

Bachelor Thesis

Right-wing populism: The impact of discourses in policy development

How does the right-wing populist party AfD influence the implementation of temporary border controls at the German-Polish border?

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Abstract

This thesis analyzes the influence of the right-wing populist party Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) on the implementation of temporary border controls at the German-Polish border. The research question is answered in using a Critical Discourse Analysis approach which uncovers the narratives present in the AfD social media postings, releases on their website, Saxonian newspapers and official policy documents concerning border controls. The frequency of Securitization and Criminalization are noticeable in the discourse, as immigrants are framed as a threat to national security and safety of the public. Other relevant concepts are Economization and Othering, who show to narrate immigrants as an economic burden and outsiders. The findings of this study suggest that their nationalist framing reinforces public fears and anxieties to justify restrictive border policies. Ultimately, this thesis shows the impact right-wing populist rhetoric can have on policy-making procedures, facilitating general understanding of the threat right-wing populism can pose to the European Union.

1. Introduction

In this research, the discourse surrounding the newly implemented temporary border controls on the German-Polish border shall be analyzed, which is particularly relevant since both countries signed the Schengen agreement of the European Union that allows for the free movement of people. (Amt, n.d.) Those temporary border controls are only allowed “If there is a serious threat to public policy or internal security, a Schengen country may exceptionally temporarily reintroduce border control at its internal borders.” (Temporary Reintroduction of Border Control, n.d., paragraph 1)

Germany’s justification is based on the growing level of migrant smuggling activity and the security situation in the Middle East which supposedly has an impact on security and migration in the Schengen area. (European Commission, n.d., b) However, migration is not a reasonable threat to internal security according to the Schengen agreement. (European Union, 2016) Additionally, the reintroduction of border controls has to be a measure of last resort and respect the principle of proportionality, which is also questionable in this context as migration has been going on for a long time and there is not enough evidence on other measures having been taken in order to prevent such border controls. (Daniel, 2023)

But as right-wing populism is growing in many European countries, one can assume that a relationship exists between growing nationalism, including xenophobia and the wish for better controlled or closed borders. Previous studies have shown that populist parties tend to discursively portray the border as a symbol of protection (Yerly, 2022) In order to need protection, a threat coming from the outside must exist. It aligns with typical right-wing populist ideologies to frame immigrants and immigration as a threat to national identity, security and political order. Moreover, the AfD has demanded border controls in the past, which proves that they support this policy. (Curio et al., 2017) How much influence the AfD has had on the implementation of border controls is to be analyzed in this study.

The state office for the protection of the institution of Saxony has already classified the AfD as securely right-wing extremist, which makes the party a well-suited example for analyzing right-wing populism. (Tagesschau, 2023a) Especially since Saxony is a border region, it provides circumstance for politicizing the border as those areas are directly affected by border policies and immigration.

Most studies that exist on this topic merely focus on how the border is used to promote populist's political aims, (see Biancalana, et al., 2020; Lamour, et al. 2017), but do not analyze the influence of framing a discourse in relation to the implementation of actual policies. Studies have been done in context of the COVID-19 pandemic, when borders were be portrayed as protection of internal health security. (Yerly, 2022) However, the justification in this context is migration being a threat to internal security, and since right-wing populist discourse often debates migration in a negative and nationalist way, it can be assumed that the link and therefore the influence is even stronger. (Betz, 1994)

Since temporary border controls to this extent are a relatively new phenomenon in the EU, a knowledge gap exists regarding the potential influence of right-wing populism. Therefore, this study provides insights to the interplay of political ideologies and border policies, especially in the context of rising populism in Europe. It fills a research gap in understanding the mechanisms and discursive strategies by which populist parties influence border control decisions. Usually, studies set a focus on party's or populist's publications and speeches without including the policy dimension, which is part of this research as well.

As for social and scientific relevance, this study can facilitate understanding if emerging right-wing populism in the EU poses serious threats to the Schengen agreement and the European integration process by influencing border control policies.

Lately, populist parties have gained significant power regarding the implementation of policies. (Gruber & Rosenberger, 2021) The main source of this power is their ability to influence agenda setting. Therefore studying a populist party's framing of societal issues provides insights to the way in which they affect the first process of the policy cycle (namely problem definition and agenda formulation) in which it is decided what issues are included in the political agenda. (Knill & Tosun, 2012)

To analyze the above-mentioned association, the research question that guides this study is "How does the right-wing populist party AfD in Saxony influence the implementation of temporary border controls at the German-Polish border?" This type of research question aligns with Post-Positivism which is a research tradition that typically involves measuring phenomena that need interpretation and giving value to the collected data. Therefore, this study acknowledges the limitations of value-neutral inquiry which is why multiple perspectives, meaning the policy dimension and the discursive dimension, are being included. Additionally, measures are taken to heighten the validity of the research, by including the context of the situation that is analyzed. However, subjective interpretation is needed to answer the research question, as it aims to understand the interaction between politicians, policy implementation processes and the socio-political context that surrounds border controls.

