024; Decker 2022b). For this purpose, the party has been cultivating a strong presence on its own digital channels and social media, which are framed as ‘alternative media’ and a reliant source of information in contrast to allegedly politically biased public media services (Hillje 2024); it has been considered the most popular political party in Germany on various social media platforms, including Facebook, YouTube, X, Instagram, and TikTok (Bösch 2023; Medina Serrano et al. 2019).

After having continuously increased its poll numbers after summer 2022, the AfD has been facing a slight downward trend since the beginning of 2024 (Endt, Parth, and Reinbold 2024); while there are various potential reasons for this, two have been discussed in more detail. On the one hand, this new trend might be connected to the existence of a new populist party with the foundation of the self-proclaimed left-conservative alliance *Bündnis Sahra Wagenknecht* (Thomeczek 2024; Wagner 2023). On the other hand, the AfD has also faced a multiplicity of scandals (Endt, Parth, and Reinbold 2024). They include a classification of the AfD as suspected case of far-right extremism by the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution (Süddeutsche Zeitung 2024); nation-wide protests after the reveal of a secret meeting among AfD and far-right actors planning a large-scale

‘remigration’ (Bensmann et al. 2024); and an exclusion of the AfD from the far-right *Identity and Democracy* coalition in the EU parliament (ARD-aktuell 2024a; 2024d). Even so, this recent development has not yet dampened the AfD’s national and regional influence.

Two of the recent prominent faces and holders of political positions for the AfD are Alice Weidel and Maximilian Krah—the AfD’s chairperson and leading EU-candidate, respectively. Alice Weidel has been a member of the AfD since 2013; originally part of the moderate fraction, she moved over to the far-right wing of the party in 2015 and was elected one of the chairpersons of the AfD fraction in the national parliament in 2017 (Deutscher Bundestag, n.d.-a; n.d.-b; Amann and Becker 2017). With a background in economics and business consultancy, her focus lies not only on finance, economic policy, and a fundamentalist critique of the Euro (Deutscher Bundestag, n.d.-b; Amann and Becker 2017); she is also known for her populist expression, her anti-immigrant racism, her inherent contradictions as internationally-oriented and lesbian far-right leader, and her calculated but fierce attitude that has aided her rapid rise in the AfD (Mudde 2019; am Orde 2017).

Maximilian Krah, on the other hand, is a rather recent face of the party. He has been a member of the European parliament since 2019 and the AfD’s leading candidate for the EU elections in June 2024, and in 2023 published a book with his manifesto for a “politics from the right” (Europäisches Parlament, n.d.; ARD-aktuell 2024b; Krah 2023). However, a row of scandals in May 2024, which included a suspicion of espionage for China against Krah’s assistant and an interview statement by Krah trivialising the Nazi’s paramilitary organisation SS, lead to the exclusion of the AfD from the European far-right fraction as well as to Krah’s ban from election campaigning and his resignation from the AfD federal executive board (ARD-aktuell 2024b; bpb Social Media Redaktion 2024; Crispin 2024). Yet, his supporters in the party reacted with indignation and he remains a viral face that has largely influenced the party’s recent election campaigning and discourse. In the constitution protection report on the AfD, he is repeatedly mentioned, for instance for his racist and *völkisch*-nationalist statements as well as his contact to the New Right scene (Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz 2019, cited in Meister, Biselli, and Reuter 2019). Hence, both Krah and Weidel constitute highly controversial and publicly discussed AfD politicians, which indicates their considerable discursive influence and renders them relevant subjects of study.

3 Theoretical framework

3.1 Discourse as constituted and constitutive

Discourse is a relevant part of the political realm as well as of everyday life. It can be broadly defined as “a particular way of talking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of the world)” (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002, 1). It is present through speech, text, images, and symbols in political debate, contestation, outreach, and opinion formation. In this thesis, I take into focus the discursive dimension of political knowledge production by examining political communication on social media.

I depart from an understanding of discourse as both constituted by and constitutive of social reality. This implies a bidirectional or, as Fairclough (1992) puts it, dialectical perspective on the relationship between language and social structures. On the one hand, discourse is a mode of representation that is shaped by social structure and real events (Fairclough 1992). Yet, it does not reflect the world objectively but inevitably foregrounds a particular perspective and thus contributes to creating our understanding of reality. It is thus historically and culturally constituted and subjective (Haraway 1988). On the other hand, then, discourse is also “a mode of action, one form in which people may act upon the world and especially each other” (Fairclough 1992, 63). This understanding allows for a combination of social constructivist as well as critical realist ontologies (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002; Fairclough, Jessop, and Sayer 2002). It is through words and narratives that we make sense of the world and that, accordingly, collective understandings and norms are formed. By whom and how discourses are shaped and dominated has implications for what norms are created and reproduced, what can or cannot be said, and what understandings of reality dominate in society. As such, discourse carries a dimension of power. It can reproduce or challenge social order and its power structures, thus contributing to stabilisation or change (Fairclough 1992). This understanding of discourse as a linkage between language and society that is not neutral or objective, but actively contributes to shaping identities, social relations, and change is characteristic for Critical Discourse Studies (Souto-Manning 2014; Jørgensen and Phillips 2002). I situate the thesis in

this field as I approach the appeal and danger of far-right ecologies through discourse.

3.2 Ontological security: Continuity in spite of change

This study employs ontological security as a conceptual framework for understanding the emotional and ideational implications of discourses around crisis and change. As a lens that contextualises the individual's sense of self within a perceived reality of the wider physical and social environment, it allows a focus on the bridge between individual and structure and its mediation through discourse and narrative.

Essentially, the notion of ontological security provides an academic jargon and nuanced conceptualisation to the vague idea of feeling grounded, certain and stable in one's existence, capable of navigating one's world (Vékony 2023). It comprises experiences of emotional stability and confidence (Banham 2020). After originating in the field of psychology, it has been largely shaped by sociologist Anthony Giddens who defines it as “a sense of continuity and order in events, including those not directly within the perceptual environment of the individual” (Giddens 1991, 243). It thus has a relational dimension, establishing a link between the individual sense of a stable self-identity and external factors placed in the wider socio-cultural context. Ontological security is thus rooted in trust, routines, communication rules, and social norms that constitute the collective understanding of a ‘shared reality’ and render the world predictable (Banham 2020; Giddens 1991). As such, ontological security also leaks into and shapes imaginations of the future (Banham 2020).

Contexts of crisis or rapid change, then, can breach those collective understandings and result in a challenge to ontological security. When the social or physical environment is fundamentally altered, the personal sense of self-identity tied to it can be impaired, creating a sense of vulnerability and insecurity (Vékony 2023). If “[s]ocietal rules, values, institutions, traditions, customs, or people whom we regard as part of ‘our kind’ [and that] give us a sense of belonging and a sense of mutual trust” (Vékony 2023, 1064) are dogmatically focused as the basis for ontological security, this understanding may result in a general aversion against change. An attempt to reaffirm identity in response to ontological insecurity may

even provoke a response through heightened nationalism (Kinnvall 2004). However, the lens of ontological security need not imply a conservative stance against change. Indeed, instead of attempting to preserve a sense of continuity by holding on to established norms despite constant societal changes, ontological security can outlast change through the very adaptation of one's self-identity to an evolving reality (Vékony 2023). This enables the embracement of change as ambivalent and inevitable (Banham 2020), which is urgently necessary in the contemporary context of societal transformations and necessary crisis response. This view characterises ontological security as continuous process of learning to live with ambiguity and uncertainty (Kinnvall 2018). The utility of the notion of ontological security, then, does not stem from its focus on stability in an unchanging world, but rather lies in navigating the array of potential responses to change, on an individual as well as societal level.

3.3 Fantasy: A simple path to ontological security

As an additional tool to understand the role of discourse and its interrelation with ontological security, I use the concept of fantasy, a particular form of narrative, and one that is central to far right populist storytelling (Freistein and Gadinger 2020). The concept of fantasy can add a power-sensitive lens to the analysis of how narrative is used in the quest for ontological security and can thus help to account for its political implications (Eberle 2019).

Departing from an understanding of narrative as a structure that gives meaning to and constructs identities and norms from raw discourse by connecting a chain of events, its actors, and its spatial-temporal context in a meaningful way (Miskimmon, O'Loughlin, and Roselle 2013; Souto-Manning 2014), a fantasy can be defined as a particular form of narrative. It comprises “an idealized scenario promising an imaginary fullness or wholeness (the beatific side of fantasy) and, by implication, a disaster scenario (the horrific side of fantasy)”, as well as an obstacle that blocks the way toward achieving the desired ideal scenario (Glynos 2008, 283). Additionally, it contains a transgressive element that stretches the boundaries of what can and cannot be said and articulates something that otherwise remains unacknowledged or is understood as politically incorrect (Eberle 2019). By presenting a simplified binary depiction of reality with a clear-cut distinction

between ‘good’ and ‘evil’, it denies the complexity and uncertainty of the world (Eberle 2019). This can provide a stable sense of reality that goes along with an emotional investment in the idealised side of the fantasy (Glynos 2008)—and serves as a tool for establishing ontological security:

“Fantasies are those types of narratives, which shelter us from anxiety by denying any ambiguity or complexity of the given situation. They feed our ‘hunger for certainty’ by offering us the false safety of a clear-cut choice between two—and only two—options” (Eberle 2019, 249).

While creating a sense of control and ability to navigate, this simplification of reality is likely to reproduce mechanisms of power imbalance and exclusion through polarisation and invisibilisation of diverse perspectives; pluralist discussions about the world are turned “into an existential struggle between two radically opposed alternatives” (Eberle 2019, 261). It is in this paradox between the seemingly harmless search for ontological security and the resulting exclusive and oppressive fantasy that Eberle (2019) situates the synergy between the two concepts. In highlighting different sides of the same coin, a combination of the two concepts can help to understand the appeal of far-right narratives in their promise to offer ontological security, while at the same time emphasising the loss of complexities in the created shared reality. Though an avoidance of simply all fantasies seems unfeasible, it may be possible to learn to relate to them differently, namely as fantasies and not as supposed realities (Eberle 2019)—pointing one way forward for devitalising far-right narratives by identifying simplifications and the insecurities that lie beyond them.

4 Methodology

4.1 Critical Discourse Analysis in three dimensions

This thesis relies on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Fairclough 1992; Jørgensen and Phillips 2002) both in terms of its philosophical background and its methodological toolbox. This means that an acknowledgment of the co-constitution of discourse and reality as illustrated above provides the basis for my exploration of the narratives used in the AfD's political communication. Further, I aim to retain a power-sensitive perspective, situating the analysed discourses against their relation to change.

For these means, I use the term discourse in a multifaceted way. Fairclough (2012) distinguishes between the uses of 'discourse' to alternately refer to processes of meaning-making in general; to the understanding of the world tied to a certain worldview; or to a specific language characteristic for a social field in particular. All three senses will appear throughout the thesis: I explore meaning-making through textual analysis; I aim to point out the various strategic discourses tied to the AfD's worldviews; and I refer to 'the AfD's discourse' as the field that my data forms part of.

Further, CDA focuses on discourse in its applied form in everyday social interaction, so as not to overemphasise structures and conventions, but rather study discourse where it unfolds its ideological effects and its role in processes of social change (Fairclough 1992; Jørgensen and Phillips 2002). The spread of positions, content, and self-presentation on social media platforms, such as TikTok, is one example of such applied discursive practice.

On a practical level, Fairclough (1992) suggests a three-dimensional model to operationalise CDA, which is divided into the levels of text, discursive practice, and social practice (figure 1). I rely on this model to structure my analysis. The discursive practice is concerned with the production and consumption of discourse, as well as with its interdiscursive and intertextual relations to other texts, conventions, and discourses. This can be described as an interpretive layer, and I employ it to situate the general context of the analysed material by exploring the overall impression and self-presentation conveyed as well as the imagery and discursive resources relied upon. To account for the role of TikTok as medium and

for its multimodal character of discourse—including image, sound, etc.—I expand the conventional mode of representation used in CDA with two short vignettes that embody ethnographical elements. Next, Fairclough’s textual level of analysis puts into focus the descriptive examination of narrative construction and linguistic features, including word choice and rhetorical tools. This dimension builds the central part of my analysis, whereas I move beyond a merely descriptive approach by structuring the identified narratives into several themed discourses, aiming to accentuate the patterns and connections in the analysed narratives along with the implications of these discourses. The third level of analysis situates the discourse analysis in a wider social context to answer the research questions by drawing on additional social theory and offering an explanatory dimension. In my case, I rely on the theories of ontological security and fantasy to explain the discourses’ appeal and implications for social change, as well as for exploring potential ways to counter them.

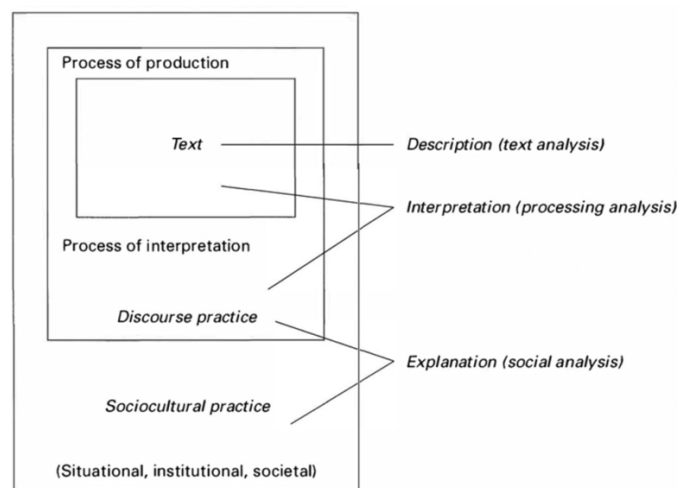


Figure 1: Fairclough’s three-dimensional model of CDA (Titscher et al. 2000, 153)

4.2 Data selection and analysis

TikTok constitutes the setting chosen for my analysis, as it is not only among the most widely used and recent social media platforms globally and in Europe, but also an environment, in which the AfD has gained by far the most popularity and outreach among political parties in Germany (Iqbal 2024; Hillje 2024). It is particularly used among youth, which renders it interesting in context of the AfD’s considerable increase of voting share among young voters in recent elections (ARD-aktuell 2024e). Further, with its focus on short-format videos that allow very

direct messaging, including transmission of an emotional dimension, TikTok content has a multimodal character that expands the scope of most existing literature. I created a TikTok account solely dedicated to this study to familiarise myself with relevant accounts and content.

To understand which narratives are actively spread by the AfD in context of the intersection between its increasing power and its climate obstruction, I centre official AfD accounts as the basis for my analysis. I have chosen to focus on Alice Weidel (@alice_weidel_afd, later abbreviated as AW) and Maximilian Krah (@maximilian_krah, later abbreviated as MK). Both individuals occupy a central office in the AfD, on national and EU levels, respectively. With 59,500 followers (August 2024), Krah is comparably popular within this realm, whereas Weidel has 299,600 followers, which makes her the most popular member of national parliament on TikTok. Initially, I planned to include other popular accounts—selected by a combination of thematic relevance and number of followers—such as the AfD fraction in national parliament (456,200 followers), the thematically interesting energy political spokesperson Steffen Kotré (45,400 followers), the influential and ultranationalist Björn Höcke (101,500 followers), or the regional politician Ulrich Siegmund (445,900 followers) who formed part of Bösch's (2023) analysis. Yet, this was outside the scope of this study; what has led to the selection of Weidel and Krah is their role as office-holders—with a long-term relevance of Weidel and a topical election-related centrality of Krah—, their publicity and controversy beyond TikTok, as well as their representation of different thematic foci and political positions within the party.

The time frame of the data collected for my study comprises the full history of posts available on the two TikTok accounts, ranging from August 2021 to June 2024, which is possible due to TikTok's relative recentness. Considering the entire time span of available posts allowed me to examine climate-related narratives more independently of immediately topical debates in the wider political context. Nevertheless, I did take account of major themes to contextualise the analysis, including the legislative period of the newly elected Red-Green-Yellow government from 2021 onward as well as the Russian invasion of Ukraine and the following energy crisis in 2022.

To collect the data, I first sighted and recorded all posts, taking notes on the overarching themes as well as number of likes of each video (appendix 1 & 2). As

I focus on the production-side of AfD climate discourse, I did not engage with user comments to the analysed posts. Recording served the purpose of securing the data and being able to repeatedly replay the videos for analysis without live-interaction with the posts. In a next step, I selected relevant videos for transcription based on the following criteria:

1. Climate, climate change, climate policy, emissions, climate impacts,
2. Environment, nature, nature conservation,
3. Human-nature relationship,
4. Energy, energy policy,
5. The Greens, Robert Habeck,
6. Future visions,
7. Transformation, societal change, sustainability,
8. Crisis, uncertainty (*not*: covid pandemic, inflation).

A post was selected when at least one selection criterium appeared in the main themes of the post. I chose these criteria to cover the topical focus of the research question on climate-related narratives; at the same time, they remain deliberately broad and encompassing to enable a multidimensional perspective on the discourses around climate change and climate policy, considering the climate crisis as an overarching issue.

As a result, roughly half of the sighted posts were included for further analysis. Transcription of the selected posts focused on speech; additionally, each post's description and hashtags were documented and a brief depiction of image and additional text and sound as well as cuts or changes in frame was included. This way, I found a balance between accounting for the multimodal complexity of the data and adapting to the quantity and general visual monotony of the material (Bezemer and Mavers 2011; Ramey et al. 2016). I used Deepgram to support speech transcription. Finally, I thematically coded the transcripts using the software NVivo (Döring and Bortz 2016, 541). In the first round of coding, I used my research questions and Fairclough's 3D model as a rough guide of attention; after clustering the resulting codes, I conducted a second round of coding for accuracy and consistency between the two analysed accounts (see appendix 3 for the final list of codes). Code clusters as well as code overlaps then guided the analysis.

4.3 Limitations, positionality, and ethical considerations

A major limitation of many CDAs, including this thesis, is the negligence of how discourses are consumed and interpreted (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002). My focus lies on the production side of political meaning-making. Yet, I aim to take some aspects of discourse consumption into account through the integration of ethnographically inspired vignettes. They constitute an attempt to bridge the lack of established methods in CDA to properly present the added dimensions of multimodal material. As I had not engaged with TikTok prior to this research, the illustrated impression of the medium is fully shaped by the analysed AfD content.