Since the goal is to understand the relationship between two factors and be able to explain why border-controls are being implemented, an explanatory research question is useful for

exploring the causal mechanisms of the phenomenon that is being analyzed. Explanatory research can be done qualitatively or quantitatively, so it suits the study's qualitative design.

To facilitate the research focus, the aim is to follow the following questions:

What discursive strategies does the right-wing populist party AfD employ to shape public perceptions of border security and immigration? This question helps in furthering the understanding of argumentation strategies used by the AfD.

What are the key narrative dimensions influencing the implementation of temporary border controls at the German-Polish border? This question helps to analyze the policy documents.

What are the ideological motivations behind the AfD's stance on border controls, and how do these align with or challenge existing policies and international agreements? This question helps explain whether the AfD and therefore similar right-wing populist parties in the EU pose a threat to the Schengen agreement and the concept of the EU in general.

2. Theory

In order to answer the research question at hand, a discourse analysis of the AfD's framing of immigrants, the border and the Schengen agreement is required. A critical discourse analysis facilitates understanding the relationship between discourse and the use of language and political or social change.

The following theoretical framework provides a lens to interpret the collected data and create a fitting coding scheme.

First, to properly understand how right-wing populist discourse is shaped, typical argumentation strategies are to be defined to scan the data for these. Most populist parties claim to be representing the "people" or a specific group's interest, which is called identity politics. (Wodak, 2014, p.13) They define an out-group to be excluded, often accompanied by racism or discrimination against certain social groups. (Woods, 2014; Albertazzi & McDonnell, 2014; Wodak et al., 2013; Qurbanzada, 2023). The parties therefore define themselves by excluding others, which usually includes the "elite" and the political establishment (other political parties, the EU). (Wodak, 2014, p.14) In previous research, it has been argued that the "other" is more frequently a foreigner, which aligns with the purpose of this research as the border is framed to function as a protection against foreigners entering Germany. (Wodak et al., 2015) Right wing populists often claim an existing threat to the "people" by the elites, but also the "others" that are living in, or wishing to enter society. (Albertazzi & McDonnell, 2015, p.4)

2.1 Othering

Furthermore, to promote this kind of narrative the discourse needs to portray a certain picture of the "threat" that migration poses to internal security. In previously conducted studies, especially those using the Discourse Historical Approach, a construction of the "us" and the

“them” was discovered in political discourses. (see Biancalana et al., 2020) Therefore, the concept of Othering is helpful here. It describes a process by which one group sets itself apart from another group by attributing them negative characteristics, contrasting to their own. The aim is to exclude the “othered” and create fear or hate towards them. (Rohleder, 2014) This concept should help analyzing the underlying argumentation strategy of the AfD in trying to depict certain individuals as threats in an effort to legitimize border controls. Furthermore, it helps understanding the method

2.2 Securitization

Since the main argument in temporarily controlling the borders is the internal security threat irregular migration poses, this concept is framed by the definition of the European Commission as a person who is not a citizen of the EU, does not have the EU right to free movement and is in the territory of a state that signed the Schengen agreement while not fulfilling the conditions for entry of the Schengen Borders Code. (European Migration Network, n.d.) It is necessary to frame this concept to facilitate the identification of relevant literature. Besides, it helps in understanding how irregular migration is perceived by the relevant political actors that influenced the policy implementation that is being studied. It also provides a possibility to critically assess the concept in terms of validity of the narrative its proposing.

Moreover, migration policy often employs crisis language, such as “war” or “invasion” (Newton, 2008). According to other researchers, security and threat are typical associations in discourses regarding immigration (Buonfino, 2006). This concept provides understanding of the justification and narration in the discourse, particularly in how it over-dramatizes the situation and fuels the moral panic created through Criminalization.

2.3 Policy influence

Since the research question assumes a causal connection between temporary border controls and the AfD’s populist discourse, it is crucial to undermine this claim. Historically, populist and right-wing parties have always influenced immigration and integration policies in politicizing these topics in an aim to restrict immigration (Gruber & Rosenberger, 2021; Lutz, 2019).

To be able to identify the influence that the AfD had on the policy that is being discussed, a theoretical framework is needed. There are different theories on the influence of opposition parties on policy outcome, some previous literature even arguing that the opposition has more policy influence than the governing coalition. This is due to their heightened ability to set the agenda and propose legislation (Lees, 2018) Agenda setting means the process of making a certain issue more prominent, therefore shifting the overall policy discourse in the direction the party desires. In doing so, the other parties can no longer ignore the issue and action is required due to the expectations of the public.

As an opposition party, the AfD can set political agendas and frame issues like mass immigration as threats to internal security. This “problem” framing influences voters to seek solutions, often proposed by right-wing parties, who tend to simplify complex phenomena such as immigration. They might advocate for stricter border controls and returning asylum seekers, ignoring root causes like climate change and political instability. Consequently, other

political parties may adopt similar stances to retain votes, aligning their policies with the prevailing public opinion influenced by the AfD.

Furthermore, the opposition parties can enact indirect influence on policy processes by shifting the mainstream party's agendas. The electoral pressure of setting an agenda forces mainstream parties to adapt their position to regain electorates. (Meguid, 2005; Abou.Chadi, 2016) In Germany, the AfD has been excluded from forming coalitions and has been regarded the "enemy" ever since it was established. However, the party is constantly gaining voters, which can especially be seen in the recent European election. Therefore it makes sense that the other parties fear losing voters and their seats in the German parliament, and try to regain their voters by shifting to more restrictive immigration policies. Regarding the AfD, a study shows that the AfD influences the position of all German parties in moving them further to the right (Jankowski et al., Schneider and Tepe, 2019) Especially in Saxony, which is the focus of this thesis, mainstream parties' positions converge with those of the right-wing parties, which is called mainstreaming (Atzpodien, 2020)

According to spatial theory, political parties will adjust their policy programs in response to shifts in public opinion. Those shifts may happen due to the agenda that is set by oppositional parties. However, recent scholars also found a causal effect of radical right success on other parties' policy positions independent of public opinion, and that mainstream parties tend to react to this success by emphasizing more anti-immigration and culturally protectionist positions. (Abou-Chadi & Krause, 2018) Moreover, political parties also adjust their policies in response to policy shifts by their competitors. (Adams & Somer-Topcu, 2009) A study on anti-immigration parties in Europe shows that especially other opposition parties tend to shift to more restrictive positions in immigration politics when anti-immigration parties gain more voters. The German parliament has three opposition parties: the Left, the CDU, and the CSU. While the Left is politically oriented towards more lenient immigration policies due to their leftist stance, it is hypothesized that the positions of the other two parties on border controls have shifted towards a more restrictive stance because of the influence of the AfD. (Van Spanje, 2010)

These theories can explain how reintroducing temporary border controls can happen on the ground of migration as an internal security threat, when parties as well as citizens perceive it as legitimate reason.

These theories lead to the formulation of the following hypotheses, which shall be accepted or declined by the end of this research:

Hypotheses 1: The AfD influences other party's stance on border control.

Hypothesis 2: The Policy documents surrounding border controls at the German-Polish border are influenced by the AfD's narrative.

Hypothesis 3: The AfD frames the discourse surrounding border control using the concepts of Economization, Securitization and Criminalization in employing crisis language and Othering, which masks the inherently discriminatory and ideological nature of their agenda.

Hypotheses 4: Newsletters in Saxony are narrated in a way that influences public opinion.

A discourse analysis shows the interconnection of ideology and discourse, therefore providing insights on how the AfD employs certain argumentative strategies to propagate their ideologies. These strategies are used to mobilize people towards more exclusionary practices, utilizing themes like migration and security to instill fear or hatred. (Thiele et al., 2022)

In the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA), ideologies are defined as biased perspectives that serve to establish and maintain unequal power distribution through discourse (Wodak, 2015). Analyzing the discourse surrounding border controls and migration provides a better understanding of the underlying ideologies. Moreover, it provides insights on how language is used to maintain certain power relations between groups.

Even though critical discourse analysis is very typical to use in this type of research (see below), the concepts that are used to specify what to search for are very different.

2.4 Narratives

For studying the effect a discourse has on border policies, the concept of narratives explains how it is made possible to shift from EU wide open border politics to the need of controlling them. This is because narratives can shape the public discourse and perception of the border and migration, since they influence emotions and beliefs which consequently help to legitimize certain policies (Wilson, 2023) By analyzing the narratives political actors of the AfD propagate, underlying motivations and aspirations can be analyzed which drive shifts in border policies. This way, complexities can be uncovered which are not obvious through a policy analysis alone. In previous research, the concept of narratives has been shown to facilitate the understanding of populists framing of the border in order to defend certain political aims. (Yerly, 2022)

2.5 Securitization, Economization & Criminalization

Furthermore, as the border controls that are analyzed are asserted to address an internal security issue, a theoretical framework in this regard is essential for understanding this claim and critically assessing it. Previous research has demonstrated the usefulness of including the theory of securitization to study migration management in the EU, which is concerned with the differentiation of migration groups being declared as security concerns. (Hansen et al, 2022)

Securitization is a process through which politics go beyond the conventional rules or parameters by portraying the issue as a distinct form of politics or as being above politics altogether. (Buzan et al, 1998) This framing also collides with the concept of Othering, as issues which are securitized have a dichotomic characteristic similar to the familiar “us” and foreign or threatening “them”, which makes it feasible to use in this study. (Baysal, B. 2020)

This theory provides a framework for analyzing the discursive construction surrounding security threats by being able to identify strategies and discursive practices including symbolic representations more easily that are employed to justify border controls under the guise of security concerns. It is a theory that is based heavily on subjective construction which is why it makes sense to use it in a discourse analysis. (Buzan et al., 1998) It is assumed here, that the AfD contributes to the construction of framing security threats in a way that establishes the threat to be certain migrant groups in a process of Othering, thereby creating a ground on which existing internal security threats can be argued.