Further, the qualitative study of discourse is always restricted by the limited discursive material considered, and it is inherently based on interpretations by the researcher. Hence, a reflexivity about my positionality and academic background are required. As a white German citizen, I am not the main target of the AfD's mechanisms of oppression; yet, as a Human Ecology student, I centre a power-sensitive lens and my bias leans toward an abstract, transdisciplinary understanding of human-nature relationships, contextualising ecological issues against their societal, cultural, political, and economic implications. This is also reflected in the normative stance toward justice-oriented change inherent in CDA and my analysis.

In terms of ethics, several challenges come with the study of the far right. Far-right studies have been criticised not only for the risk of overrepresenting the influence of a politically marginal movement, but also for externalising racism and oppression to the far right instead of recognising its structurally pervasive and institutionalised character (Mondon 2023). The AfD, however, has long moved beyond the societal margins, and with my focus on its discursive implications and compatibilities with wider society I aim to lessen the above risks. Further, while my account constitutes only one user in millions, I kept my live interaction with the posts to a minimum by recording the data to avoid an increase of outreach of the analysed content and accounts. Finally, the decision against anonymisation of my subjects was deemed ethically justifiable, as the subjects are political office holders and all analysed material is publicly accessible.

5 Discursive practice: AfD's digital pose

The discursive material analysed comprises more than mere text; it is video content constituted by an interplay of textual narrative, visual representation of the subject, captions, emojis, sound, and pace, which together create a carefully orchestrated self-presentation of Weidel, Krah, and the AfD. Before diving into the climate narratives conveyed through this medium, I first illustrate more overarching aspects of discourse production and, to some degree, consumption with regards to the two analysed TikTok accounts.

The interaction with content on TikTok is fast paced, with a high load of intensely stimulating visual and audio input being received by the user within a short time frame. It is in this environment of (seemingly) apolitical content that political and ideology-laden discourse is integrated without further contextualisation. Through the video-format of TikTok, parties and politicians alike find a space to lend their face and voice to a virtually direct interaction with the user and to thus spread their message in a personal way. With regard to Weidel's TikTok account, this content constitutes about three hours of video material, of which I transcribed just over two hours. The process of interaction with the medium, Weidel's content and self-presentation can be pictured as follows:

Alice Weidel is standing at a speaker's desk and addresses the audience. In our case, the audience is anyone like you, an audience of thousands, glued to their screens, scrolling on social media. She takes you along to her speeches at national parliament, events, press conferences, her own office—and TikTok-Alice-Weidel follows you wherever you go. Always, she wears a dark blue blazer and her hair tied back neutrally; always, she is confident and fierce; always, she doesn't hide her agitation. As she explains the faultiness of energy, economic, and migration policy, she paints pictures of a dramatic present and a dire future. You may get lost between her topic-hopping and run-on sentences, but at least she's reliant in blaming the Greens and the government, and in venting your anger on a political system that doesn't seem to represent you anymore. You are left with a feeling of desperation and resentment. But in the end, she smiles and thanks her party—the only corrective left in this country gone wrong. Just as you swipe to the next video, you skim somebody's comment: "She would make such a great chancellor!", blue-heart-emoji.



Weidel's self-presentation is characterised by a populist appearance, which can be conceptualised in terms of ideology, style, and strategy (Engesser, Fawzi, and Larsson 2017). On a content-level, her criticism of the political elite and her alleged

concern for the people are closely tied to a far-right worldview that centres national security and prosperity, while antagonising the ‘Other’, particularly through overt racism. On a level of style, she performs an outstanding atmosphere of doom; her critiques are supported through emotionalised language, personal attacks, hyperbolic statements of deterioration, and simplified causal argumentation. In this sense, she corresponds closely to the dimensions of populist style: simplicity, emotionalization, and negativity (Engesser, Fawzi, and Larsson 2017). Yet, she also relies on ‘facts’ and numbers—a widespread strategy of the far right to appear neutral and expertly, also implemented with regard to climate obstruction (Vowles 2023). Hence, she combines a transgression of parliamentary discourse with an occasional employment of seemingly scientific discourse, embodying the character of both critic and expert.

Maximilian Krah’s appearance is, in general, less visibly provoking. His short videos blend into the fast-paced character of TikTok, but his speech is tempered and each message clear; his staging is timeless, consistent, and professional. He has an internally coherent far-right worldview, based on an ethnopluralist and *völkisch*-nationalist ideology, that he conveys through relatable, seemingly harmless storytelling. His 1:15 hours of material, of which 40 minutes were transcribed, yield the following impression:

*Krah plays along in the game of TikTok and performs the role of an influencer. In his short deliberate posts, he directly addresses you, the young viewer. He gives tips on how to take the future into your own hands—through clever job choice and political struggle. He paints pictures of a future in economic prosperity and individual freedom; it is based on *völkisch* strength, autonomy, traditions, and national identity. While the EU-institutions he criticises appear far away, his stories are graspable and relate to the everyday. He embodies a proud man with empathy and entitlement, and he sympathetically calls you for joint action. At first glance, everything about him could seem ordinary; but what he frames as the ‘wellbeing of all’ rests on exclusion, historical revisionism, and the prioritisation of an industrial, patriarchal, homogenous German nation—a full-blown shower of ideological brainwash, though somewhat cloaked in friendly words.*



Maximilian Krah and Alice Weidel are the unequivocal protagonists of their respective TikTok accounts. Their visuals are monotonous, simple, and unexciting, featuring almost exclusively medium- to portrait-shots of Krah and Weidel, respectively. This blends well into the clear dominance of talking heads throughout

far-right media (Vowles 2023) and positions the AfD's TikTok strategy in contrast to the general entertainment culture of the medium (Bösch 2023). It also reinforces the personal self-presentation. Each politician performs as one consistent persona that they never deviate from. Their attire in suit and shirt is consistently neutral and professional. Their face and speech take centre stage and are subtly supported with hand gestures and tone, as they address either a live audience or the online viewer directly. Krah's posts are almost exclusively campaigning videos of him speaking into the camera, apart from two that accompany him at an interview. Behind him shows an unremarkable background, be it a polished spacious building or trees and a sunny sky. Weidel's posts, in contrast, accompany her to various political settings, including parliamentary speeches, excerpts of press conferences, and podium appearances, as well as her office format "Weidels Konter" ('Weidel's comeback'), in which she exclusively addresses her online audience. Her word choice and attitude does not change throughout the settings, as she indulges in the role of the political opponent. Only scarcely are Krah's and Weidel's videos interwoven with short sequences of additional image material to generically represent the current topic or a criticised politician's embarrassment. The focus, however, remains on Weidel and Krah, and their posts are accordingly predictable. This not only facilitates recognition and reinforcement of their curated image; it also contributes to a frame of orientation for ontological security.

One exception to the monotonous and reliable self-representation are references to other politicians. Particularly Weidel refers to various other politicians, including Robert Habeck (Die Grünen, Vice Chancellor since 2021), Olaf Scholz (SPD, Chancellor since 2021), and Angela Merkel (CDU, Chancellor 2005-2021), either by means of personal attack or by showing selected footage of their embarrassing or otherwise telling public appearances. Here, her focus lies on personal debasement, not on argumentative contestation. This breach of political discourse fits her populist style, as described above, as well as the AfD's tradition of provocative appearance and transgression of the acceptable political discourse in parliament (Vögele and Thoms 2019).

The otherwise repetitive visuals are accompanied by subtitles, captions, and emoticons that underline the simple messages: A red cross and red exclamation mark for accentuation, a broomstick and waving hand for 'doing away with the government', a German flag and a heart for the homeland. Facilitated by the TikTok

interface, the designs of added text contribute to the content's blending into the TikTok environment, adding a layer of cohesion (Bouvier and Machin 2018). Sound is kept simple with Weidel's and Krah's speech taking the foreground. Weidel employs occasional background music, sound effects, and live applause for dramatic effects or ridiculing. Krah's videos, in contrast, are mostly accompanied by subtle electronic melodies and beats that serve no immediate purpose other than offering a casual, pleasant background that fits the style of other TikTok content.

The production of this discursive material is kept low-effort and low-budget, according to the principle 'quantity before quality'. Both accounts are filled with regular posts (until Krah was banned from election campaigning after his scandals and stopped posting after May 9th, 2024). Additionally, the interaction with the content is vast, with the number of likes of each of Weidel's and Krah's videos breaching between a thousand to tens of thousands, and the number of views reaching up to millions. This is a reminder of the large network of supporting TikTok accounts that AfD politicians operate within (Bösch 2023). The inflating production of video material, then, appears to be one strategy to effectively influence public discourse.

In terms of themes, accentuation is occasionally observable. The prioritised themes come in waves, ranging from energy policy over immigration to the war in Ukraine and back to energy policy—arguably responding to what is most prominent in the contemporary political context. However, topics are also often arbitrarily combined in incoherent lines of argumentation that feature topic-hopping, cherry-picked 'evidence', and whataboutism, i.e. side-stepping an argument by deflection to another issue. This way, Weidel and Krah swim along with the tide of day-to-day politics, while continuously placing their own topics and narratives, whether they logically fit or not.

With their parallels and differences, Krah's and Weidel's performances interestingly complement each other and give an insight to the heterogeneity of how the same far-right ideologies and positions can be communicated. They transgress the political discourse through populist agitation and hide ideology in strategic even-temperedness; and they provide predictability in their stable self-presentation, monotonous visuals, and repetitive themes. With these apparently effective strategies of discourse production in mind, the next section examines what climate-related narratives they play out in.

6 Textual analysis: Narrating the (climate) crisis

Moving toward a focus on political ecologies, I now turn to a narrative analysis of the discourses that the AfD relates, explicitly or indirectly, to the climate crisis. While both Alice Weidel and Maximilian Krah have notably little to say about the environment—apart from a very sporadic reference to the “thousand wind turbines (...) that are already blighting our landscape” (AW 2023, #40) and a call for “preservation of our homeland; preservation of our environment” (MK 2023, #158)—the discourses on climate action are varied and provide rich material for interpretation. Climate change is given a minimal position in the discourse and is certainly not framed as a crisis, but it provides a starting point for a dominant critique of related policies and the government. Accordingly, the following analysis is separated into three sections: discourses of denial, delay, and delegitimization. This classification constitutes an approximation, and overlaps exist between all three discourses. Yet, it aims to guide through a better understanding of the narrative patterns in Krah’s and Weidel’s climate-related discourse. This shall provide a basis for the following chapter, which offers assessment of these narratives’ implications through the lenses of ontological security and fantasy.

6.1 Discourses of denial: Climate change as a non-issue

Climate change and the climate as such are scarcely mentioned, and yet climate change denial shines through both Krah’s and Weidel’s discourse in various ways. Instead of taking centre stage, it hides in deliberate word choice and is carefully woven into statements about policy and political actors.

For instance, Krah speaks of politicians “who chase after absurd ideas” because they “imagine they can determine the global average temperature in a hundred years’ time” (MK 2024, #123). What in the first place is a criticism of political decision-makers, is based on an anti-scientific stance denying the information value of climate modelling. By putting off predicted temperature rise as “absurd ideas”, Krah negates the very existence of global heating—exemplifying so-called *trend scepticism* (Van Rensburg 2015).

Similarly, Krah denies the anthropogenic cause of climate change. In context of another policy-criticism, he asserts: “we won’t influence the weather in a hundred

years by making you poor; instead, you will become poor, and the climate will do what it wants” (MK 2024, #130). He implies an uncontrollability of climatic developments and denies any causal connection between policymaking and climate change. In so far as what is implicitly referred to are emission reduction measures, this can be classified as *cause scepticism* (Van Rensburg 2015). In addition, his direct address of the viewer pits abstract and questionable crisis mitigation against the supposedly resulting immediate negative consequences of personal poverty.

Krah’s denialism goes further. Even in the possibility of global temperature rise and a 2°C-warming scenario, he shows no cause for concern. This *impact scepticism* (Van Rensburg 2015) is found in a derogatory reference to the climate activist group *Letzte Generation* (‘Last Generation’) and his comment on what he interprets as their central message:

“We all must die. Why? Because it will be two degrees warmer in a hundred years? No, one must die from stupidity, one must die from people who ruin our country. But one will not die if³ it gets two degrees warmer, because our creative power, our faith in ourselves, is strong enough even to deal with bad, adverse climate conditions” (MK 2022, #170).

In the centre of this passage is a ridicule of climate activism; its basis is built on the negation of considerable negative consequences of climate change in the future—not to mention the present. Yet, two further discourses can be identified: entrepreneurialism and *völkisch*-nationalism. The evocation of “creative power” and “faith in ourselves” remind, on the one hand, of the utter belief in the neoliberal market and its technocratic innovations to save us from climate collapse through possibilities of adaptation. On the other hand, the statement goes on and takes a sudden nationalist and identitarian turn:

“But in order for us to be able to cope, (...) we need rootedness. We need to know who we are, where we come from. We must honour our ancestors and what they have created and collected for us; from art, culture, and tradition, we draw the strength, so that we will not perish and die out if it gets two degrees warmer” (MK 2022, #170).

Without diversions, Krah jumps from a casual comment on climate activism to an open display of blood-and-soil ideology and relativisation of history. Now, it is thanks to the strength of the implied German *Volk*—“rooted” in its environment and honouring its ancestry, and underlined by the repeated pronouns “us” and

³ In German, the conjunction “wenn” translates to both “if” and “when”. It is thus not an indicator of the degree of certainty conveyed. I have chosen to translate to “if” in this statement, in line with Krah’s general scepticism toward climate change.

“our”—that climate change can be endured. What results is a paradox argument that both downplays climate change impacts and at the same time uses them for an appeal to entrepreneurial progress and *völkisch*-nationalist strength.

These three forms of climate change denial—of trend, cause, and impact—call into question the natural-scientific reality of climate change. They combine to frame climate change as a non-issue: non-existent, non-manipulable, and non-alarming. Hence, they enable a fourth form of denial called *response scepticism* (Van Rensburg 2015), which lies in the criticism of any political reaction to the climate crisis. Particularly Weidel’s climate-change-related discourse is almost limited to this form of denial, as her posts contain no mention of the climate without reference to the policy context. For instance, she writes: “The green Transformation neither benefits the citizens, nor does it save the #climate or the #planet” (AW 2023, #52). While ‘saving the planet’ is a hyperbolic statement itself, she uses it to point out ineffectiveness of transformative climate policy in meeting its supposed goal. Similarly, she reasons that “anyone who wants to make the citizens believe that tax increases and industrial shutdowns for the climate could prevent heavy rainfall and regional extreme weather in the future is deliberately playing false” (AW 2021, #1). Here, she refers to more specific policy instruments and climate impacts, but as above, while the impacts may or may not be concerning, she portrays the policies as deceptive. In both cases, she negates any causal connection between climate policy and climate change mitigation. Whether this constitutes a call for different climate policy or none at all remains unclear. She thus gets away without an explicit denial of climate change, giving her viewers the possibility to take either ontological stance. While the official position of the AfD does constitute a full-on denial of climate change (AfD 2016), bypassing this question in her public communication on TikTok may allow Alice Weidel to speak to a wider audience.

A second strategy of response scepticism—next to suggesting ineffectiveness—is the depiction of German climate policy as vastly deviant on an international level: “#CO2-#tax: #Germany is the only #hippie-state that seriously wants to implement these crazy ideas. #climatechange #climate #taxes #AfD” (AW 2021, #7). Here, she inverts the idea of German exceptionalism as uniquely superior nation into the negative, depicting German climate policy as uniquely absurd and irrational. She fabricates the descriptor “hippie-state” to underline her argument and implies impaired reasoning through the adjective “durchgeknallt” (‘crazy’).

These various layers of climate change denial come together in the use of notions such as “unworldly climate goals” (AW 2021, #7) and “Klimawahn” (‘climate delusion’, MK 2023, #146, #156), “Klima-Unsinn” (‘climate nonsense’, MK 2023, #139), and “Klimavoodoo” (‘climate voodoo’, MK 2024, #104, #124, #127). They depict climate policy as irrational, unsubstantiated, and based on belief in magic, normalising the underlying rejection of climate science and climate crisis. In terms of climate change, then, the narrative is that temperatures, their relation to anthropogenic emissions, and their negative impact are non-existent or not a problem. Instead, they distract from entrepreneurial innovativeness and national strength, while serving as basis for arbitrary climate policies that are, hence, ineffective and exceptionally unreasonable. Where *climate change* is framed as a non-issue, it creates a basis for constructing *climate policy* as the fundamental problem instead.

6.2 Discourses of delay: Economic devastation and privation of rights

Next to raising doubts about the foundation of climate policy, another strategy of critique is far more prevalent in the studied material: The construction of selected climate and energy policies as means of economic devastation and coercion. Here, the ontological question of climate change is factored out; the focus is moved exclusively onto the political realm and its negative economic and social consequences. Themes that characterise this political critique include alleged consequence of deindustrialisation, an emphasis of price increases that burden the citizens, and a portrayed restriction of freedom.

Most prominently, climate action and economic flourishing are pitted against each other on a structural level. On the one hand, Weidel projects that “the great decarbonization would cost our economy ten trillion euros by 2045, trillions with T” (AW 2023, #52). She implies the unaffordability of a transformation to low-emission infrastructure—citing a seemingly neutral number from the German energy scientist André Thess who is known to mingle in the climate denialist scene (Hunger 2022). Krah supports this view, deducing that the German EU-delegates “would like to burn our own money here for all kinds of political nonsense projects (...) [including] climate-voodoo” (MK 2024, #124). Climate policy, then, is seen

as a waste of resources. On the other hand, Krah criticises existing energy politics from a simplistic and one-dimensional perspective. He worries that “[a]nyone who quadruples energy prices cannot be an industrial location” (MK 2024, #130), projecting the collapse of German industry as a result of a misaligned energy strategy. These politics, according to Weidel, are bound to “force energy-intensive, productive industries to emigrate or directly into insolvency, a term that Mr. Habeck doesn’t comprehend” (AW 2023, #52), and she does not fail to use this opportunity for an attack on the minister. Taken together, climate and energy policy are conspired as a comprehensive “deindustrialisation programme” (AW 2023, #44) for a deliberate “industrial shutdown” (AW 2021, #1)—summarised in Weidel’s words: “All of this, of course, under the heading ‘An industrialised country abolishes itself’” (AW 2022, #30). While their initial purpose is made discursively invisible, climate politics come to appear as nothing but incompatible with economic prosperity.