Moreover, to explain the potential influence of the AfD, the concept of moral panic is helpful. It shows that an issue can be narrated in a way that can shift public opinion and therefore political processes. (Cohen, 1972) The concept of moral panic is relevant in this context, as it has historically described the criminalization of different groups of people, like immigrants for example. Additionally, the concept of Criminalization facilitates the creation of moral panics, and was notably evident in the aftermath of 9/11 in the United States. It involves framing certain groups of people as threats to societal values and interests, which can influence public perception and policy. Ekström et al. (2023) highlight this pattern in their recent work. Immigrants are often labelled “illegal” in public and political debates which criminalizes the people. However, the individuals themselves are not illegal but their act of entering a country may be. In using this rhetoric, the discourse creates a picture of immigrants as criminals, simply by entering another country. (Lakoff & Ferguson, 2006) This is a commonly used strategy in populist anti-immigration discourse which makes it fit this research. The concept of Criminalization describes how criminal actions are frequently connected to migrants, including the migration act itself. This includes the labelling of being illegal, but also the process by which acts of solidarity associated with migration are treated as criminal activities, like smuggling people across border. (PICUM, 2023)

Lastly, the concept of Economization describes the narrative that immigrants are an economic burden to the welfare of the host state and to public services. This concept emphasizes how immigration is perceived as a threat to economic stability, ultimately leading to immigration policies being measured on economic justifications while ignoring social or cultural dimension. (Greussing & Broomgaarden, 2017)

3. Background

One of the hypotheses of this thesis is that the policy to be analyzed is based on discriminatory grounds, stemming from the narrative created by the AfD regarding migration and asylum seekers whose access has to be denied by controlling the German border. To deepen the understanding of the Schengen agreement and its provisions for introducing temporary border controls, some background information needs to be provided.

Germany’s decision to reintroduce temporary border controls has been justified by concerns over human smuggling and migration routes in the Balkan and the Middle East. However, according to the Schengen Borders Code, such controls are allowed only if "(...)there is a serious threat to public policy or internal security and must be applied as a last resort measure, in exceptional situations, and must respect the principle of proportionality." (European Commission, n.d., para. 2). After six months, a new threat must be identified to extend these controls. Germany did not meet this requirement, as only slight modifications have been made in adding or removing issues.

Consequently, the legality of the existing border controls can be questioned and therefore the underlying motivations of Germany to maintain these controls. The recent shift towards the radical right, or the AfD, can explain such phenomena, as the party is known for its anti-immigration stance.

The party has called for border controls since the refugee crisis in 2015, being criticized and dismissed by other political parties. (Fraktion der AfD, 2017) It is suspected that the stance on this issue by other political parties has changed, since the German Minister of the Interior who has decided on this policy, belongs to the social democrats.

In conclusion, it can be suspected that Germany's extension of temporary border controls, which are justified by largely unchanged reasons, shows a potential political shift towards the right, influenced by the AfD. This indicates a growing acceptance of the AfD's framing of immigration as a threat to internal security, also mirroring the emerging trend in European politics towards more restrictive immigration policies, initiated by right-wing parties and ideologies.

Ruth Wodak explains how such a shift may happen in her article "Politics of fear" (2015) Right-wing populist parties tend to create fear to legitimize their policy proposals, and during this refer to the necessity of security. Especially in crisis situations, historical processes are often reduced to dichotomies displaying victims and perpetrators, to serve the interests of political groups. In legitimizing policies in this manner, they are seen as reasonable by the people. Moreover, as mentioned before, the opposition parties have the ability to set the agenda in political and societal debates. They do so through dramatization of the issue at hand, which makes it possible to frame media debates. As a result, when media and other parties react to the issue, mainstream politics shifts further to the right and the public becomes disillusioned. (Wodak, 2015)

3. Methodology

3.1 Research Design

The chosen research design to answer the research question is a textual analysis and more specifically a critical discourse analysis. According to the Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research, it is a theoretical approach which facilitates studying language in the context of society which is frequently used in the political domain. Its aim is to unmask underlying power asymmetries in speeches or documents published by organizations, government agencies or institutions. For this thesis, it is particularly useful since it aims to uncover the way in which politicians use their power to influence public discourse, which in turn influences the justification of implementing policies. (Given & Saumure, 2008) The discourse historical method in critical discourse analysis is regularly used to analyze right-wing populist discourses which makes it feasible to this research. It covers three dimensions, namely the content of the data, the strategies in the discourse and the linguistic reproduction of ideology/power.