Similarly, energy policy is thoroughly demonised, as the energy transition is challenged and energy and foreign policy become intertwined in context of the Russian invasion of Ukraine. A purely ideological basis of the energy transition is implied when Weidel dismisses its feasibility: “We know that Russian gas has provided for the cushioning of the energy transition, that is of the fluttering electricity; so the energy transition has never worked” (AW 2022, #30). She wants to do “away with the energy transition and [move] towards base-load-capable power plants” (AW 2022, #31), including nuclear, hard coal, lignite and gas. This implication of ideology underlying energy policy becomes intertwined with a critique of foreign policy in the AfD’s reactionary response to the energy crisis succeeding Russia’s invasion of Ukraine in 2022. Both AfD politicians lament the cease of Russian gas imports and the supposed sabotage of the North Stream Two pipeline, claiming that these had been “the lifeline of German industry and the guarantee of your cheap energy” (MK 2023, #153). Meanwhile, the attempt of the German government to respond to this crisis via a gas price cap is criticised as “undifferentiated” and “of course much too late and doesn’t reach far enough” (AW 2022, #30). Finally, both energy transition and foreign policy toward Russia are made responsible for a “situation of exploding energy prices, [in which] we must relieve the burden on our citizens and our companies in the face of exploding electricity and gas prices” (AW 2022, #31). Here, the basis of critique moves from

structural to personal, as the earlier theme of price increases recurs with a focus on the burden it creates for the ordinary citizen. These politics, Weidel emphasises, go against reason and against the people:

“What does the traffic-light coalition⁴ do? It is driving taxes and fees ever higher. In the middle of the crisis, does this federal government still have the impudence, the impudence—despite these record prices on energy and fuel—to add the rip-off tax CO₂-levy still on top and to increase it even more than was already planned? What kind of disgrace is that?” (AW 2023, #58).

What is portrayed here as crisis is certainly not a complex geopolitical situation with multi-dimensional challenges including climate, environmental and social justice on a global level. Rather, we find a reductionist argument that elevates one aspect of one contemporary political challenge, namely changing energy supply in light of the Russian invasion of Ukraine, to the ultimate concern. “The whole thing is not sustainable” (AW 2022, #31), Weidel concludes, inducing a paradoxical association of the inherently multidimensional notion of sustainability. As a simplification of complex reality takes place—along the lines of a fantasy—, the governmental response is easily portrayed as insufficient.

Taking a step back from the immediate political context, the fears of rising prices remain engrained in climate policy, even without a topical source of uncertain energy supply. The most obvious connector between structural policy and personal impacts is found in the instrument of carbon taxes:

“Climate taxes don’t only artificially inflate fuel prices, but also production and transport costs; one has to imagine it like this, all these climate taxes encroach the value chains of products, meaning that all preliminary stages—all stages in production—become more expensive due to these nonsensical climate taxes, and that is why we now have this inflation” (AW 2022, #18).

By portraying carbon taxes as artificial and encompassing, Weidel creates a fear of uncontrollably rising price that are immediately passed down to the consumer. She also makes carbon taxes alone responsible for a complex economic situation of wide-reaching inflation, which again constitutes a reductionist argument. Rising prices—and not emission mitigation—come to appear as the very aim of carbon taxes in this depiction.

⁴ The traffic-light coalition is a colloquial term for the red-green-yellow coalition of Social Democrats (SPD), Greens (Die Grünen), and Liberals (FDP) that was elected into federal government in 2021.

Finally, next to the economic concerns on national and individual level, another layer of critiquing climate and energy policy is added through allegations of coercion and restriction of citizen rights. The German Buildings Energy Act established in 2023 serves a central target:

“The German government's energy and heating plans (...) are tantamount to ubiquitous expropriation. What is being done here, which is also popularly known as the ‘heating massacre’, (...) is an encroachment by the state on the private property rights of citizens, which are actually protected by the Basic Law. (...) A compulsion for heat pumps, just imagine! A de facto ban on oil and gas heating systems from 2024 with the accompanying insulation laws, any normal citizen can no longer bear this and it will lead to the middle class becoming impoverished” (AW 2023, #43).

In this excerpt, it is not only the use of exaggeration (‘ubiquitous expropriation’), sweeping statements (‘de facto’), and expressions of bewilderment (‘just imagine’) that situate the proposal as far from reasonable. At the core of critique is the portrayal of the law as coercive through its alleged violation of basic right (although the law’s implementation details were still subject to discussion at the time of the post). Climate policy is depicted as absolute and authoritarian, stripping the citizens off any freedom of choice and leading to costs and involuntary actions. The same trope is found in Krahl’s outlook on a potential ban of combustion engines:

“You want to take the cabriolet to the beach or the cargo bike to the quarry pond? This question the European Union answers for you because individual mobility is by now considered suspect, at least if it goes beyond the bicycle. (...) All in all, the era of the carefree life is over” (MK, 2024, #114).

He uses a direct address of the viewer and a rhetorical question with a drastic ‘either-or’ scenario to reinforce his point and trigger an emotional response. The outcome is negative and imposed by the far-away EU, making the situation appear unavoidable and the citizen powerless. Climate policy will make choices impossible and living-standards go down, he implies: “no owned flat, no car, no vacation, meat once a month if at all” (MK 2024, #130). An impending loss of individual agency, then, is added to the already evoked fears of economic ruin through climate policy. ‘Nothing of what is precious to you will remain untouched’, seems to be the message implied.

Taken together, both Krahl and Weidel paint a picture of deliberate destruction of the national industry and of citizens turned victims due to climate action. Their narratives comprise that decarbonisation is costly, economically detrimental, and a

result of ideology-politics, and that climate and energy policy lead to impoverishment, expropriation, and coercion of the ordinary citizen. In highlighting the disadvantages of climate policy, they constitute discourses of delay. Their transported criticism remains intact independent of the viewer's ontological position on the existence of climate change. Especially in light of accumulating perceivable evidence and awareness of the climate crisis, the use of discourses of delay has the potential to reach far wider audiences than an open denial of climate change. Drivers of discourses of delay include neoliberal actors, conservatives, and fossil capital, and the adoption of these discourses by the AfD allows for discursive alliances between these actors. It also highlights existing points of connectivity to mainstream discourse, as the AfD finds fertile grounds to spread its ideology-laden narratives into wider society. The crisis is orchestrated as a problem endogenous to the political realm, fully detached from any ecological factors. Expectably, an easy solution is laid out—which leads to the next section.

6.3 Discourses of delegitimization: A government against Germany

As observable above, Weidel and Krah use climate and energy policy as means to delegitimise the government—and vice versa. Yet, the attack on governing institutions and politicians reaches deeper, sweeping away the entire ground of political predictability, stability, and crisis management. The relevance of narratives about the government partly stems from their considerable dominance in the AfD discourse as well as the government's position of power in shaping the political reality of crisis management and societal changes. Additionally, the AfD's very framing of anything climate-change-related as a politically endogenous issue yields a more detailed analysis of the discourse around the government necessary to better understand dominant climate narratives.

Both Alice Weidel and Maximilian Krah essentially paint a picture of a 'Government against Germany' that features three central elements: incompetence, citizen-hostility, and anti-democracy, all of which are driven by self-interest and ideology. Yet, their strategies for illustrating these concerns differ in that Weidel utilises a very aggressive language that personally attacks selected political figures and leaves the viewer with a sense of chaos and desperation, while Krah mostly

relies on a more composed style that diligently calls the viewer to action. In contrast to the discourses of denial and delay, which are notable by their visual absence, the delegitimization of the government, in a few instances, is supported by primary video material ridiculing the respective politician.

The first theme of criticism is the government's incompetence. Repeatedly, Weidel criticises the entire cabinet with blunt statements on lack of education and intellectual ability. Generically, she identifies "a glaring problem with personnel selection" (AW 2023, #42) and proclaims that "our government continues to dumb down" (AW 2022, #37). Occasionally, both she and Krah arbitrarily defame individual politicians of any established party. Weidel's main target, however, remains the Minister for Economic Affairs and Climate Action, Robert Habeck (Die Grünen). She navigates these two levels when she states:

"The bad thing about it is of course—we are now laughing at so much stupidity and we all know that this entire government bank is an outflow of the educational misery in Germany"—clapping in the background—"I say that completely value-free, it just is like that, it's very simple factual information. (...) Some of these people do not even have professional training at all. They don't know how value chains work. Let me come back to our well-known favourite minister, who has been pushed endlessly by photo shoots and photo series in the German media, which are all left-green themselves (...)" (AW 2023, #42).

After an unsubstantiated dismissal of the government as uneducated and 'stupid'—an assessment she unsuccessfully tries to frame as a neutral factual statement—, Weidel moves on to Habeck by ironically introducing her "favourite minister" and referencing the lack of familiarity with value chains. With the latter, she refers to one of her unconventional posts (AW 2022, #23), which reproduces an unfavourable TV interview of Habeck in September 2022, where he splutters, as he unsuccessfully navigates between the reality of economic recession and his reassurance that no wave of insolvency is to be expected. While this stumble constitutes a cherry-picked excerpt among Habeck's multitude of public appearances, Weidel never tires of referencing it and using it as a basis for personal attack. She calls him "an economic illiterate as Minister for Economic Affairs" (AW 2023, #69) and raises her voice on the podium, shouting to AfD supporters: "We have a born-and-bred dilettante sitting there who is winding up the industrial nation of Germany!" (AW 2023, #42). In contrast, Krah remains somewhat more guarded and impersonal in his judgements. His assertions of incompetence are

more topically targeted, as he imagines a competent response to the war in Ukraine, which, in his view, “the current [EU] Commission and the ruling caste of politicians are failing to do” (MK 2024, #111), pointing out that “our own politicians are no longer even capable of differentiated thinking” (MK 2022, #168). He thus also expresses an element of lacking governance capability, but he remains impersonal in addressing a vague group or institutional entity as well as in restricting his criticism to the political scope of duties.

In contradiction and in interplay with its alleged incompetence, the government is also accused of a very deliberate and strategic malintent that is directed against the citizens. Krah expresses this conspiracy bluntly:

“The federal government hates you. It wants to take away that which you have earned. It wants to redistribute more and more of your gross income to the rest of the world. It wants to destroy your inheritance and take away your owned apartment. It goes to Brussels to use your money to persuade the other countries to adopt policies that will make you poorer, more disenfranchised, and will-less” (MK 2023, #146).

In employing the notion of hate and relating it directly to the viewer, this statement is prone to a strong emotional reaction. What is transmitted is the impression of a government that has anything but its citizens’ interests at heart, but instead—in line with populist ideology (Engesser, Fawzi, and Larsson 2017)—favours some global Other, creating a sense of being disadvantaged and left behind. Weidel expresses a similar sentiment, integrating more detail and resentment:

“More audaciously than ever, does a politics that has lost all measure and purpose interfere with our personal lives. It arrogates to control attitude and to ostracize critics; encroaches on the property of citizens and their inheritors; engages in the creeping expropriation and impoverishment of the middle class and bourgeoisie⁵; and threatens the foundations of our economic and societal well-being. Deindustrialization and state failure, migration crisis, deterioration of public infrastructure, insecurity, paternalism, and coercion have taken on an alarming pace in the past year, the first year of the traffic-light government” (AW 2022, #38).

She stresses an unimaginable level of inadequacy and significance by using strong vocabulary and absolutes. As she lists negative consequences of the government’s malevolence, she moves from the individual to the societal, swiftly extrapolating

⁵ This is a loose translation, as Weidel uses “Mittelstand” and “Mittelschicht”, two very similar German words for middle class. Yet, it is fitting in light of her generally sweeping use of these terms to refer to different social groups, ranging from homeowners (e.g. AW 2023, #43) to people who “do not know how to pay their bills and purchases every day” (AW 2023, #58).

the small and relatable to a generalised bigger picture. Her adjectives and the length of enumeration underline a focus on the weight of wrongdoing, rather than on the content, which spans over virtually all possible areas of governance.

Taking a step further, the motivation behind this malevolent destruction of nation and industry is explained by corruptive self-interest and ideology. An accusation of conflicting interests mainly focuses on Habeck's ministry. Alleged nepotism and ideological drive become interwoven, as Weidel writes: “#Roberthabeck has packed his #ministry with kindred and related #eco-lobbyists who have only one goal: To push through their ideological #agenda against the citizens” (AW 2023, #46). The theme of corrupt “clan structure” (AW 2023, #49) in the Ministry for Economic Affairs and Climate Action under Green leadership recurs throughout her posts, and so does the characterisation of Habeck as the nucleus among “climate ideologues who want to (...) realize their dreams of an eco-socialist planned and scarcity economy with cargo bikes and candles” (AW 2023, #56) and to lay “the axe (...) to the bourgeois dreams of life in Germany” (AW 2023, #46). Krah reinforces the accusation of ideology with his characterisation of the Green party:

“The Greens are a doomsday sect. They believe that the world will end in fifty years because it will be two degrees warmer. They no longer want us to have children. They want everything that has made our society and our country great, be it culture, be it beauty, to be bad, guilt-ridden, to be ruined for us. They have no sense of the greatness of our ancestors. They don't believe in the future, but they want to take it away from us” (MK 2023, #160).

By using the term ‘sect’, he moves away from the political discourse that would be suited to characterise a political party, instead falling back on religious discourse and associations of a manipulative, authoritarian, closed-off group. He then goes on to present a list of alleged views of the Green party that, if examined critically, is more telling about Krah's own *völkisch*-nationalist ideology than it is about actual Green-party positions. Underlying these almost casual statements that appear to focus on his political enemy are highly problematic historical-revisionist positions that relativise German national-socialist history. Overall, then, by way of projection, the AfD politicians denunciate governing actors as ideology-apparatus, simultaneously hiding the strongly ideological components present in their own communication. Their focus alternates arbitrarily between the Green party in

general and “Habeck, the economy-destruction-minister” (AW 2023, #42) in particular.

These allegations of incompetence and corrupt, ideology-based malintent culminate in an impression of an unwanted and anti-democratic regime. Weidel illustrates the level of discontent with strong, though unsubstantiated numbers:

“Two thirds of the German population have no confidence in the German Chancellor. That is a record high. Two thirds of the people in this country have no confidence in this federal government. That is also a peak value. Over 80% of the population are against the decisions of the traffic-light government. It is a record high. 80% are against the heating law that has been passed. 80% are against the shutdown of nuclear power. Over 80% are against the ban on combustion engines. And in summary, this means nothing other than a crisis of confidence in the German government, in the German Chancellor, in the institutions of the German state” (AW 2023, #64).

Without listing any source or evidence, she declares that a vast majority of the German population disapproves of the current government and its members as well as various of its energy policies. Again, climate and sustainability-related measures act as place marker for a politics entirely gone wrong. Next to the reliance on numbers to suggest factuality, she brings in a temporal element of exceptionalism, pointing out that the state of discontent is unprecedented. Presumably, what results is a crisis that is still exclusively attributed to the government and its internal issues. By factoring out any external ecological or political challenges, she creates an imagined reality, in which “[t]his coalition is governing against reason, against reality, against the will and well-being of the citizens. And it is governing against our constitution!” (AW 2024, #75). While Kraus remains in his even-tempered, assuring character, he agrees with this assessment, as he calls for “a different politics; because the current one is so bad that it will dispense of itself” (MK 2024, #105). Having started out with a critique of climate policy, what remains is a complete delegitimization of the government.

The ultimate response constitutes a call to action against the regime. Neither Kraus nor Weidel suggest any substantiated solutions to the political challenges the government faces. Instead, their solution is to “vote for the AfD, the voice of reason, which is precisely the only party that can still prevent this” (AW 2022, #31)—‘this’ being a vague placeholder for any of the government’s wrongdoings established through the AfD’s discourses of delegitimization. Not in all posts, however, does the word choice remain democratic, as they picture the future:

“The AfD is far too small. But if it gets bigger, it will govern. And if it doesn't govern, then it's no longer your homeland. Then it will go down. Then it will become a shithole. If you join in, if we fight together, then we will chase away the left-wing nutters and create a country that we're proud of, that has a future, that is strong, where we are healthy, that is rich, that lives in peace with its neighbours!” (MK 2023, #137).

This simplified and exaggerated good-or-bad scenario represents a short summary of Krah's fantasy-understanding of reality. His idealised vision of the future is hopeful but vague, and on his proposed path to reach it, he does not specify whether or not he imagines the 'chase-off' of the government to take place via nonviolent means and democratic elections. Weidel sets a similar tone, when she appeals, “let's really send this irresponsible wreckage squad into nirvana!” (AW 2023, #42). It is left to the mass of TikTok followers to choose to interpret these words, literally or figuratively. Clear is that Krah and Weidel wish for a “#politikwende” ('political shift', AW 2023, #49, #52, #54). What exactly this means remains ambiguous—though certainly, it means the opposite of the political changes called for by climate justice advocates.

Taken together, these discourses of delegitimization reinforce the rejection of climate change as a cause for crisis; its place is instead taken by the government through the narration of a “crisis of the government” (AW 2023, #74), which acts as single cause for a resulting “ubiquitous crisis” (AW 2023, #64). Specifically, the narratives in this case are actor-focused and portray the government, particularly Robert Habeck and his Green party, as incompetent and malevolent, pursuing self-interest and ideology, and holding on to power despite pushback by the people. In combination with the discourses of delay and denial, it is these characteristics that allegedly motivate restrictive and ruinous policies to solve a made-up problem. In the end, everybody loses, except for the government in its dreamed-up reality. As this pattern of storytelling moves beyond the narrow focus on climate, the government acts as the one connecting factor between all political realms criticised by the AfD.

7 Social practice: An alternate reality

The AfD TikTok accounts of Weidel and Krah feature narratives on questionable climate change, ineffective climate policy, economic ruin, violated citizen rights, and a general defectiveness of the government. The resulting shared reality latches onto fractions of existing concerns and challenges, and it stretches them far enough to create highly emotionalised and simplified collective understandings of the political and public realms. Instead of proposing specific solutions, Krah and Weidel provide an outlet for resentment that channels a vaguely existing sense of discontent and uncertainty. They stir up sentiments of mistrust in the government and promise a future that puts German traditions, prosperity, and nationalist identity in the centre—a future that requires no change, no open-mindedness to diversity, no deconstruction of privileges, no tolerance for ambiguity. This story of reality is not evidence-based or verifiable; and it does not need to be because what counts is a compelling narrative and its emotional appeal (Freistein, Gadinger, and Unrau 2022)—if only for those who fit the norm. Such alternative truth claims may rely on mere confirmation bias and can flourish on social media (Hameleers 2022). In the following, I use the lenses of ontological security and fantasy to explore what constitutes these narratives' compellingness, what implications this has, and what might be tentative ways to resist it.

7.1 Ontological security removed and reestablished

The shared reality created through the analysed AfD TikTok communication interrelates with the concept of ontological security in various ways, as narratives are utilised to affect the sense of continuity and stable self-identity that constitutes ontological security. On the one hand, prospects of economic devastation and rights' violations blamed on governmental failures remove any basis for ontological security, as they render the political and personal future unpredictable and threatening. On the other hand, ontological security is reestablished through the AfD as political saviour, and it remains guaranteed in light of the construction of all current problems as politically endogenous.

Particularly Weidel creates an overwhelming atmosphere of political and economic doom that may at first seem counterintuitive. An exceptional sense of

downfall, repression, and economic and ideological loss is created. It is rooted in what is portrayed as an artificially created political crisis due to an incompetent, malevolent, ideology-driven government. What results is an inherent unpredictability, powerlessness, and resentment; ontological insecurity is sowed and reinforced.

However, insecurity is not the only outcome of the narratives. By voicing fractions of existing concerns and fears, the AfD also revives a feeling of relief in being seen and heard. Concerns and anxieties are not unsubstantiated in light of the challenges posed by the climate crisis, and Global North societies have yet to find ways to make room for them (Norgaard 2011). The strategy employed by the AfD is to stretch and bend them into simplified statements, conspiracies, or straight-out lies that enable an easy conceptualisation of the problem and a one-solve all solution, while at the same time reaffirming identity (Kinnvall 2004). A sense of trust may be cultivated by addressing such concerns, even if they breach the boundaries of the politically sayable.

Particularly in context of a climate politics that largely relies on market-based mechanisms, green growth, and sustainable consumerism, constructive critique is warranted. The root causes of the climate crisis need to be acknowledged (Buch-Hansen and Nielsen 2023); social- and environmental-justice concerns are not yet sufficiently addressed, neither on a local nor global scale, and dynamics of exploitation and power asymmetries are perpetuated rather than dismantled (e.g. Sandilands 1993; Nixon 2011). AfD narratives co-opt this critical lens and invert its logic into an ‘anti-everything’-sentiment, staging German climate governance in terms of unjustified loss of privilege and individual freedom. Instead of asking for root causes and suggesting real solutions, fragments of legitimate criticism are instrumentalised for an unconstructive and comprehensive delegitimization. This unnuanced attack becomes discursively normalised, and the AfD poses as the only safe haven that recognises and alleviates citizens’ insecurities.

In response to insecurity and concerns, an empowering element is introduced not only via an essentialised national identity (Helbrecht et al. 2021), but also via the identification of a clear source and culprit to the problem: The governing parties alone are made responsible for all and any ills. This tool of scapegoating makes the problem more graspable and promises social redemption (Jasinski 2001). What follows is a call to collective action against a straightforward target. Hence, agency

and self-efficacy are restored. It is through and with the AfD that concerned citizens are promised to reclaim the power that the government allegedly denies them; they regain control and a new basis for ontological security. Predictability, continuity, and identity are now sourced from the AfD, the saviour and enabler.

Finally, once ontological security is reestablished through the AfD as decisive agent who will reverse political downfall, a scenario is created that guarantees business-as-usual and a prosperous life via denial of the climate crisis. Without the existence of climate change, there is no longer a need for a social-ecological transformation that acknowledges an ‘imperial mode of living’ and challenges cultural norms, lifestyles, and privileges (Brand and Wissen 2017). This forecloses any reason for insecurity with regard to change, and ontological security is established through the adherence to a stable identity based on an unchanging social and physical environment. Here, the ‘status quo bias’ of ontological security is actively utilised, holding on to the existing social order instead of inviting reflexivity about the indeterminacy of the world to create an adaptivity to change (Kinnvall and Mitzen 2020). The possibility of such a reflexive and adaptive ontological security is diminished through the complexity-reducing and emotionalised discourse of the AfD, and what remains is a strong investment in an easy achievement of ontological security through the imagination of a world that does not need to change.

7.2 Fantasy of easy solutions

The shared reality created by Alice Weidel and Maximilian Krah on TikTok is one that fulfils the defining elements of a fantasy: Created is an ‘either-or’ narrative that provides clear-cut and simplified scenarios of a ‘good’ and a ‘bad’ future, with the characterisation of an obstacle that hinders the achievement of the ‘good’ scenario. Weidel’s and Krah’s ideal scenario comprises a strong German nation with a flourishing industrial economy and prosperous citizens that are proud of their *völkisch*-nationalist identity and traditions. However, in their view, the current government with its alleged climate—as well as gender and open-border—ideology is the central obstacle that wants to obstruct the possibility of the ideal scenario and instead lead to a horrific scenario represented by the downfall of the nation through economic devastation, impoverishment, violation of rights, and

authoritarian rule. When Eberle (2019) highlights that the concept of fantasy allows a focus “on the linguistic construction of the social world and our identity in it, as well as our ability to cope in an uncertain and anxiety-inducing environment” (244), his words reflect precisely what can be observed in the analysed AfD representatives’ TikTok accounts. In an uncertain and fast-changing world, the social reality created here is one of doom or prosperity, both of which are closely tied to national identity and privileges. Any fear of change and uncertainty becomes unwarranted, as the AfD is constructed as the saviour who can change the course from a current road of deterioration toward a gleaming future that resembles business-as-usual and memories of an idealised past.

Further, with their populist rhetoric of absolutes, single-cause logic, scapegoating, conspiracies, and emotionalised language—which hold space for their far-right, nationalist ideology—AfD politicians stretch the boundaries of what can and cannot be said, be it on TikTok or in the national parliament. This embodies a transgressive element that, by breaking social rules and saying the ‘unsayable’ constitutes part of the appeal of fantasy (Eberle 2019).

In a world that is characterised by global challenges including social-ecological injustice, wars, and ecological deterioration, these simplified scenarios provide a narrative to hold on to and a lens to navigate the world without having to tolerate its uncertainty. Acknowledging the complexity and ambiguity of an unjustly heating world can be challenging, as it requires a critique of coloniality and capitalism, a self-reflexivity about one’s own positionality and ideologies, a tolerance for unpredictability, and a management of difficult emotional responses (Norgaard 2011; Sultana 2022). In contrast, the AfD’s idealised scenario provides a one-solve-all explanation that does not require any of the above; to believe it is less work than to genuinely acknowledge the crises’ complexities. Yet, it also disregards any concern that goes beyond the immediate horizon of the norm-abiding German citizen, resulting in the continuation of existing exclusion mechanisms and power asymmetries, while closing any path toward heightened global justice. Instead, an identity is constructed that entitles the prioritisation of individual freedom above anything else—particularly above questioning one’s own privilege and power position—and that grants satisfaction in light of a crisis that, if accepted in its complexity, seems too difficult to address for the individual citizen anyway.

7.3 Resisting the AfD's discourses despite crisis

What does this understanding of the discursive strategies of AfD communication on TikTok mean for political opinion-formation in the context of complex ecological crises? How can a societal tolerance for ambiguity be cultivated and a capacity for constructive discussion be retained? The lenses of ontological security and fantasy point toward a compellingness of far-right populist narratives that is achieved by various means: addressing existing concerns; returning a sense of control and agency; eliminating external causes of uncertainty; and providing a graspable depiction of the problem and a simple path forward. While rationally these narratives may be readily dismissed—on the grounds that there are no easy solutions resolve complex problems (Gilligan and Vandenberg 2020)—, their functionality merits further attention.

One starting point to react to a context of rising far-right influence may be to take seriously that there appear to be some real or perceived-as-real concerns that are, at least seemingly, addressed by the AfD, while otherwise finding little room in political debate and in a culture shaped by the neoliberal social-economic order. Considering the complexity of transforming a deeply fossil-fuel-based global economy, climate policy faces inherent political trade-offs and a difficulty in guaranteeing social viability and a just transition (Newell and Mulvaney 2013); these shortcomings need to be acknowledged. A more central embodiment of a social-justice dimension in climate policy as well as its clear and easy communication may be one way to decrease its perceived threat to ontological security.

Additionally, the lack of cultural mechanisms for coping with the negative emotions and psychological challenges tied to a thorough acknowledgement of the climate crisis have been pointed out, particularly with regard to Global North societies (Norgaard 2011; Weintrobe 2021). In a context of crisis and change, there is a need to incorporate such mechanisms into collective practices in order to increase the tolerance for complexity and ambiguity. This way, also those who see their privileges challenged by a social-ecological transformation are taken along in navigating change, instead of referring to fantasies and oppression. Hence, a broader acknowledgment of the emotional responses, challenges, and insecurities elicited by the climate crisis and by the idea of societal transformation seems

necessary, for instance by cultivating cultures of care that foster empathy and enable social responsibility (Weintrobe 2021). Such strategies may help to make societal change graspable and to nurture an adaptive self-identity that can embrace change and retain ontological security beyond it.

Finally, how can new narratives of problem, cause, and solution be told that restore agency and counter the AfD's distorted depictions effectively? Various techniques of futuring aim to meet such ends by opening pathways toward better futures through imagination (Oomen, Hoffman, and Hajer 2022). For instance, Afrofuturism is a way of storytelling and imagination that escapes the pervasive framing of the future in terms of disaster, which is most often also linked to a racialised Other (Yaszek 2006). Regarding ontological security as interconnected with one's relation to the future (Banham 2020), such techniques may not only open new ways of conceptualising the future, but also help to find agency and ways of participation in the politically challenging and changing present. While these constitute merely tentative explorations that depart from a combination of discourse analysis with the lenses of ontological security and fantasy, they may provide starting points toward nurturing an adaptability to change, a tolerance for complexity, a curiosity for the future, and a detachment from any unreachable idealised scenario that denies the climate crisis or defers the need to respond to it.

8 Conclusion

In Germany, the year 2024 began with nationwide demonstrations against the far right, at which thousands of people took a stand against the AfD (ARD-aktuell 2024c). Nevertheless, AfD politicians on the social media platform TikTok continue to reach perpetually rising numbers of followers. Meanwhile, the past year has seen consecutive record highs in monthly temperature (Younger 2024), and the AfD continues to deny the existence of the climate crisis. This thesis has examined climate-related discourses of two AfD politicians on TikTok through a lens of ontological security and fantasy to make sense of the interrelation between these trends. It finds that various discourses of denial and delay underlie the AfD's narratives in response to the climate crisis, and that they are intricately linked to a delegitimization of the government. These discourses frame the challenges posed by the climate crisis as a politically endogenous problem—induced solely by an ideology-driven and incompetent government whose climate policy is detached from reality and directed against the ordinary citizen. Hence, the topic of climate change is instrumentalised to stir resentment and call for a drastic change in political power.

These findings are generally in line with and deepen the understanding of far-right climate-change communication in Germany (Forchtner, Kroneder, and Wetzel 2018) and beyond (Ekberg et al. 2023). They also confirm the outstanding monotony of AfD videos and visuals compared to usual TikTok culture (Bösch 2023). Surprising, however, is the scarcity of direct mentions of climate change. In contrast to, for instance, the widespread use of misleading graphs dismissing the threat of climate change in other far-right media (Vowles 2023), the denialism of AfD communication on TikTok largely remains in between the lines. Yet, it appears to be effective and sufficient for a thorough delegitimization of climate policy and climate governance, which contrarily is unexpectedly prominent among the AfD's TikTok themes.

In terms of appeal of these narratives, the construction of a simplistic fantasy by the AfD politicians divides reality into an 'either-good-or-bad' scenario. It is used, first, to destabilise the viewer's ontological security in light of the horrific scenario of political and economic downfall; second, it is employed to reestablish security through the promise of an AfD-led ideal future with a strong German industrial

nation in a world where climate change presents no concern. In the digital and high-input reality of TikTok, then, climate-crisis-induced insecurities are actively utilised to seed far-right ideology in the search for an easy solution.

While this understanding can point toward various strategies for weakening such narratives, it also serves as a reminder that the (constructive) criticism of climate governance should not be ceded to the far right. Instead, it needs participatory and justice-oriented ways that more effectively address the root causes of the climate crisis, that can meet mitigation targets, and that accomplish a management of present and future uncertainty. For instance, with regard to the controversy around the German Buildings Energy, the AfD's agitation—though exaggerated—found an easy target in the incoherent communication and government-internal tension that caused general insecurity with regard to the law; transparent and straightforward communication is just one aspect that could allow more confident steps toward climate neutrality and justice. In this way, the study of the far right can serve not only to understand and counter the changes proposed in the name of exclusion and nationalist superiority, but also help to construct more multilayered pathways for social-ecological transformation.

This thesis contributes to far-right studies both by responding to a scarcity of research of far-right presence on the steadily growing and increasingly politicised platform of TikTok (Bösch 2023) and by providing a multimodal perspective. Despite the monotony of visuals, they aid an understanding of the politicians' self-presentation and provide a starting point for deriving strategic impacts of the large absence of entertaining images. This visual dimension and the TikTok interface have inspired me to explore suitable ways to textually present findings for a multimodal discourse analysis. Carrying these elements further, future research could investigate the interrelation between message and medium also from the side of consumption and interpretation. The interaction with the posts through sharing, liking, remixing, and commenting lay beyond the scope of this thesis and warrant further examination to fully grasp the influence of AfD discourses. While the employed lenses of ontological security and fantasy have guided an understanding of possible interpretive impacts of the analysed narratives, these could be verified through an immediate focus on how the content is consumed. In addition, themes that lay outside of my analysis, but appear to interrelate with climate discourses and are prominently featured in the data include gender and migration. In relating

to societal change and constituting two central topics of the far right's 'anti'-politics, they comprise potential parallels to the theme of climate change, which could be explored further.

Finally, my focus has been on the appeal, and mainstream-compatibility of far-right discursive strategies in light of the climate crisis. Thereby, I hope to have depicted the far right not as a singular nor a far-away entity. Instead, its discourses—even just those pertaining to the two AfD politicians examined—are multifaceted and intended to find their way into mainstream society. At the same time, despite the focus on AfD discourse throughout my thesis, it is important to remember that the AfD constitutes only one voice in political communication; and while being loud and visible, it does not remain unchallenged. On TikTok, a multitude of accounts by political educators as well as young activists—but also the unexpectedly TikTok-affine movement *Omas gegen Rechts* ('Grandmas against the far right')—produce content that contextualises and problematises AfD narratives, for instance with the hashtag '#reclaimtiktok', practicing and cultivating active resistance against the AfD's discursive impact.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Table of collected material, Alice Weidel