3.2 Data collection

To conduct a comprehensive textual analysis in an attempt to uncover patterns and rhetorical strategies by the AfD, internal party documents and publications with at least one reference to border controls are analyzed, and for a more nuanced understanding of the discourse, non-traditional sources from Social Media (Facebook “AfD Sachsen”) are included as well. Due to the limited number of postings, posts that include the word “border” are also included in the data. According to the methodological section of a related article “Right-Wing Populist Parties' Bordering Narratives in Times of Crisis: Anti-Immigration Discourse in the Genevan Borderland during the COVID-19 Pandemic” this kind of combination offers better insights into the discourse at hand. (Yerly, 2022)

Moreover, to understand how the surrounding debate is being interpreted by the media, newspaper articles are being collected using online sources for easier accessibility. Those include “Sächsische Zeitung”, “Dresdners Neue Nachrichten” and “Freie Presse”, as these are some of the most important daily newspapers. (Öffentlichkeitsarbeit, 2016) The number of newspapers used has to be limited in order to remain in the scope of the time planning for this research. Furthermore, official policy papers by the EU, Germany (especially Saxony) and Poland are assessed, to gain in-depth understanding of the underlying policy dimensions. Those are being derived from the official website of the German Bundestag, the Landtag of Saxony, the European Union and Commission and the European e-Justice Portal for Polish policy documents.

3.3 Data analysis

Many articles related to border controls and right-wing populism used topics and topoi for categories, while topics describe the most common and relevant themes in a discourse, topoi are the justification for the (in- or) exclusion in the political realm. (Wodak, 2001; Van Dijk, 1991) This allows for a more structured analysis, since topic can identify what is being discussed while the topoi provide the underlying reasoning behind addressing those topics, which can expose manipulative strategies and biases in the discourse.

The DHA is a research method which goes back and forth between theory and the data, therefore the data will be coded both inductively and deductively (Wodak, 2015) Some concepts are taken from the previously constructed theoretical framework, while in the process of data collection and analysis s the most frequently used keywords in the discourse are included as well. Usually, topics and topoi are taken from lists provided by Wodak herself. However, according to Zagar (2010) this technique lacks flexibility as it uses a static list of topoi which does not account for the uniqueness of each discourse. In this research, Zagar proposed technique of text mining was used, as it provides information on the actual relevant words and phrases that are significant in the discourse. However, an orientation along the theoretical framework is necessary to ensure rigor in identifying and analyzing key concepts, and it facilitates meaningful interpretation and validity.

For the deductive part, the concepts of Economization, Criminalization, Securitization and Othering are included. Their keywords are derived from the meaning of those concepts which can be seen in table 1.

Coding scheme

Code	Keywords	Meaning
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Economization	e.g.: Burden, money, cost, housing	Immigration is an economic burden to the welfare state and its citizens
Criminalization	e.g.: Criminal, violence, harm, drugs, fear, illegal, terror, threat	All words indicating that immigrants are criminals or violent, also referring to imprisonment or punishment for their actions
Securitization	e.g.: Protection, fear, limit, protection, security, return, threat	Issue is framed and presented as existential security threat that requires extraordinary political measures to address
Othering	e.g.: Citizen, foreigner (focus on nationality, in contrast to the immigrant), failure, our, their	AfD's positioning against the Elite (the government, other parties, the EU) and the narrative of migrants being the enemy and a threat to German citizens. AfD as the protector and one of the people
Crisis language	e.g.: Crisis, loss of controls, numbers, urgency	Words dramatizing the issue as a crisis

Table 1 – Concepts and keywords for coding

Some of the keywords represent umbrella terms, since they encompass identical concepts. For example, the word “foreigner” also accounts for migrant, asylum-seeker or a national affiliation like “Syria” in the AfD’s discourse. For an additional illustration, the keyword “return” also accounts for deportation practices, or terms like deportation campaign. The keyword “illegal entry” also accounts for irregular entry, migration or crossing the border. The term irregular migration is frequently used in this discourse, even though it means the same as illegal entry. Individuals who reside in Germany without having a legal authorization from immigrant authorities are referred to as illegal or irregular residency. (Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, 2018). This allows for coding specific terms under a more general category, as they fundamentally represent the same concept. Keywords differ in each dataset, because every dataset has its own language and focus. For example, AfD’s releases reflect their political agenda which is ideology-drive, while parliamentary debates cover diverse topics. This mirrors the complexity of discourse in the real-world, as each realm has its own language. This enriches the analysis by capturing unique perspectives. However, the core concepts are consistently considered and relevant across all datasets, and the keywords are consistently oriented towards the theoretical framework.

3.4 Tools

Regarding tools, atlas.ti is the best option to code the data. It is helpful in organizing data and tracking the frequency of certain codes and their occurrence with other codes. (Given &

Saumure, 2008) It also provides the possibility of finding relevant concepts in the collected data on its own, which can be included additionally to minimize subjectivity in the coding process, as this is a typical limitation in qualitative research. Moreover, in Atlas.ti, each section of the collected texts can be coded with the concepts and keywords that are discovered in the process. Afterwards, the most used combination of topics and argumentation strategies can be seen using the tool, which offers further insights into the argumentation strategies of the AfD related to certain topics and whether there are peculiarities.

The analytical scheme is created along code groups and subgroups. The theoretical concepts of Economization, Securitization, Criminalization, crisis language and Othering serve as code groups, while certain keywords related to these concepts are created as subgroups. The coding function of Atlas.ti is then applied to certain sections of the collected texts which contain the above-mentioned keywords. Lastly, the already coded data is analyzed in terms of patterns and trends and consequently conclusions can be drawn about the influence of these patterns on the current discourse.