#	Date accessed	Account @	Date posted	Length	Post description	Number of Likes	No. of comments	Number of pins	Data type	Setting	Main characters	Overarching topics/ keywords	Theme	Selection criteria
1	2024-05-17	alice_weidel_afd	2021-8-31	00:48	#afd #deutschland #unglaublich #bundesregierung #weidel #bundestagswahl2021 #bundestagswahl	4704	320	97	Video	parliamentary speech	Alice Weidel	Stärken/ Schwächen des Staates, Weltklima, Kohle- und Atomausstieg; Steuerhöhung, Industrietillegung	Germany, the state, climate policy, taxes, industry, government, election	1
2	2024-05-17	alice_weidel_afd	2021-09-01	00:48	Für eine gute #Zukunft unserer #Kinder in #Deutschland #AFD bei der #BTW - #Weidel #ZDF #Ausbildung #Bildung	3924	182	91	Video	talkshow: ZDF Wie geht's Deutschland?	Alice Weidel, Christian Sievers	Vision für Deutschland, Kinder, Sicherheit, Ausbildungssystem, Standortfaktoren	vision, Germany, children, occupational prospects	6
3	2024-05-17	alice_weidel_afd	2021-09-01	02:02	Ja, Nein, vielleicht? #Interview #Heilbronn #Möckmühl, #AFD #BTW21 #Bundestagswahl #Weidel	64.600	3198	3792	Video	podium/ interview/ talkshow	Alice Weidel, Moderator Hr. Herr	Nordstream pipeline, Migrationsministerium, Schuldenbremse, Putin, Wahlalter, Miete, Frauenquoten, Gendern, Amtszeitbegrenzung	AFD positions, incl. immigration, energy policy, election	4
4	2024-05-17	alice_weidel_afd	2021-09-02	01:46	Die #Familie ist etwas #Besonderes. Wir setzen uns für Dich und Deine Familie ein. #AFD #BTW #Weidel #Bundestagswahl #Deutschland	12.900	774	298	Video	edited video, election campaign	Alice Weidel + party	Familie, Traum von ihrem Familienglück, Wahlkampf, Arbeit, Partei, Muttersein, Danke	family, election campaigning, Germany	0
5	2024-05-17	alice_weidel_afd	2021-09-05	00:56	Die #AFD bietet nicht nur eine echte politische #Alternative, sondern hat auch Tipps für #Mode & #Gesundheit. Schönen #Sonntag euch! #BTW	15.600	1030	336	Video	public speech, election campaign	Alice Weidel	(Eingehen auf Störungen) Sandalen mit Socken, AFD Freund und Helfer, Heiserkeit und Rauchen	disturbance, citizen-oriented	0
6	2024-05-17	alice_weidel_afd	2021-09-06	00:30	"#Bildung ist nicht so euer Ding, oder?" #Antifa #Weidel #AFD #Herrenberg #Bundestagswahl # Schule #Lernen	23.500	1260	503	Video	public speech, election campaign	Alice Weidel	Antifa, Bildung, Grundgesetz, Meinunsfreiheit	disturbance, citizen rights, freedom, election	0
7	2024-05-17	alice_weidel_afd	2021-09-07	00:58	#CO2-#Steuer: #Deutschland ist der einzige #Hippiestaat, der diese durchgeknallten Ideen ernsthaft umsetzen will. #Klimawandel #Klima #Steuern #AFD	4582	282	188	Video	parliamentary speech	Alice Weidel	Hippiestaat, durchgeknallte Ideen, Whatever it takes, Dragi, Strompeis, EEG-Umlage, Klimaziele, CO2-Bepreisung, Spritpreise	climate policy, Germany, taxes	1
8	2024-05-17	alice_weidel_afd	2021-09-08	00:51	So tendenziös arbeitet die #tagesschau - natürlich hat die #AFD für die #Fluthilfe gestimmt, um #Hochwasser -Opfer zu unterstützen! #AFD #Weidel	3141	287	230	Video	TV news excerpt: ZDF tagesschau, parliament, parliament website	news moderator, parliamentary secretary	Wiederaufbau für die Flutgebiete, Bundestagsbeschluss, Fakenews	climate impacts, fake news, media	1
9	2024-05-17	alice_weidel_afd	2021-09-09	01:14	"Diese #Bundesregierung hat keinen #Respekt für hart arbeitende Menschen in unserem Land." #AFD #Weidel #Scholz #SPD #Bundestagswahl #BTW21	6394	359	192	Video	parliamentary speech	Alice Weidel	Scholz, Respekt, normale Leute, Arbeit, mittelständische Unternehmen, Erbschafts- & Vermögenssteuer, Bildungswesen, Digitalisierung, internationaler Vergleich	the working people, SMEs, taxes, education, digitalisation, election, international	0
10	2024-05-17	alice_weidel_afd	2021-09-15	01:00	Schluss mit #Angst und #Panik in Sachen #Corona! #AFD #Weidel #BTW21	4343	309	89	Video	talkshow: ZDF schlagabtausch	Alice Weidel	Corona-Hilfen, Berufsverbote, Angst- und Panikmache, Risikogruppen, Impfmarkt	covid, scaremongering	0
11	2024-05-17	alice_weidel_afd	2021-09-21	00:25	Impfen muss freiwillig bleiben: Grundrechte zurück für alle Bürger! #AFD #BTW21 #Weidel #impfunggegenocoronavirus #impfung	44.900	1785	854	Video	talkshow: Das Erste hartaberfair	Alice Weidel	Widerherstellung der Grundrechte, Corona-Maßnahmen, verfassungswidrig, Spaltung der Gesellschaft	citizen rights, covid, constitution, polarisation	0
12	2024-05-17	alice_weidel_afd	2021-09-24	02:03	Die #Politik hat nicht die Aufgabe, die Gesellschaft zu spalten - doch genau das tut sie gerade. #AFD #BTW21 #BTW #Covid	2096	224	52	Video	talkshow: ARD & ZDF Schlussrunde	Alice Weidel, Moderator Hr. Koll	Querdenker-Szene, Radikalisierung, Stigmatisierung, Protestbewegung, Gewaltfreiheit, Demonstrationsrecht, (Un)Geimpfte, Versuchsrannechen, Sozialschädlinge, Polarisierung, Coronadiktatur, Verantwortung der Politik	protest, citizen rights, covid, polarisation, dictatorship	0
13	2024-05-17	alice_weidel_afd	2021-09-24	02:03	Die #Politik hat nicht die Aufgabe, die Gesellschaft zu spalten - doch genau das tut sie gerade. #AFD #BTW21 #BTW #Covid	4063	520	183	Video	"	"	"	protest, citizen rights, covid, polarisation, dictatorship	0
14	2024-05-17	alice_weidel_afd	2021-12-19	01:27	Für #Freiheit, gegen #Spaltung und #Impfzwang! #AFD #kundgebungen mit Alice #Weidel in #Göppingen!	20.700	1240	458	Video	public speech	Alice Weidel	Die da oben, Fehler, Versprechen, impfen, immunisiert, Booster, Impfangebot, Maßnahmen-Aufhebung, Sündenbock, Ungeimpfte	government, covid, freedom	0
15	2024-05-17	alice_weidel_afd	2022-01-20	02:32	Wie sich der Staat geltendes Recht zusammenbiert - und was das mit der DDR zu tun hat. #AFD #Spaziergang #Covid19 #Regierung	3493	190	82	Video	Weidels Kontor (office video format), GDR TV excerpt	Alice Weidel, DDR Kommentator or Olaf Dietze	Recht auf freie Versammlung und Meinunsäußerung, biegsames Recht, Hendrik Broder Zitat, Strafverfahren, Grundgesetz, Verfassung, DDR, Rhetorik, Sprache, Deutungsrahmen, eigene Ausgrenzung von Gesellschaft und von Arbeit, Asoziale, Moralische Werte	citizen rights, constitution, language, GDR, government	0
16	2024-05-17	alice_weidel_afd	2022-01-26	01:59	Wir müssen mit dem Virus leben. #Freiheit und Eigenverantwortung sind der Schlüssel dazu! #impfpflicht #Bundestag #AFD #Weidel	27.600	1553	788	Video	parliamentary speech	Alice Weidel	Robert-Koch-Institut, Rechte, Willkürentscheidung, Impfpflicht, Bunkermentalität, internationaler Vergleich, Stimmen ernstnehmen	covid, citizen rights, freedom, international	0
17	2024-05-17	alice_weidel_afd	2022-01-29	01:30	Diese Antwort der #Bundesregierung ist ein Skandal - und stellt die #Corona-Politik seit 2020 auf den Kopf! #AFD #Ampel #Lauterbach #Grüne #FDP #SPD	55.500	3266	2239	Video	Weidels Kontor (office video format)	Alice Weidel	Anfrage, Bettenauslastung, Pandemie, Bundesregierung, intensivmedizinisch geschulte Pflegekräfte, Datengrundlage	covid, government, data, the Greens	5

18	2024-05-17	alice_weidel_afd	2022-04-05	02:55	#Butter, #Milch und #Fleisch: Das ist der wahre Grund für extrem teure #Lebensmittel! #Inflation #Bundesregierung #Ampel #AfD	15.200	1024	445	Video	Weidels Konter (office video format)	Alice Weidel	Klimaabgaben, Kraftstoffpreise, Wertschöpfungskette, Teuerung, Medien, vertuscht, Geldpolitik, EZB, Schuldenalimenterung, Ukraine-Krieg, Katharina Schulze SPD, Getreide, Entwicklungsländer, Kanal abonnieren, Vielen Dank	climate policy, prices, monetary policy, Ukraine war, government	1
19	2024-05-17	alice_weidel_afd	2022-04-07	00:46	#Impfpflicht gescheitert: Ein Erfolg für die #Freiheit, der ohne AfD nicht möglich gewesen wäre. Es macht mich stolz, dieser Fraktion anzugehören!	28.300	3080	502	Video	Weidel press commentary	Alice Weidel	Impfpflicht, Sieg, Eingriff in die Freiheitsrechte, AfD Fraktion, Unflug	covid, citizen rights, freedom, AfD fraction	0
20	2024-05-17	alice_weidel_afd	2022-08-03		#putin #ukraine #russland #frieden #deutschland #waffenstillstand #fy #aliceweidel	6255	297	209	Animated text	Weidel quote	/	Putin, Waffenstillstand, Bundesregierung, Verhandlungen, Neutralität, Frieden	Ukraine war, government, Germany, peace	0
21	2024-05-17	alice_weidel_afd	2022-08-07	00:11	:) #regierung # russia #afD #ukraine #sommerinterview #zdf #aliceweidel #politik #diplomatie	7329	237	180	Video	Weidel tv interview (ZDF sommerinterview)	Alice Weidel	Regierung, Gesprächskanal nach Russland, Probleme	government, Ukraine war	0
22	2024-05-17	alice_weidel_afd	2022-08-15	01:13	#zdf #sommerinterview #sommer #südtirol #aliceweidel #afd #politik #deutschland #fy #viral	5449	208	271	Video	Weidel tv interview (ZDF sommerinterview)	Alice Weidel, Moderatorin	gleiche Ecke, intellektuell unterfordernd, Unabhängigkeit der Medien, (talking over each other) Verfassungsschutz, Freiheit, Grundgesetze, Demonstrationsfreiheit, Ausnahmezustand	media, constitution, freedom, citizen rights, Germany	0
23	2024-05-17	alice_weidel_afd	2022-09-07	01:01	#habeckrobert #diegrünen #miaschberger #skandal #regierung #wirtschaft #wirtschaftskrise #afd	33.700	2716	4891	Video	talkshow: ZDF miaschberger	Robert Habeck, Sandra Miaschberger	Insolvenzwellen, Brötchenpreise, Blumenläden, Kaufzurückhaltung, aufhören zu verkaufen	Habeck, bankruptcy	5
24	2024-05-17	alice_weidel_afd	2022-09-16	03:13	#afd #währung #euro #wirtschaftskrise #wirtschaft #inflation #aliceweidel #politik #deutschland #energie #unserlandzuerst	8082	224	530	Video	podium/ interview/ talkshow	Alice Weidel	Ökonomin, Währungsfragen, Euro, EZB, hochverschuldet, Niedrigzinspolitik, Haushalte, fiskalisches Problem, Artikel 123 & 125, Grundsatzkritik Eurorettung, Lira, Vermögenspreisinflation, Rohstoffverfügung, Kernkraft, Medien, Konsumenten-/Produzentenpreisindex, historisch einmalig	monetary policy, Euro, inflation, energy, media, Germany	4
25	2024-05-17	alice_weidel_afd	2022-09-21	01:55	Keine Lieferung von Kampfpanzern (!) #russland #ukraine #krieg #frieden #afd #aliceweidel #bundestag #unserlandzuerst #deutschland	23.800	909	2094	Video	press conference AfD	Alice Weidel	Kampfpanzer, Waffenlieferung, Nato-Land, rote Linien, Offensivwaffensysteme, Bundesregierung, Konflikt, eskalation, unkontrollierte Prozesse, kriegerische Auseinandersetzung, Nuklearwaffen, Ukraine, internationaler Vergleich, Friedensvertrag	weaponry, government, Ukraine war, peace, Germany, international	0
26	2024-05-17	alice_weidel_afd	2022-09-23	00:34	#afd #strackzimmermann #fdp #miaschberger #politik #typ #deutschland #ard #keinepanzerfür dieukraine #frieden #diplomatiejetzt #unserlandzuerst #ukraine #russland	3687	126	170	Video	talkshow: ZDF miaschberger	Alice Weidel	deutsche Interessen, Kriehandlung, Gegenschlag, 3. Weltkrieg, Panzer, Friedenslösung	Germany, Ukraine war, weaponry, peace	0
27	2024-05-17	alice_weidel_afd	2022-09-25	00:15	Wen von euch sehe ich am 8. #Oktober in #Berlin? [emojis: Megafon Feuer] #8oktober #demo #afd #demonstration #preisexpllosion #inflation #aliceweidel	1927	103	60	Image	AfD-poster squared	/	Kundgebung, Preisexplosion, Unser Land Zuerst, AfD	protest, prices, Germany, inflation	0
28	2024-05-17	alice_weidel_afd	2022-10-01	03:38	Sie haben #Weltkriege und #Ölkrise überstanden, doch #Habeck überleben sie nicht (!) #diegrünen #afd #inflation #deutschland #fy #aliceweidel #diegrünenmüssenweg #krise	65.800	2462	3685	Video	Weidels Konter (office video format)	Alice Weidel	Insolvenz, Unternehmen, Bäckereien, Mitarbeiter, Brauerei Bischoff, Toilettenhersteller, Bonbon-Hersteller, Existenzgrundlage, Doppelwumms, Enkelkinder, Inflation	bankruptcy, SMEs, inflation, Habeck, Germany, crisis	5,8
29	2024-05-17	alice_weidel_afd	2022-10-05	08:31	/	14.400	618	1346	Video	Weidels Konter (office video format)	Alice Weidel	Nordstream, Sabotage, Schweigen, Aufklärung, Russland, Energien, USA, Zahlen, Konkurrenten, amerikanisches Flüssiggas, Geopolitik, Investitionen, Ukraine, Oligarchen, Ironie, Exporte, Energiekosten, Reparatur, Vielen Dank	energy, geopolitics	4
30	2024-05-17	alice_weidel_afd	2022-10-12	05:00	#industrie #industrieland #deutschland #fürdich #afd #bundesregierung #inflation #politik #geld #geldsrogen #bundestag #bürger #aliceweidel	3406	87	137	Video	press conference AfD	Alice Weidel	Auslachen, Öffentlich-Rechtliche, Stimme, Gaspreisdeckel, ein Industrieland schafft sich ab, Ukrainekrieg, Preise, Umlage, Deckel, Gieskanenprinzip, Unsicherheit, durchs Raster fallen, Energiewende, Snaktionen, steuerliche Entlastungen	media, energy policy, industry, Ukraine war, prices, taxes, Germany, insecurity	4,8
31	2024-05-17	alice_weidel_afd	2022-10-18	02:50	Alle #Kernkraftwerke müssen ans #Netz (!) #atom #atomenergie #energie #versorgung #deutschland #fürdich #viral #aliceweidel #bundestag #afd #ampelkoalition	14.300	452	458	Video	press conference AfD	Alice Weidel	Atomkraftwerke, Witz, Ampel regierungsunfähig, billiger Kompromiss, Energiepreise, nachhaltig, EEG, grundlastfähige Kraftwerke, Kohle, langfristig, günstiger Strom, reaktoren, Doppelwumms, Gaspreisdeckel	energy policy, government, Germany	4
32	2024-05-17	alice_weidel_afd	2022-10-21	00:26	#ruheinfrieden[emoji: Friedenstaube] #ludwigshafen #trauer #somalier #afd #migration #mojo.video	3617	204	89	Image	Photo of memorial, Weidel quote	/	zwei Maler getötet, "der Somalier", Tat hätte verhindert werden können, Trauer	assault, immigration	0
33	2024-05-17	alice_weidel_afd	2022-11-22	00:45	Wir haben andere Probleme! #wm #katar #regenbogenbinde #inflation #sorgen #bürger #deutschland #afd #politik #fürdich	10.700	3450	303	Video	press conference AfD	Alice Weidel	maßlos übertrieben, Tankrechnung, Nebenkosten, Stromausfall, Hypotheken, Inflation, innere Sicherheit, steuerzahlende Bürger	prices, inflation, taxes, Germany, world cup	0
34	2024-05-17	alice_weidel_afd	2022-11-23	00:19	Erschreckende Bilanz! #ampel #ampelkoalition #politik #bundesregierung #bundestag #deutschland #zerstörung #armut #inflation #olafscholz #fürdich #afd	6554	309	223	Video	parliamentary speech	Alice Weidel	12 Monate, mutwillige Zerstörung, Wirtschaft, Wohlstand, Einschränkungen	government, economy, Germany	0
35	2024-05-17	alice_weidel_afd	2022-11-25	00:59	Olaf Scholz [=] Friedrich Merz [emoji: Clown] #bundestag #olafscholz #spd #friedrichmerz #cdU #peinlich #fürdich #deutschland #afd #aliceweidel	18.100	531	2105	Video	edited video, compilation of parliamentary speeches	Alice Weidel, Olaf Scholz, Friedrich Merz	Olaf Scholz, Friedrich Merz, Zeitenwende, Freiheit, Demokratie, Wohlstand, russischer Angriffskrieg, Verteidigungskamp, peinlich, Bundeskanzler	government, freedom, Ukraine war, Germany	0
36	2024-05-17	alice_weidel_afd	2022-11-30	00:47	/	1761	139	65	Video	press conference AfD	Alice Weidel	no sound	/	0