3.5 Limitations

The usage of tools like atlas.ti minimizes subjectivity, however, qualitative research inherently involves interpretation which can reflect biases of the researcher. Additionally, the variety of sources included in this research can still not grasp the complete complexity of the discourse and only shows a limited overview. While this study's aim is to provide information on the risk of a political radical-right shift on the Schengen agreement, the context in which the AfD operates is unique to the case and the findings might not be generalizable to other contexts and parties.

4. Analysis

4.1 AfD's website publications and social media posts

First of all, the AfD's discourse surrounding border controls is analyzed to grasp a general idea on the topics that are most frequently used and the acquired argumentation strategies. This facilitates the analysis on how the AfD's narratives influence public discourse and consequently the implementation of border policies.

Table 2 shows how the party regularly employs identity politics through Othering. This argumentation strategy defines an in-group, which in this case is the AfD and German citizens whom they defend, and an out-group, who are foreigners or the government. While

the out-group is portrayed negatively and associated with criminality, being a threat to Germany's security and a burden to its economy, the in-group is victimized.

Example 1:

All of these are direct consequences of Merkel's decision not to protect the German borders against illegal migrants. Even back then, the AfD warned that particularly violent, Islamist indoctrinated men would enter and endanger our security. The CDU defends Merkel's decision to this day. (AfD Sachsen, 2024a). [Translated]

This paragraph indicates a need to protect Germany from the threat migrants pose, while blaming the CDU for failing in securing the border against the danger that is associated with migration. Germany and its citizens are hereby portrayed as the victims in need of protection, while migrants are violent perpetrators.

Especially the term foreigner has high figures under all three concepts in table 2, which indicates that non-Germans are blamed for, and associated with, the issues described by the AfD, ultimately originating in migration. This is further underlined by the total sum of Othering, which has high figures in relation to all concepts, showing the underlying argumentation strategy. Noticeably, the highest number of Othering is in relation to Securitization. In the process of argumentation, the AfD uses terms like security and threat related to migrants to argue for border controls, framing the issue as one that transcends normal political rules and requires exceptional measures. (Buzan et al., 1998)

Example 2:

Our country must finally become safe again! Remigration now! And close the borders! (AfD Sachsen, 2024b). [Translated]

The party employs "our" to undermine the distinction to the villainized out-group, and relates it to the lack of safety in Germany. The party then calls for remigration which describes the return to the country of origin, which to most migrants is an unsafe place due to war or economic instability. (Tagesschau, 2024b; Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 2024) Ultimately the party demands border closures. Both of these measures are illegal as they violate the non-refoulement principle of The 1951 Refugee Convention and the Schengen agreement. (Amnesty International, 2023; European Commission, n.d. These extreme solution proposals are justified through Securitization which allows to argue that normal and legal methods are insufficient to address the problem and more drastic measures need to be employed. Moreover, the high figure on urgency in relation to Securitization portrayed in table 2 is also shown here. The AfD uses the word "now" to emphasize the importance of immediate action, dramatizing the discourse even more.

The AfD uses the association of migration with criminality to reinforce the group as criminals and lawbreakers. The terms associated with the concept of Criminalization (table 1

represents migrants as a group that is inherently dangerous, and therefore must be barred from Germany. Criminalization evokes fear in people and supports the creation of Moral Panics.

Example 3:

"How many innocent citizens still have to die?" asks Sebastian Wippel, the domestic policy spokesman for the AfD (Alternative für Deutschland faction. "The increasing migrant violence must finally have consequences! The victim would still be alive today if the CDU (Christian Democratic Union had not left the borders open. So far, all established parties have refused to undo these mistakes and consistently deport to all countries. Even the most serious criminals have remained here. Current initiatives will only be credible if consistent actions follow, and not just symbolic politics are pursued." (AfD Fraktion Sachsen, 2024a [Translated]

The AfD frames migrant violence as an urgent threat while positioning itself as defender of public safety and the people. Thereby, they also distance themselves from other political parties who are portrayed to be careless when it comes to endangering citizens as they keep the borders open. The border narrative is also amplified as a symbol of security and protection. Example 3 shows how the AfD justifies stricter immigration controls and deportation, while simultaneously seeking to generate support by creating Moral Panics which lead to fear and insecurity among citizens about their own safety. Consequently, these feelings can shift public opinion because of the threat migrants pose to societal values like peacefulness and respect. (Cohen, 1972

Additionally, table 2 shows the frequent depiction of other parties as incapable of doing their job properly. Positionings against the government are typical populist strategies, since it leads the voter to believe that they have no other choice than to vote for the populist party. They tend to narrate the problem without grasping the complexity of it and subsequently give simplified solutions.

Lastly, the AfD frames migration as an economic burden by emphasizing the costs of integration and housing. In this narrative, open borders constitute the reason for Germany's economic instability.