37	2024-05-17	alice_weidel_afd	2022-12-09	05:21	Das hätte selbst der schlimmste Pessimist kaum ahnen können. #ampel #afd #deutschland #fürdich #olafscholz #aliceweidel #politik #zerstörung	43.600	2377	2663	Video	Weidels Konter (office video format), excerpts of talkshow/parliament	Alice Weidel, Olaf Scholz, Annalena Baerbock, Angela Merkel	Einwanderungsgesetz, 1 Million, Fachkräfte, Bürgergeld, Chancenaufenthaltsrecht, Regierung verbietet, Elektroofen Gasofen, abgebrochene Integrationskurse, Versprechen, Eingewanderte, offene Grenze, Erziehungsfunk, Neubürger, Sozialstatistiken, Kriminalstatistik, Pass verramscht, wir schaffen das, Nazi, Vielen Dank	immigration, social welfare, government, energy, borders, statistics, Germany	4
38	2024-05-17	alice_weidel_afd	2022-12-31	02:26	Für unsere #Heimat [emojis: Herz, Deutschlandflagge] #2023 #neuesjahr #deutschland #afd #aliceweidel	68.100	3941	3197	Video	Weidels Konter (office video format)	Alice Weidel	Freunde, schweres Jahr, Freiheit, Wohlstand, Sicherheit, Politik, Kontrolle, Verarmung, Deindustrialisierung, Migrationskrise, öffentliche Infrastruktur, Unsicherheit, Gängelung, Ampel, wehren, AfD, Alternative, Vernunft, Freiheit, Rechtsstaatlichkeit, Sicherheit, nationale Identität, Wohlstand	freedom, prosperity, immigration crisis, insecurity, government, alternative security, Germany	8
39	2024-05-17	alice_weidel_afd	2023-01-20	02:29	Die erste Pressekonferenz 2023 [emoji: x] #bundestag #afd #aliceweidel #politik #lützerath #diegrünenmüssenweg #ampelkoalition #diegrünen #lambrecht #silvesternacht #fürdich	5608	210	255	Video	press conference AfD	Alice Weidel	Tatjana Patitz, Silvesternacht, Masseneinwanderung, Kriminalitätsraten, Neukölln, Verteidigungsminister, unqualifiziert, Bundeswehr, Lützerath, Ordnung, gewaltbereit, die Grünen	assault, immigration, government, climate protests, the Greens	1,5
40	2024-05-17	alice_weidel_afd	2023-02-08	10	Vertreten Sie endlich deutsche Interessen, Herr Scholz! [emoji: Zeigefinger Deutschlandflagge] #olafscholz #ampelkoalition #peinlich #diegrünen #baerbockmüssenweg #afd #politik #bundestag #aliceweidel #fürdich #deutschland #spiegel #deutscheinteressen	7555	418	791	Video	parliamentary speech	Alice Weidel	Inkompetenz, Außenministerin, Kriegserklärung, Klimaschutz, Teilzeit-Innenministerin, Migrationsschläusen, Entwicklungsland, Gespött, USA, Nordstream, Flüssiggas, Wohlstandsverlust, Windräder, Kernkraft, Asyl, Einwanderungspolitik, Kriegspartei, Panzer, Merkel, Sondervermögen, Bundeswehr, Zielscheibe, Interessen, Brasilien, Klimapolitik, Lieferkettengesetz, China, Kompromiss, Leid	government, the Greens, climate protection, immigration, energy, Ukraine war, climate policy, Germany, international	1,5
41	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2023-03-30	04:05	/	2971	116	163	Video	press conference AfD	Alice Weidel	Rückführungsinitiative, Abschiebequote, Zahlen, politischer Wille, Rechtsstaat, Demokratie, CDU, Grenzöffnung, PKS, Messerangriffe, Kultur, Jugendliche, innere Sicherheit, Ausländer, Grenyen, SPD, Regierung	deportation, democracy, crime, youth, safety, government	0
42	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2023-04-17	10:00	An diesem #Wochenende fand nicht nur die #Kernenergie ein jähes #Ende, es gab auch positive Ereignisse - so wie der #Parteitag der #AfD NRW. Und den nahm ich zum Anlass, um aufzuräumen mit einer #Trümmertruppe in #Berlin, die ausschließlich aus Dilettanten und #Wirtschaftszerstörern besteht. Reinschauen lohnt sich auf jeden Fall! 🇩🇪 #afd #aliceweidel #deutschland #wirliebenunsereheimat	7828	325	301	Video	podium	Alice Weidel	NRW, OWL, 10 Jahre AfD, Herausforderung, Ampelregierung, Minister, Medien, Ukrainekrieg, Frieden, Personal, neutral, Macron, Taiwan, Kernkraft, Tschernobyl, Baerbock, letzter Tag der Kernkraft in Deutschland, Bildungsmisere, Lieblingsminister, Preise, Habeck der die Industrienation DE abwickelt, Trümmertruppe, Wirtschaftszerstörungsminister	government, media, Ukraine war, nuclear power, Habeck, industry	4
43	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2023-04-26	03:13	Komplett wahnsinnige #Verordnungen, #Zwang zur Anschaffung von #Wärmepumpen, faktisches Verbot von #Öl- und #Gasheizungen: All das führt unweigerlich zur #Verarmung der #Mittelschicht, weil sich die #Menschen das einfach nicht mehr leisten können. Es handelt sich hierbei um ein breit angelegtes Verarmungs- und #Enteignungsprogramm der #Bundesregierung. Dies wird unser Land regelrecht ruinieren! 🇩🇪 #afd #aliceweidel #diegrünen	7688	342	432	Video	press conference AfD	Alice Weidel	Enteignung, Heizungsmassaker, Vermögensverwaltung, Kosten, Dummheit, Habeck, Eigentumsrechte, Wärmepumpen, Mittelschicht, Verarmung,	citizen rights, heating & energy, costs, Habeck, impoverishment	4
44	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2023-05-02	06:04	#Verwandt und verschwägert: Die #Vettermwirtschaft in #Habecks Ministerium ist nicht nur skandalös, sondern sorgt täglich für neue und abstruse Vorschläge. Dies hat nicht nur gravierende Folgen für den Industriestandort #Deutschland, sondern kommt einer #Enteignung der #Bürger gleich. Experten gehen davon aus, dass die Politik der #Ampel zu #Kosten von 1.000 Euro pro Quadratmeter Wohneigentum führt - und das betrifft eben nicht nur die #Vermieter, sondern auch die #Mieter, auf die solche #Kosten zwangsläufig umgelegt werden müssen. Wer bisher die #Grünen gewählt hat, der müsste inzwischen gemerkt haben, wohin uns die grüne #Verbotspartei führt. Aufhalten kann diese #Politik nur die #AfD!	3758	189	181	Video	Weidels Konter (office video format)	Alice Weidel	Wärmewende, Heizungsmassaker, Vetterwirtschaftsministerium, Wärmepumpen, Lobbyismus, Sarnierungszwang, Kosten, Zahlen, Irrsinn, Verarmung, Bestandsimmobilienpreise, Kreditmarkt, Grundsteuer, Verarmungsprogramm, Habeck, Deindustrialisierungsprogramm, Verbotspartei, Szmpathiestyle, Vielen Dank	heating & energy, corruption, coercion, costs, taxes, impoverishment, Habeck, industry	4
45	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2023-05-04	00:09	Euch einen fröhlichen #starwarstag [emoji: Zwinkersmiley]	3247	95	84	Video	speech	Alice Weidel	Imperium schlägt zurück, reagieren	imperium, reaction	0
46	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2023-05-11	04:54	#Roberthabeck hat sein #Ministerium mit miteinander verwandten und verschwägerten #Ökolobbyisten vollgestopft, die nur ein Ziel haben: Ihre ideologische #Agenda durchzusetzen gegen die Bürger. Das beste Beispiel dafür ist die "Graichenpumpe". Was das genau ist, erfahren Sie in diesem #Video. 🇩🇪 #afd #diegrünen #ampelkoalition	1717	52	86	Video	press conference (#Migration swende)	Alice Weidel	Jobs, Habeck, Clanministerium, Korruptionsanfälligkeit, bürgerliche Lebensträume, Eigentum, Umverteilung, Saatwirtschaft, Scholz, Interessenskonflikte, Agenda Wärmewende, Graichenpumpe	jobs, Habeck, corruption, property, distribution, economy, heating & energy	5,4

47	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2023-05-12	02:06	Klartext! X #verfassungsschutz #behörde #politik #afd #bundestag #füreuch #deutschland #aliceweidel	3379	146	150	Video	press conference (#Migration swende)	Alice Weidel	Bananenrepublikanische Zustände, AfD politisch verfolgt, Habeck, Demokratie, Verfassungsschutz	democracy, racism, Habeck	5
48	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2023-05-24	04:55	Wie grüne #Lobbyisten die #Bürger schröpfen, das erkläre ich in diesem #Video. 🗣️ Einschalten und teilen! 🔥 #afd #aliceweidel #bundestag #roberthabeck #diegrünen #graichen	4289	168	239	Video	press conference AfD	Alice Weidel	Affäre Graichen, Skandale, Rücktritt Habecks gefordert	scandal, Habeck	5
49	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2023-06-01	02:24	Und Tschüss! 🗣️ #roberthabeck #diegrünenmüssenweg #deutschland #clanstrukturen #graichen #afd #politikwende #aliceweidel	2917	143	118	Video	podium	Alice Weidel	Ampel, Schaden, vertogene Politiik, Habeck, Clanstruktur, Skandal, Industrieland	government, harm, Habeck, corruption, scandal, industry	5
50	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2023-06-15	05:48	Wir brauchen eine Festung #Europa ! #aliceweidel #afd #illegalemigration #stoppen #grenzen #politik #eu #klartext #deutschland	3148	127	142	Video	press conference	Alice Weidel	Heizungsgesetz, Zuwanderung, EU-Außengrenzen, Migranten, Bleibeperspektive, Migrationsdruck, Baerbock, Mogelpackung, Unser Land, kommunen, Festung Europa, Grenzkontrollen, Sozialsysteme, Pull-Faktoren, Krankenkassen	heating & energy, immigration, Baerbock, borders, health insurance	4
51	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2023-06-21	00:24	Am 25. Juni #robertsesselmann wählen! X #afd #thüringen #sonneberg #deutschland #landratswahl #deinewahl #politikwende #jetzt #fürdich	121.300	6479	5563	Video	promo video	Alice Weidel	Landrat, Robert Sesselmann, Stichwahl, wählen	election, regional	0
52	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2023-06-22	00:59	Die grüne Transformation nützt weder den Bürgern, noch rettet sie das #Klima oder den #Planeten. Sie betreiben damit die Spaltung der #Gesellschaft. Sie wird noch verschärft durch die aus dem Ruder gelaufene #Armutsmigration, die Ihre Regierung beständig anheizt! Abrechnung mit der Politik der #Bundesregierung: Jetzt ansehen und weiterverbreiten! #afd #politikwende #roberthabeck	8848	333	500	Video	parliamentary speech	Alice Weidel	Habeck, Nationalismus, Heizung, Insolvenz	Habeck, nationalism, heating & energy, insolvency	5
53	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2023-06-26	00:27	Es war eine grandiose Veranstaltung! 🗣️ #pfalztreffen #kirchheimbolanden #tombangrieken #vlaamsbelang #afd #aliceweidel	2112	92	72	Photos	stage, event	various AfD personnel	Europa, Pfalztreffen, Partei	Europe, regional, party	0
54	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2023-06-28	00:35	Ansage! 🔥 #cd #merz #ansage #afd #aliceweidel #bundestag #politik #deutschland #politikwende #jetzt	18.300	583	883	Video	parliamentary speech	Alice Weidel	Brandmauer, Oppositionskraft, grüne Politik, ruiniert, Wohlstand, Freiheit	fire wall, opposition, the Greens, prosperity, freedom	5
55	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2023-06-29	00:21	Am 2. Juli deine Stimme für Hannes Loth! 🗣️ #afd #raguhjessnitz #sachsenanhalt #hannesth #bürgermeister #wahl #bürgermeisterwahl #politikwende #aliceweidel	68.500	2668	3015	Video	promo video	Alice Weidel	Bürgermeisterwahl, Hannes Loth	election, regional	0
56	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2023-07-07	00:44	Die Ampel hat Angst vor ihren eignen Wählern! #heizungsgesetz #heizungsgesetz #habeck #diegrünenmüssenweg #neuwahlen #deutschland #afd #unserlandzuerst	6860	262	327	Video	parliamentary speech	Alice Weidel	Heizungsgesetz, Wärmepumpenlobby, Graichen, Klimaidologen, ökosozialistische Planung, Zwänge, Wohlstand, Vernunft, Wettbewerb, betrogen, entegnet	heating & energy, climate ideology, eco-socialism, coercion, prosperity, reason, competition	4
57	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2023-09-05	00:38	#einbürgerungsrecht #cd #verursacher #asy #politik #deutschland #ampelkoalition #afd #unserlandzuerst	7577	290	376	Video	press conference / interview	Alice Weidel	CDU, ungläubwürdig, Oppositionsverweigerer, Wahnsinn, Einbürgerungsrecht, deutsche Sprache, stoppen	CDU, opposition, citizenship, migrants, language	0
58	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2023-09-06	00:38	Diese #Bundesregierung ist einfach nur noch unverschäm ! #armut #deutschland #inflation #ampelkoalition #mussweg #afd #aliceweidel #unserlandzuerst	9924	386	584	Video	speech / event / interview	Alice Weidel	Rechnungen, Steuern, Abgaben, Krise, Unverschämtheit, Rekordpreise, Energie, Sprit, CO2-Steuer	billts, taxes, crisis, prices, energy, CO2 tax	8,4
59	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2023-09-11	00:53	#sommerinterview #ard #arbeit #inflation #ampelkoalition #arbeitenmussichlohen #politik #aliceweidel #afd #unserlandzuerst	74.800	2617	427	Video	interview	Alice Weidel	Fachkräftemangel, Bürgergeld, Lohnabstandsgebot	skilled labour shortage, social welfare	0
60	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2023-09-12	01:53	Neue Partei würde nur den #Linken schaden ! Die Gründung einer eigenen Partei durch die Linken-Politikerin Sarah #Wagenknecht wäre keine Gefahr für die #AfD. Das stellt unsere Bundessprecherin #AliceWeidel im #Sommerinterview mit der #ARD klar. Vor allem die ohnehin geschwächte Linkspartei würde dadurch Stimmen verlieren. Dennoch mahnt die AfD-Chefin, dass jede Spaltung des regierungskritischen Lagers vor allem der #Ampelregierung in die Hände spielt. Darüber - und dass man nicht nur Köpfe, sondern auch eine breite #Basis braucht - müsse sich jeder klar sein, der eine #Partei neu gründen will.	4885	217	250	Video	interview	Alice Weidel	Sahra Wagenknecht, Linke Parte, Umfragewerte, Potenzial, Hauptline & Indianer, Coronamaßnahmenpolitik, Ukrainekrieg, AfD, Regierungsbeteiligung, Lager spalten	Sahra Wagenknecht, polis, covid, Ukraine war, governance	0
61	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2023-09-13	00:35	#roberthabeck #diegrünen #atomstrom #inflation #ukraine #atomkraftwerke #deutschland #energiepolitik #aliceweidel #afd	10.700	283	456	Video	press conference / interview	Alice Weidel	Ukraine, Strom, Atomkraftwerke, Habeck, Kernkraftwerke, hochgefährdet	Ukraine, electricity, nuclear power, Habeck	4,5

62	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2023-09-15	01:28	Während insbesondere Nancy #Faeser im Hessen #Wahlkampf so tut, als steuere sie in Sachen #Migration um, bahnt sich auf #Lampedusa eine #Katastrophe an: 2.500 afrikanische #Asylbewerber landen derzeit täglich ! an der vollkommen ungeschützten EU-Außengrenze an, ihr Ziel ist vor allem #Deutschland. Die Grenzen müssen JETZT geschützt werden, eine Wende in der europäischen #Migrationspolitik muss JETZT erfolgen ! #afd #aliceweidel	1391	130	152	edited Video	europa parliament, footage of refugee camps, landscape, boats on sea, riots, ambulance, interview	von der Leyen, various, Alice Weidel	Migration, Europa, Lampedusa, unverantwortlich, nicht nachhaltig,	migration, Europe, not sustainable	7
63	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2023-09-23	00:16	Am #Sonntag können wir in #Nordhausen Geschichte schreiben - und mit Jörg #Prophet den ersten AfD-Oberbürgermeister stellen! #afd #thüringen #oberbürgermeister #wahl #oberbürgermeisterwahl	82.200	3736	3613	Video	promo video	Alice Weidel	gewählt, Jörg Prophet, Stichwahl	election, regional	0
64	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2023-09-27	01:42	#pressekonferenz #bundestag #berlin #aliceweidel #ampelkoalition #deutschland #afd #unserlandzuerst	3928	212	181	Video	press conference	Alice Weidel	Halbzeit, ubketäre Krise, Vertrauen, Migration, Energie, Wirtschaft, Bildung, Bundesregierung, Ampel, Heizungsgesetz, Kernkraft, Verbrennerbot, Institutionen	half time, crisis, trust, migration, energy, economy, government, heating & energy, nuclear power	8
65	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2023-10-12	00:59	Pressekonferenz #migration #ampelkoalition #massenmigrationstoppen #deutschland #afd #unserlandzuerst	4906	206	250	Video	press conference	Alice Weidel	Einbürgerungsgesetz, Wählergruppen, Gewaltpotenzial	citizenship, voters, violence	0
66	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2023-10-18	00:28	Wir fordern eine klare Aussage aus dem Kanzleramt, dass Deutschland keine Migranten aus dem #Gaza und dem Nahen Osten mehr aufnehmen wird." #israel #DeshalbAFD #AFD	9647	636	392	Video	press conference	Alice Weidel	Terrorangriff, Hamas, Israel, Flüchtlingsstrom,	terror, Hamas, Israel, migration	0
67	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2023-11-18	00:52	Ob Erosion der inneren #Sicherheit, #Migration oder anstehende Landtagswahlkämpfe: Im #interview mit #NIUS hatte ich Gelegenheit, auf die drängendsten Fragen Antworten der #AFD zu formulieren. 🗨️	21.600	1602	1135	Video	TV interview	Alice Weidel	Versprechen, Umsetzung, Regierungsverantwortung, abschieben, Aufenthaltsrecht	promise, government, deportation	0
68	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2023-11-20	07:33	Das Lagebild des #Bundeskriminalamts zeichnet ein klares und desaströses Bild der von der #Ampel und insbesondere Nancy #Faeser verantworteten #Sicherheitslage in #Deutschland. Die Zahlen des #BKA zeigen darüber hinaus, dass der den Bürgern pauschal gemachte Vorwurf, „ausländerfeindlich“ zu sein, konträr zur Realität steht. Denn es sind in Wirklichkeit #Deutsche, die viermal so oft zu Opfern von ausländischen Staatsbürgern werden - die #Deutschenfeindlichkeit explodiert! #deshalbfafd #afd #aliceweidel	3492	123	173	Video	press conference (Grenzen ...)	Alice Weidel	Migrationskrise, Faeser, Schein, Krise, Brandbrief, Familiensgehörige, Sicherheitschecks, beschleunigung, Bildungsgrad, Dialekt, Verantwortungslosigkeit, Massenzuwanderung, Kriminalität, Straftaten, Ausländerfeindlichkeit, Deutschenfeindlichkeit, Täter-Opfer-Umkehr, Verschleierung, Bundeskanzler, Neuwahlen	immigration, crisis, security, education, crime, victimisation, government, elections	8
69	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2023-11-28	00:58	#Abrechnung mit der desolaten #Ampelpolitik ! #neuwahlen sofort #deutschland #afd #ampelmussweg	19.700	697	962	Video	parliamentary speech	Alice Weidel	Regierung, Bürger, Kanzler, Wirtschaftsminister, Außenministerin, Styling, Finanzminister, Schuldenbremse	government, citizens, Habeck, Baerbock	5
70	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2023-11-29	00:59	Das #Bürgergeld treibt die #Sozialkrise auf die Spitze ! #ampelmussweg #deutschland #deshalbafd #afd #aliceweidel	15.800	639	1065	Video	parliamentary speech	Alice Weidel	Bürgergeld, Steuern, Abgaben-Spirale, Migrantengeld, Einwanderungsmagnet, Migrationskrise	social welfare, taxes, migrants, crisis	8
71	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2023-12-14	00:57	[emoji: Wecker] Halbzeit für die Ampel: meine Bilanz nach zwei Jahren Koalition auf Grünen, SPD und FDP - und wieso Deutschland keine weiteren zwei Jahre verkraftet. Jetzt anschauen und teilen! #ampel #ampelmussweg #halbzeit #bilanz #afd #aliceweidel #bundestag #deutschland #neuwahlssofort	1568	52	81	(marked as "sensitive content" by the platform) Video	press conference, images of protests, riots, masses of people	Alice Weidel	Wohlstand, Grenzen, Migrationspolitik, Krawall, Freibad, Festival, Antisemitisch, Clankriminalität, Gruppenvergewaltigung, Polizeischutz, Grenzen, Weihnachtsmärkte	prosperity, borders, migration, freetime activities, crime, police	0
72	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2023-12-17	02:02	#steltungnahme #aliceweidel #afd	48.000	3645	2173	Video	Weidels Kontor (office video format)	Alice Weidel	Rekordwerte, chaotische Bundesregierung, Angriffe, Dissertation, Plagiate, unabhängige Stellungnahme	government, dissertation, attack	0
73	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2023-12-25	02:29	Ich wünsche Ihrer Familie und Ihnen frohe #Weihnachten 🎄🍷	2373	218	160	Video	Weidels Kontor (video office format)	Alice Weidel	2023, abgewirtschaftete Regierung, Vertrauenskrise, Migrationskrise, Sozialkrise, Inflation, Energiesteuer, CO2-Abgabe, Verschrafen, Familie, Rituale, Weihnachtszeit	government, crisis, migration, energy, CO2 tax, family, rituals	8
74	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2023-12-31	03:12	Wir werden gefordert sein, die unseriöse #Ampelpolitik zu beenden und das Land vom Kopf auf die Füße zu stellen. Ich wünsche Ihnen und Euch einen guten #Rutsch und trotz aller Unwägbarkeiten ein erfolgreiches und gesundes neues Jahr! 🍷🎄 #afd #aliceweidel #2024	24.300	1316	1340	Video	Weidels Kontor (video office format)	Alice Weidel	Wendejahr, Bundesregierung, Massenmigration, Kriminalität, Deindustrialisierung, Energieversorgung, Bildung, Haushalts-, Regierungskrise, Minister, Steuern, Schulden, enteignen, Gesinnungskontrolle, 2024, AfD, Gegenbewegung	shift, government, migration, crime, industry, energy, education, taxes, citizen rights, countermovement	4

75	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2024-01-09	01:51	Die Ampelregierung treibt ein ganzes Land in den Ruin - dabei agiert sie gegen den Willen von mehr als 80 Prozent der Bürger ! Exorbitant gestiegene Energie- und Lebenshaltungskosten, immer höhere #Steuerbelastung bei keinerlei Gegenleistung: Das ist der Grund dafür, dass unter anderem die #Bauern gegen die #Regierungspolitik demonstrieren, während sich ihnen immer mehr Bürger aus den unterschiedlichsten Lebens- und #Wirtschaftsbereichen anschließen. #deshalbfafd #afd #bauernproteste	5888	251	744	Edited video	promo video	various	Deutschland, Ökosystem, Innovation, Sicherheit, Versorgung, Ideologisch geprägte Politik, Ampel, Dauerkrise, Vernunft, Wohl der Bürger, Verfassung, Rezession, CO2-Abgabe, Energiewende, Energiesteuer, Landwirtschaft	Germany, ecosystem, innovation, security, ideology, government, crisis, recession, CO2 tax, energy, agriculture	2,8,4
76	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2024-01-16	05:47	Zehntausende #Bauern, Transportunternehmer und #Handwerker waren gestern vor das Brandenburger Tor gezogen, um ein eindrucksvolles Zeichen gegen die ausbeuterische #Ampelpolitik zu setzen. Wir haben auf der Veranstaltung die Bundessprecherin und Fraktionschefin der #AfD im Bundestag, Alice Weidel, sowie die Abgeordnete der #FPO in der österreichischen Nationalversammlung, Susanne Fürst, getroffen. Beide begrüßen ausdrücklich, dass der gesamte #Mittelstand sich endlich zur Wehr setzt. Zu lang waren all jene, die sich mit ihrer eigenen Hände Arbeit das Leben finanzieren und darüber hinaus auch noch Steuern zahlen, nur Spielball der #Politik.	2997	108	210	Video	interview	Alice Weidel, Fürst (FPO)	Bauern, Respekt, Lebensmittel, Regulierungen, Grundrechte, Bauernproteste, Unternehmer, Mittelständler, Bundesregierung, Neuwahlen, Geld, Rentner, Verbotspolitik, Landwirte, arbeitende Bevölkerung, gemeinsame Fraktion, Agenda, freiheitlich	farmers, citizen rights, protests, middle class, government, elections, bans, fraction, agenda	0
77	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2024-01-17	00:59	Die inszenierte #Schmutzkampagne gegen die #AfD stellt einen der größten & ungeheuerlichsten Medien- und Politikskandale Deutschlands dar. Das sind DDR-Methoden ! #correctiv #pressekonferenz #aliceweidel #d #methoden #bundestag	3477	197	156	Video	press conference	Alice Weidel	Correctiv, Medienkandal, DDR-Methoden, Geheimtreffen, Verschwörungserzählung	media, scandal, investigation, GDR, secret meeting, conspiracy,	0
78	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2024-01-29	00:29	Wer sind Sie eigentlich? 👉 #pk #bundestag #aliceweidel #afd #deutschland #politik #presse #konferenz #deshalbfafd	9240	363	621	Video	press conference	Alice Weidel	Störung, unseriös, Frage	disruption	0
79	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2024-01-30	00:51	Das Wort "Deportationen" wollen die Chefin Anette #Dowideit und #Correctiv nie genutzt haben. Tatsache ist nicht nur, dass das gelogen ist und alle #Medien diese Verleumdungen aufgegriffen haben - sondern auch, dass #Correctiv nun die schleimige #Lügenspur zu verwischen versucht. #deshalbfafd #afd #deutschland #aliceweidel	1498	74	114	Video	TV talk show	moderator, Korrektiv, background voice	Correctiv, Deportation, Fakten	investigation, deportation, facts	0
80	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2024-02-01	00:36	#deutschland #rede #bundestag #afd #ampelregierung #heimat #deshalbfafd #aliceweidel #politik	4868	227	300	Video	parliamentary speech	Alice Weidel	Chancenaufenthaltsrecht, Abschiebungsbeschleunigungsgesetz, Steuerzahler, Kommunen, Sozialsysteme, Wohnungsnot, innere Sicherheit, Heimat	right of residence, deportation, taxes, municipalities, social welfare, security, homeland	0
81	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2024-02-02	00:37	Eine #Schmutzkampagne nicht nur gegen die einzige echte #Oppositionskraft, sondern auch gegen die Mittelstandsproteste, #Geld für Radwege in Peru und Ökokühlschränke in Kolumbien, nicht aber für die eigenen Bürger, Bürgergeld als #Migrationsmagnet, das die arbeitende #Bevölkerung bezahlen muss: "Diese Regierung hasst Deutschland!" #deshalbfafd #afd #dieampelmussweg	5685	282	316	Video	parliamentary speech	Alice Weidel	Hilfsstasi, Correctiv, Regierung, Steuergeld, Lügen, Verleumdung, Deportation, Denunziation, Konkurrenzpartei	GDR, investigation, government, taxes, lies, defamation, deportation, opposition	0
82	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2024-02-17	00:30	Rückblick #Karlsruhe - vielen Dank für die so herzliche Begrüßung und diese unglaubliche #Veranstaltung 🙌 Danke, Karlsruhe. 🙌 #rückblick #bw #deutschland #afd #aliceweidel #politik #zusammenhalt #patrioten #badenwürttemberg	36.100	2240	1267	Video	event	Alice Weidel	Cheering & clapping, smiles & waving	cheering	0
83	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2024-03-14	06:07	#diplomatiejetzt #taurus #ukraine #altparteien #olafscholz #krieg #deshalbfafd #afd #deutschland	3495	178	256	Video	press conference	Alice Weidel	Taurusmarschflugkörper, rote Linie, Waffen, Wählertäuschung, Kriegspartei, Ringtausch, Sicherheitsinteresse, Großbritannien, Bundeswehr, Scholz, CDU, Schwarz-Grüne-Koalition, Kriegserklärung, Ukraine, Russland, Gefahr, Eskalation, Weltkrieg, Telefonkonferenz, Konsequenzen, Blamage, Leak, MAD	arms, voters, Greens, war, security, black-green coalition, Ukraine, Russia, world war	5
84	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2024-03-20	00:32	Mut zur Wahrheit ! #ukraine #russland #taurus #lieferung #ampelkoalition #kriegstreiber #diplomatiejetzt #afd #deshalbfafd #aliceweidel #bundestag	5317	223	351	Video	parliamentary speech	Alice Weidel	Panzer, Kriegswende, Ukraine, Wahrheit	arms, war, Ukrain, truth	0
85	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2024-05-14	02:58	"Hier wird eine Behörde missbraucht um in den Parteienwettbewerb einzugreifen und die #AfD strukturell zu benachteiligen. Das #Urteil ist nicht akzeptabel - wir sehen uns wohl in Leipzig wieder!" #aliceweidel	26.200	1815	1279	Video	interview	Alice Weidel	Urteil, Verfassungsschutz, unabhängige Behörde, missbraucht, Parteienwettbewerb, verfassungswidrig, Grundrechte, Formfehler, Beweisanträge, extremistisch, demokratische Grundordnung	verdict, constitution protection, basic rights, mistake, extremism, democracy	0

86	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2024-05-23	01:38	"Nehmen wir unsere Rechte in Anspruch, nur dann gehören sie uns und sind lebendig. Wer die #Freiheit und das #Grundgesetz liebt, schaut den Mächtigen kritisch auf die Finger. Dafür stehen wir als Rechtsstaats- und Grundgesetzpartei." #deshalbfafd #AFD #aliceweidel	3283	239	198	Video	promo video	Alice Weidel	Grundgesetz, Tradition, deutsche Einheit, bürgerliche Rechte, Freiheit, Meinungsfreiheit, Demokratie, Regierungskritiker, Geheimdienst, Verfassung, Rechtsstaatlichkeit, Gesinnung, staatliche Willkür, kritisch	basic rights, tradition, German unification, citizen rights, democracy, secret service, arbitrariness	0
87	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2024-05-30	00:15	Freibäder wieder sicher machen! 🏖️ #deshalbfafd #afd #europawahl2024 #sicherheit #blaustattbunt #sommer	351	23	18	edited Video	promo video, animated	comic figures, female	Freibäder, sicher, blau statt bunt	freetime activities, safety, blue	0
88	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2024-05-31	00:24	Deine Entscheidung. Deine #Wahl 🇪🇺 #blaustattbunt #afd #deshalbfafd #euwahl2024 #euwahl	6428	396	649	edited Video	promo video, animated	comic figures	Männer, schwanger, Krieg, Insekten essen, zensiert, AfD wählen, Heimat, blau statt bunt	men, gender, war, food, homeland, blue	0
89	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2024-05-31	0	Deine Entscheidung. Deine #Wahl 🇪🇺 #blaustattbunt #afd #deshalbfafd #euwahl2024 #euwahl	1142	68	31	Image	AFD-poster squared	Alice Weidel	Grenzschutz, Bürgerschutz	borders, citizen protection	0
90	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2024-06-05	07:17	Die pure Anwendung von #Recht und #Gesetz in Sachen #Migration würde die von #Ampel und #CDU verursachte Gewaltkriminalität sofort beenden! #deshalbfafd #AFD #aliceweidel #europawahl #eu #mannheim #islamismus #deutschland	1612	126	140	Video	press conference (Islamismus stoppen)	Alice Weidel	islamistischer Terrorist, Polizist, Opfer, brutaler Messerangriff, importierte Gewalt, Geschmacklosigkeit, politische Auseinandersetzung, Syt, Mannheim, Grünencheffin, Trauer, Freiheit, Sicherheit, Migrationswende, Schuld, Mörder, PKS, Abschiebungsdiskussion, Massenmigration, Missbrauch des Asylsystems, Medien, Mut, Recht, kriminelle ausländische Staatsbürger, Politikwechsel	islamist terrorist, police, crime, immigration, political contestation, the Greens, freedom, security, media	5
91	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2024-06-06	00:15	Deine 🇪🇺 Zukunft sichern! Deshalb am 9. Juni #AFD wählen. 🇪🇺 #euwahl2024 #europawahl #deshalbfafd #blaustattbunt #jugend				Video	promo video, animated	comic figure, male	Zukunft sichern, AfD wählen, blau statt bunt	future, blue	6
92	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2023-02-01	02:07	Vor allem die #Grünen treiben die Lieferung von schweren Waffen an die #Ukraine voran. Dabei waren sie es, die noch #2021 damit um Stimmen warben, "keine Waffen und #Rüstungsgüter in Kriegsgebiete" liefern zu wollen. #diegrünen #bearbock #keinewaffenlieferung #diplomatie #afd #unserlandzuerst #aliceweidel #fürdich #panzer	108.200	4805	12.200	video	Weidels Kontor (video office format)	Alice Weidel	Panzer, Russland, Bundesregierung, eingeknickt, USA, Nato, 2. Klasse, Krigspartei, hochgefährlich, dumm, strategische Weitsicht, die Grünen, Verteidigungsausschuss	arms, Russia, government, NATO, war, stupid, strategy, the Greens, defence	5
93	2024-06-06	alice_weidel_afd	2022-09-13	02:19	Mit diesen 7 #Punkten würde die #AFD dein #Leben wieder besser machen! #politik #aliceweidel #inflation #strompreis #habeck #ampelkoalition	139.900	3702	12.800	Video	parliamentary speech	Alice Weidel	Steuern, Energiesteuer, CO2-Abgabe, EEG, EZB, Staatsausgaben, Sicherheit, Rechtsstaat, Migration, Energieangebot, Windkraft, Kernkraft, Gasimporte Russland, Nordstream 2, Kernkraftwerke, Missbrauch der Krise	taxes, energy, CO2 tax, security, law, migration, wind power, nuclear power, gas, crisis	4,8
94 ⁶	2024-08-04	alice_weidel_afd	2024-06-06	00:22	Für alle #Welt ist #Geld da, nur nicht für das eigene Land. [emoji: thumbs down] #AFD #deshalbfafd	1924	81	100	Video	parliamentary speech	Alice Weidel	Illusion, Klima, reale Gefahren, Steuergeld, Katastrophenschutz, kaputtgespart	illusion, climate, threats, taxes, disaster control	1
95	2024-08-04	alice_weidel_afd	2024-06-07	00:36	#deshalbfafd #afd #bundestag #aliceweidel #stolzmonat #deutschland	4369	349	262	Video	parliamentary speech	Alice Weidel	Opfer, leere Phrasen, Bedrohung, Verharmlosung, Opposition, innere Sicherheit, importierter islamistischer Extremismus	victim, threat, relativisation, opposition, security, islamism	0
96	2024-08-04	alice_weidel_afd	2024-06-10	00:45	Warum die #AFD stärkste Kraft bei Jugendlichen und jungen Erwachsenen ist? Weil die #Ampel ihnen die Zukunft nimmt. #blaustattbunt #Europawahl	4550	589	303	Video	press conference	Alice Weidel	Alterskohorte, Schüler, Studienanfänger, Berufsanfänger, Schulen, migrantische Überforderung, Patchworkklassen, deutsch, Lebensgrundlage	age group, schools, migration, German, livelihood	0

⁶ Due to the timing of data collection, Weidel's three most recent posts, which were uploaded after June 6th and before her apparent summer break, were not transcribed and only considered after the initial analysis.