Example 4:

At the asylum chaos and the resulting costs, the CDU is primarily to blame. On the one hand, they have opened our borders to anyone who wants to immigrate into our social system. On the other hand, the CDU in Saxony hardly deports anyone. Over 13,000 individuals obligated

to leave the country are living at our expense in the Free State. (AfD Fraktion Sachsen, 2024b) [Translated]

Example 4 shows how the party uses these economic concerns to criticize other party's immigration and open border policies. This narrative aims to mobilize support by using public anxieties about economic costs, resources and social welfare expenditures. Meanwhile, the AfD discredits the CDU's approach on border policies in blaming them for the current situation

<i>Argumentation/Concept</i>	Economization	Criminalization	Securitization
Citizen	11	9	7
Foreigner	25	39	36
Incapability of other parties	25	38	29
Othering	26	31	50
Othering total	87	117	122
Crisis	0	1	0
Crisis language	4	0	1
Urgency	11	17	26
Numbers	17	9	12
Crisis language sum	32	27	39

Table 2

The analysis shows clear indications on the usage of Economization, Criminalization and Securitization. Those, in combination with Othering ultimately serve to mask the underlying ideological assumptions and nationalist approaches of the party. In using those concepts, the AfD can call for discriminatory policies and actions in framing the issue as being above politics and ultimately requiring such extreme measures. The party exploits public fears and anxieties to mobilize citizens for their agenda, the border control measures. Therefore, Hypothesis 3: "The AfD frames the discourse surrounding border control using the concepts of Economization, Securitization, and Criminalization by employing crisis language and Othering, which masks the inherently discriminatory and ideological nature of their agenda" can be confirmed as well.

4.2 Analysis of parliamentary debates

To explain the AfD's influence on other party's stance on border control, the SPD and the CDU party are of particular interest, since the Minister of the Interior, Nancy Faeser belongs

to the SPD and ultimately decided to introduce temporary border controls, while the CDU is an opposition party that is oriented further to the right than the other opposition party (the left) and it is suspected that there is a greater influence on them.

When discussing border controls in the context of immigration, the SPD out of all parties used the term smuggling the most, in combination with criminality, indicating that the threat to be addressed is mainly smuggling activities that endanger the lives of refugees. Therefore, their focus in Criminalization lies on smuggling rather than immigrants, in contrast to other parties. The concept of Economization can also frequently be found in SPD’s argumentation, focusing mostly on the burden it brings upon Germany’s cities in dealing with too many immigrants and their integration. This fits the social-democratic stance of the party, in emphasizing social concerns.

On the other hand, the data about the CDU suggests a concern about the economic impact of immigration the most. The concepts of Criminalization and Securitization are employed at the same frequency. The CDU also focuses primarily on the burden immigration poses to German cities, including references to costs implied by immigration and money. It is noticeable that the CDU party mostly talked about a limit to immigration.

The CDU, AfD and SPD used terms referring to “illegal entry” the most in German parliamentary debates. As mentioned before, describing an entry as illegal criminalizes the immigrants as well. In doing so, it provides a fertile ground on which criticism and concerns can be expressed, when immigrants are portrayed as people who have no right to be in the country in the first place.

Both parties indicate some influence of the AfD’s stance on border controls. However, while the SPD seems to have a stronger emphasis on the criminal threat in border control discourses, their argumentation mostly relies on the criminal impact of smuggler activity on refugees, while the AfD criminalizes immigrants instead. The CDU however seems to have similar opinions regarding the concept of Criminalization, Security and especially Economization.

Concept / Party	AfD	CDU	SPD
Economization	12// 60	27 // 54	25 // 83,3
Securitisation	18//90	18// 36	28//93,3
Criminalization	27// 13,5	18 // 36	19//63,3
Othering	2 // 10		
Crisis language	2 // 10	35 // 70	9//30

Table 3- Concept usage per party

When normalizing the frequency, the table reveals that the CDU employs crisis language most prominently, which is noteworthy particularly in contrast to the AfD that rarely utilizes this concept.

Lastly, the AfD is the only party making use of Othering, which makes sense since it is a populist strategy and the analysis of their website's documents and Facebook posts reveals the same pattern.

The findings indicate a general political shift towards the right, as the concepts on which the party's argumentation relies are strongly linked to anti-immigration politics and framing the border as a protection against threats from the outside.

The analysis also emphasizes that Securitization is the most frequently used concept in the discourse, followed by Economization and Criminalization. The table shows a peak in discussion around the concepts in the time span of 21st to 22nd September 2023, which makes sense as those are the days before the Minister of the Interior introduced temporary border controls.