Appendix 2: Table of collected material, Maximilian Krahl

#7	Date accessed	Account @	Date posted	Length	Post description	No. of Likes	No. of comments	No. of pins	Data type	Setting	Main characters	Overarching topics/ keywords	Theme	Selection criteria:
101	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2024-05-09	00:45	Lokale Bauern statt Globalisten! #EU #Deutschland #Brüssel #AfD	3164	589	272	Video	Promo office	MK	Europa, lokale Bauern, erhalten was ist, globale Landwirtschaftskonzerne, Böden, Ernährungssicherheit, versteuern	Europe, agriculture, food security	2
102	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2024-05-07	00:47	Du willst mit mir diskutieren? Schreib mich an!	3308	445	412	Video	Promo blue screen	MK	Influencer, Interview jung&naiv, mit Politikern diskutieren, freie Wahlen, fair informiert	Political communication, social media, elections	0
103	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2024-05-06	00:59	Kritik muss erlaubt sein! #EU #Deutschland #Brüssel #AfD	1241	76	100	Video	Promo hall	MK	Obrigkeit kritisieren, Reformen, Meinungsfreiheit, veränderte Umweltpolitik, Hass und Hetze, EU Kommission, Klima-Vodoo, Videos löschen, Digital Service Act	Free speech, environmental and climate policy, EU, digital service act	1
104	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2024-05-03	00:44	Die EZB vernichtet dein Ersparnis #EU #Deutschland #Brüssel #AfD	1181	86	111	Video	Promo Office	MK	EZB, Ersparnisse, ver-/entschuldet, seriöse Staatsfinanzen, Wohlstand und Wachstum, Steuern, schlanker Staat, inflation	fiscal policy, prosperity, growth	0
105	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2024-05-02	00:54	Kämpfe für Veränderung: Die alten Eliten werden nicht aufgeben! #EU #Deutschland #Brüssel #AfD	1151	103	89	Video	Promo hall	MK	unzufrieden, politische Lage, Deutschland, Europa, falsche Richtung, Gegenwehr, Deutungshoheit, unsere Wahrheiten, kämpfen, anecken, eine andere Politik	political change, truth	7
106	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2024-04-25	00:51	Grenzschutz statt Schleuser! #EU #Deutschland #Brüssel #AfD	2766	339	272	Video	Promo hall, edited	MK	Grenze überschreiten, EU, bleiben, Arbeit, Polizisten minimalisiert, linksradikale Schlepperorganisationen	migration, borders, EU	0
107	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2024-04-23	00:34	Teil meine Inhalte! #EU #Deutschland #Brüssel #AfD	1831	307	239	Video	Promo blue screen	MK	Meinung, verbreiten, Reels, soziale Plattformen, reichweitenbeschränkt, Einschränkung der Freiheit	social media, freedom	0
108	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2024-04-18	00:56	Europa braucht neue Ideen! #EU #Deutschland #Brüssel #AfD	1138	199	85	Video	Promo hall	MK	Deutschland, Europa, großartig, Krise, neue Ideen, Mut, Austausch, tausend bunte Blumen, zuhören, Digital Service Act, Hass & Hetze	crisis, discussion, digital service act	8
109	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2024-04-17	00:52	Lern etwas Handfestes! #EU #Deutschland #Brüssel #AfD	813	72	83	Video	Promo hall	MK	Bürojobs in 10 Jahren, studieren, KI, berufliche Zukunft, (un)sicher, Digitalisierung	future, jobs	6
110	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2024-04-11	01:26	Gute Politik ist Rechts! #EU #Deutschland #Brüssel #AfD	987	141	129	Video	Promo hall	MK	Öffnung Chinas, Wirtschaftsleistung, Probleme der Gegenwart und Zukunft, die Linken, Klimawandel, die Rechten, Unterschied, Wohlstand, Realität, 50 Geschlechter, Durchschnittstemperatur	economy, future, climate change, far right, left	1,6
111	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2024-04-10	00:56	Heimische Rüstung statt Geld fürs Ausland! #EU #Deutschland #Brüssel #AfD	706	40	46	Video	Promo hall	MK	Krieg, gerüstet, Freiheit, Friede, Krise, Schulden, heimische Rüstungsindustrie, fremde Lieferanten, Sicherheit, Wohlstand	war, crisis, security, prosperity	6
112	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2024-04-09	01:18	Was willst du machen? #EU #Deutschland #Brüssel #AfD	539	42	48	Video	Promo hall, edited	MK	Wohlstand, Ausbildungsberuf, Gender Studies, Rassistheorie, in 10 Jahren, linke Blase, Handwerker, Techniker, Ingenieur, Zukunft, EU, nachhaltig	prosperity, jobs, future, sustainability	6,7
113	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2024-04-08	00:41	Danke Kommission! #EU #Deutschland #Brüssel #AfD	548	70	54	Video	Promo hall	MK	Afrikaner, Europa, Kosten, Digital Service Act, Danke, EU-Kommission, Wahrheit, frei denken	migration, free speech, EU, digital service act	0
114	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2024-04-05	00:30	Individualmobilität erhalten! #EU #Deutschland #Brüssel #AfD	497	38	40	Video	Promo hall	MK	Cabrio, Lastenrad, EU, individuelle Mobilität, Elektro-Auto, sorgloses Leben	mobility, EU	1
115	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2024-04-04	00:48	Architektur – Eigenheit statt Einheitsbrei #EU #Deutschland #Brüssel #AfD	540	37	52	Video	Promo hall, edited	MK	Architektur, Vielfalt, historische, Ästhetik, Tradition	tradition, architecture	0
116	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2024-04-03	00:52	Ja zur Familie! #EU #Deutschland #Brüssel #AfD	494	94	99	Video	Promo hall	MK	bunt, klassische Familien, Zukunft, Einwanderer, verwurzelt, Minderheit, Gender Politik	family, future, migration	6
117	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2024-04-01	00:56	Deutschland als Bürge für Schulden #EU #Deutschland #Brüssel #AfD	407	30	30	Video	Promo hall	MK	Zinsen, Kreditwürdigkeit, Deutschland, Griechenland, Schulden, Staatsfinanzen, Vergemeinschaftung, Wachstum	fiscal policy, EU, growth	0
118	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2024-03-30	00:45	Arbeit schafft Wohlstand #EU #Deutschland #Brüssel #AfD	448	50	40	Video	Promo hall	MK	nicht arbeiten, Alptraum, Check, anhängig, verlieren, bedingungsloses Grundeinkommen, Arbeit schafft Wohlstand	work, social elfare	0
119	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2024-03-28	00:55	Europa und Russland #EU #Deutschland #Brüssel #AfD	443	74	53	Video	Promo hall	MK	Europa, Russland, Zusammenarbeit, Energieversorgung, Unabhängigkeit, Krieg, Diplomatie, Neustart, Austausch, Handel, Friedenszeit	Russia, war energy	4
120	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2024-03-27	00:51	Europa und die USA #EU #Deutschland #Brüssel #AfD	383	45	31	Video	Promo hall, edited	MK	Europa, USA, Wurzel, Entwicklung, demographische Wegentwicklung, eigenständige Position, eigene Meinung	US, demographics, development	0
121	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2024-03-26	00:58	Nordstream - Qui bono? #EU #Deutschland #Brüssel #AfD	405	27	34	Video	Promo hall, edited	MK	Bombe, Nordstream Pipeline, Zukunft, Fracking LNG, Industriemation, Atomkraft, Erdgas	energy, future	4,6
122	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2024-03-25	00:38	Deitsch un frei woll mer sei #EU #Deutschland #Brüssel #AfD	511	39	45	Video	Promo hall, edited	MK	deutsch und frei, anti-deutsche Politik, Europäer	German	0
123	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2024-03-22	00:41	Deutschland geht Pleite #EU #Deutschland #Brüssel #AfD	534	84		Video	Promo office, edited	MK	Deutschland, pleite, Großkonzerne, Insolvenz, Brüssel, Berlin, Durchschnittstemperatur, Krieg, exportieren, Arbeitsplätze, links	economy, climate change, war, jobs	1
124	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2024-03-21	00:55	Deutsches Geld für europäische Schulden #EU #Deutschland #Brüssel #AfD	438	46	32	Video	Promo hall, edited	MK	Deutsches Geld, Schulden, EU, Beiträger der Mitgliedsländer, Euro-Rettung, deutscher Beitrag, entkoppelt, Unsinnprojekte, Klima-Vodoo	fiscal policy, EU, climate policy	1

⁷ Weidel's posts are counted from oldest to newest, while Krahl's posts are in reverse order. This inconsistency arose because I improved my mode of recording in the second round, having learned to use autoplay, which works in reverse order, only after finishing Weidel's recording. Additionally, the count for Krahl's posts starts at 101 (instead of 1) to avoid number overlaps between the accounts.

125	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2024-03-20	00:58	Weniger Bürokratie für Europa! #EU #Deutschland #Brüssel #AFD	465	58	30	Video	Promo hall	MK	EU, bürokratischer Moloch, Bürokratie, Geld, Brüssel, schlanke EU der Nationalstaaten, Souveränität	EU, bureaucracy, nationalism	0
126	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2024-03-19	00:53	Nein zu Massenmigration #EU #Deutschland #Brüssel #AFD	644	91	85	Video	Promo hall	MK	Masseneinwanderung, finanziert, Europäische Union, Zukunft, Millionen, umsiedeln, großer Austausch, Generalplan, Grenzen schließen	migration, EU, future	6
127	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2024-03-15	00:47	Ausbildung statt Massenmigration #EU #Deutschland #Brüssel #AFD	602	77	54	Video	Promo hall, edited	MK	Junges Afrika, altes Europa, Fachkräfte, globaler Süden, Fehlallokation, Zukunft der Wirtschaft	migration, future, economy	6
128	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2024-03-14	00:56	Altersarmut dank falscher Politik #EU #Deutschland #Brüssel #AFD	443	74	29	Video	Promo hall, edited	MK	Rentner, Gesundheit, reisen, fit, Altersarmut, Kinder, Wirtschaft, Politik, hohe Abgaben, Sozialsystem	pension, economy, poverty, social welfare	0
129	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2024-03-13	01:08	Faires Geld für deine Arbeit #EU #Deutschland #Brüssel #AFD	562	62	29	Video	Promo hall, edited	MK	Fairer Lohn, faire Arbeit, sichere Rente, Arbeitsmärkte offen, die ganze Welt, Teilhabe an der Gesellschaft, Einwanderung, Gerechtigkeit	work, migration, justice	0
130	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2024-03-12	00:59	Wohlstand statt Klimawoodoo #EU #Deutschland #Brüssel #AFD	397	66	41	Video	Promo hall	MK	Arm, Eigentumswohnung, Urlaub, Fleisch, EU-Politik, Klima-Voodoo, Energiepreise, Dämmungsvorschriften, Verbrenner, Wetter, Wohlstand, privates Glück	EU, poverty, climate policy, energy	1,4
131	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2024-03-11	00:53	Danke Ursula! #AFD #EU #Brüssel #deutschland	379	39	29	Video	Promo hall	MK	Wahl, Spitzenjob, Ursula, Digital Service Act, Hass und Hetze	election, EU, digital service act	0
132	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2023-10-23	00:42	Max Krah #AFD ZERSTÖRT Jan #Böhmermann	3232	1020	329	Video	Promo outside bush	MK	Böhmermann, Gewinne, Million, Verachtung, einfach links, ARD und ZDF	media	0
133	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2023-10-19	01:43	Max Krah #AFD: Keine Bundeswehr in #Israel und #Palästina!	12.600	386	1777	Video	Promo blue screen, edited	MK	Deutsche Bundeswehrosoldaten, naher Osten, Israel, Freunde enttäuschen, fremde Kriege, Krise, kühler Kopf, deutsche Interessen, Menschenrechte, Flüchtlinge	war, military, German interests, middle east	0
134	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2023-10-06	00:42	Max Krah #AFD wird von #TikTok in #Deutschland zensiert!	22.900	2046	1347	Video	Promo outside bush	MK	TikTok, Klicks, zensiert, Wahrheit, rot-grün, ARD und ZDF	social media, left-green	5
135	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2023-10-04	00:45	Max Krah #AFD: Elon #Musk ist #rechts!	15.800	1185	1627	Video	Promo outside bush	MK	Elon Musk, rechts, Einwanderungsbesoffenheit der Deutschen, texanische Grenze, X, zensiert, erfolgreich, rechts, Wirtschaft	Elon Musk, migration, economy, censorship	0
136	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2023-09-29	00:42	Max Krah #AFD erklärt, wie #Künstlicheintelligenz hilft	5.146	434	435	Video	Promo outside house	MK	KI, arbeitslos, Gender, Akademiker, Grüne, Grenzen, Job, Zukunft	work, Greens, future	5,6
137	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2024-09-28	00:42	Max Krah #AFD: Werde aktiv für #deutschland!	22.100	1878	2113	Video	Promo outside house	MK	TikTok, Deutschland ändern, Stammtisch, Mitglied, Heimat, linke Spinner, stolz, gesund, reich, Frieden, zu wenig	social media, change, Germany, leftists, peace	7
138	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2023-09-15	01:03	Alle #Ausländer raus? Max Krah #AFD antwortet	12.200	865	1591	Video	Promo outside sky	MK	Ausländer raus, deutsche Regeln, Harz, radikalisieren, Erfolgsgeschichten, Anreize, gute Zukunft, zurückgehen	migrants, Germany, future	6
139	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2023-09-14	00:59	Max Krah: Die #AFD kämpft für #Europa	10.200	510	876	Video	Promo outside sky	MK	Europa # EU, bürokratisch, dt. Auto-Industrie, Heizungen erneuern, Gender, Krieg, Klimaaussinn, Entfremdung, Bund d. europäischen Nationen	EU, industry, climate	1
140	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2023-09-13	00:50	Max Krah #AFD: Die Politiker haben Angst vor dem Volk	34.000	1508	2931	Video	Promo outside Reichstag	MK	Kritiker Angst vor dem Volk, Graben, Demokratie, Wahlen, Verfassungsschutz, richtige Politiker	democracy, constitution, elections	0
141	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2023-09-12	00:48	Max Krah #AFD fordert DICH auf, mitzumachen	8.402	759	745	Video	Promo outside city	MK	Wahl, EU, Klima, Gender, Einwanderung, Krieg, Wohlstand, Familie, Volk, Frieden, Heimat, dich gewinnen, Zukunft	EU, climate, migration, Germany, future	1,6
142	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2023-09-06	00:53	Max Krah #AFD: Sei stolz auf #Deutschland	22.100	2437	2605	Video	Promo outside cemetery	MK	Vorfahren, Verbrecher, stolz, Deutschland, gekämpft und gelitten, das große Ganze, Volk	Germany, ancestors, pride	0
143	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2023-08-26	00:35	Max Krah #AFD: Die Zerstörung der #CDU kommt	3.947	263	454	Video	Interview	MK	politische Rechte, Implosion der CDU, rechtssoffen, Grüne 2.0, neue nicht von den Grünen dominierte Politik	far right, CDU, Greens	4
144	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2023-08-06	00:50	Meinen Dank an alle Unterstützer und mein Versprechen an unsere Wähler. #afdparteitag #afdmdagdeburg #ewahl2024 #afd #afdspitzenkandidat	3.020	323	111	Video	Promo outside parking lot	MK	Magdeburg, Spitzenkandidatur, Unterstützung, vielen Dank, Versprechen, dass sich wirklich was ändert, Träume und Ideale	election, promises, ideals, change	7
145	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2023-06-28	00:30	Deine #Mutter wird im Alter arm sein, warnt Max Krah #AFD	61.000	2827	7757	Video	Promo office	MK	Mutter, arm, bei den Grünen Karriere, Mindestrente, Flüchtlinge, Klimawachstums, Geschlechter	poverty, the Greens, migrants, climate	1,5
146	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2023-06-27	00:34	Die #Bundesregierung hasst dich, sagt Max Krah #AFD	6.021	751	544	Video	Promo office	MK	Bundesregierung hasst dich, dein Erbe, dein Geld, Brüssel, umdrehen, Klimawahn	government, property, EU, climate	1
147	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2023-06-26	00:49	Max Krah #AFD über die #Pride #Regenbogen-Fahne	1.947	359	420	Video	Interview, edited	MK	Regenbogenfahne, Blackrock, gesteuert	gender, conspiracy	0
148	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2023-06-19	00:21	Max Krah #AFD über die Probleme und Werte junger #Männer	91.500	7133	25.600	Video	Promo office	MK	keine Freundin, Pornos, Grüne, frische Luft, Selbstbewusst, Patriot	masculinity, Greens, patriot	5
149	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2023-06-16	00:24	Die #CDU ist #links sagt Max Krah #AFD	1366	70	130	Video	Promo office	MK	CDU, Grenzöffnung, Atomusstieg, spießig, täuschen	CDU, borders, nuclear energy	4
150	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2023-06-15	00:20	Max Krah #AFD will dass DU zu Deiner Meinung stehst	10.700	600	1875	Video	Promo office	MK	Linker Lehrer, steh zu deiner Meinung, selbst verleugnen, Meinungsfreiheit	free speech, opinion	0
151	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2023-06-14	00:36	Der #Krieg in der #Ukraine ist NICHT Dein Krieg sagt Max Krah #AFD	7.055	497	993	Video	Promo office	MK	Ukraine Krieg, dein Geld, Ostfront, USA, neues Öl ins Feuer, Frieden	Ukraine, war, US, peace	0
152	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2023-06-13	00:40	Max Krah #AFD erinnert zum #Stolzmonat daran, wie großartig es ist #deutsch zu sein	8.804	703	1416	Video	Promo office	MK	Deutsche, erkennen, verlassen, Sprache, Märchen, zuhause, sicher, Linke, CDU, Schmutz, Kriminalität, Ordnung, Armut	Germany, identity, politics	0
153	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2023-06-12	00:36	#Russland hat #Nordstream2 NICHT gesprengt sagt Max Krah #AFD	12.400	556	734	Video	Promo office	MK	Nordstream, unsere Regierung, deutsche Interessen, großer Krieg, Deutschland zahlt	north stream, war, German interests	4
154	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2023-06-06	00:37	#BlackRock-Lobbyist Friedrich #Merz EXPOSED durch Max Krah #AFD	8.832	671	818	Video	Promo outside river	MK	Friedrich Merz, Kanzler, Blackrock, US Heuschrecke, Industriebeteiligung, mit Grünen und FDP, Abruch von Wirtschaftsbeziehungen, deutsche Industrie verscherbelt	CDU, US, corruption, industry	0
155	2024-06-20	maximilian_krah	2023-06-02	00:38	/	7.781	413	571	Video	Promo outside tree	MK	Sozialstaat, asozial, Bürgergeld, deutscher Pass, lockt, Leistungsbereitschaft, komplett umgebaut	social welfare, migration	0

Appendix 3: List of codes

AfD
AfD acts for the people
Young people
AfD as only voice of reason
AfD is the expert
AfD accomplishments
AfD victimization
Central values
AW Values
Against social (welfare) policy
Core state tasks
Economic policy
Industry
Fiscal policy
Local
Neoliberal finance & economic policy
Other policy
Position
Security, order, and law
Tradition
Values
MK Values
Against neoliberalism
Blood and soil
Conservatism, tradition, family
Food security
Free speech and change
Individuality, difference, prosperity
International relations
Locality, autonomy
Nationalism, anti-migration
Neoliberalism
Politics
Security, peace
Seeming well-being for all
Spirituality
Climate & climate policy
Climate change is made-up
Climate policy as inappropriate
Climate policy means economic devastation
German climate exceptionalism
Climate policy destroys our dreams
Ridiculing climate activists
Continuity & change
Conservatism
Glorious past/ learning from the past
Doomism
Bureaucracy
Everything is bad
Globalisation, anonymity
High taxes
Obstacles
Energy policy
Buildings Energy Act
Coal and nuclear energy
Energy transition
Increasing energy prices
Russian gas
Environmental policy
Future vision
Changes and challenges
Crisis management
Greatness
The future is industrial (and national)
Dark future
Good future
The future is traditional (and national)
Theory of change
Germany
German interests
Germany as industrial location
Education and jobs
Identity

Role of Germany
Media
Media don't report on AfD viewpoints
Media use, TikTok
Public media are unprofessional
Public media distort reality
Migration policy
Costs
Immigrants are criminals
Migration
Self-presentation
Textual analysis
Argumentation
Cherry-picking
Random topic changes
Whataboutism
Conspiracy logic & culprits
Delegitimization
It's a lie
Personal attack
Ridiculing, imitation
Exceptionalism - German vs. international
Racism
Ethnopluralism
Single-cause logic
Binary - either or
Temporality - exceptionalism
Temporality - it's getting worse
Temporality - learning from the past
Concepts, vocab
-krise (crisis)
-wende (shift)
Food security
Gegenbewegung (countermovement)
Insecurity
Nachhaltig (sustainable)
Nonsense words, neologisms
Roots
Öko (environmentalism) & ideology
Modality
Call to action
Evaluation
Hyperbole
Irony
Metaphor
Neutral facts
Rhetorical question
The truth
Reference, analogy
The government
EU policy
Government against Germany
Anti-democratic
Coercive
Corrupt
Unwanted
Incompetence
Liars
Malintent
Ideology politics
Privation of citizen rights
Wrong priorities
Personal attack, ridicule
Habeck
Merkel
Other (name dropping)
Scholz
The Greens
The Leftists