The spike on most concepts on the 26th of April can be explained by the AfD's introduction of their Eleven-Point Plan to Implement Border Protection and Prevent Unregulated Mass Migration. The party's plan emphasized increasing security while also criminalizing immigrants and pointing out their burden to the country's welfare. The document called for the immediate implementation of temporary border controls at the national borders. (AfD Fraktion, 2023) It is likely, that the discussion surrounding this plan resulted in increased usage of related concepts, as the parliament debated the proposal's implications. It also validates the use of the concepts in analyzing

The increased use of Othering and crisis language in the discussion of the 11th of October 2023 can be explained with the attack of the terrorist group Hamas on the 7th of October. The attack, due to its violence, likely produced tensions and feelings of fear and insecurity. Such an event can lead to division in societies and emphasizing existential threats, ultimately resulting in crisis language and Othering. On the day of the debate, the German Chancellor held a press conference addressing irregular migration limitations and more efficient deportations. Moreover, measures in regard to stronger border controls were outlined. (Bundesregierung, 2023).

The high frequency of the concept of Criminalization on the 13th of June can relate to the attack on a policeman by a person with migration background at the end of May. (Tagesschau, 2024) These kind of incidents can contribute to the stigmatization of migrants and consequently lead to public fear on foreigners, allowing for more discriminatory practices.

Concept / Date	26.4 .23	11.5 .23	20.9 .23	21.9 .23	22.9 .23	28.9 .23	11.1 0.23	8.11 .23	22.2 .24	14.3 .24	15.3 .24	13.6 .24
Criminalization	11	20	8	15	20	24	2	11	11	10	6	16
Crisis language	3	3	0	4	7	5	0	4	1	0	2	1
Economization	11	28	1	10	19	30	1	14	3	8	22	2
Othering	3	10	0	6	4	5	1	10	1	5	6	4
Securitization	46	46	7	24	34	42	2	18	11	21	12	19
Sum	74	107	16	59	84	106	6	57	27	44	48	42

Table 4 – Concept frequency

Concept / Date	26.4 .23 (26)	11.5 .23 (78)	20.9 .23 (31)	21.9 .23 (35)	22.9 .23 (67)	28.9 .23 (113)	11.1 0.23 (5)	8.11 .23 (48)	22.2 .24 (29)	14.3 .24 (47)	15.3 .24 (50)	13.6 .24 (39)
Criminalization	42,3	25,6	25,8	14,3	29,9	1,8	20,0	22,9	34,5	12,8	32,0	38,5
Crisis language	11,5	3,8	9,7	0	6,0	6,2	100,0	0	13,8	2,1	0	5,1
Economization	42,3	35,9	3,2	28,6	28,4	26,5	20,0	29,2	10,3	17,0	44,0	5,1
Othering	11,5	3,8	32,3	0	9,0	3,5	100,0	2,1	34,5	2,1	10,0	10,3
Securitization	176,9	59,0	22,6	68,6	50,7	37,2	40,0	37,5	37,9	44,7	24,0	48,7

Table 5- Normalization of Concept frequency in relation to citations

It can be concluded that the AfD successfully sets the agenda in parliamentary debates, when considering the frequency and length of debates surrounding border controls, which the AfD has demanded for almost a decade. Specifically the Eleven-Point Plan led to an increased parliamentary debate on related concepts, showing significant agenda setting ability. It can also be seen that the CDU's positions strongly converged with that of the AfD, as shown by recent studies. (Atzpodien, 2020) Accordingly, Hypotheses 1: "The AfD influences other party's stance on border control." can be confirmed though the extent of the influence cannot be provided. The usage of concepts such as Criminalization, Economization, Securitization and the employment of crisis language (especially in the CDU) support the hypothesis.

4.3 Newspaper

The analysis of newspaper articles from Saxony shows a predominance of Criminalization, which shows that the media frames the topic of border-controls regarding crimes and legality. Immigrants are frequently narrated in association with criminal activities. However, as already seen in SPD’s discourse focus, smuggler make up a great part of this narrative in being a threat to the lives of immigrants or asylum-seekers. Consequently, the impact on public opinion regarding border controls can be the mention of fear and mistrust towards migrants. This narrative reinforces the stigmatization of migration being a threat to law and order in the host state.

Concept	Number
Securitization	96
Economization	36
Criminalization	224
Othering	15
Crisis language	12
Often mentioned keywords	
Criminal actions	77
Illegal entry	88
smuggler	99
return	47
numbers	38

Table 6 – Concept frequency in newspapers

Securitization is the second most mentioned concept, which shows a focus on border protection and security. Framing the discourse in regard to security perpetuates the idea that any possible measure should be taken to protect the border as it ensures internal security. This includes the idea of prioritizing internal security over humanitarian aid, which supports right-wing populist agendas.

The economic impact of immigration is not discussed as frequently. However, the narrative of migrants being an economic burden to the state can shift public opinion towards more restrictive border policies in order to protect the citizens’ economic interests and prosperity, especially in times of crisis.

Those narratives and framings are supported by Othering, to implicate the notion that migrants as the “other” do not belong. In turn, it facilitates xenophobia and discriminatory thinking in public opinion which makes it easier to justify exclusionary policies. Moreover, crisis language is used to undermine the urgency of tackling the issue at hand and dramatizing the situation to install fear or hatred in the population. This sense of emergency

and instability makes it easier to justify drastic measures. It also makes argumentation against immigration seem more objective and masks the underlying ideologies and power dynamics.

These findings align with the discursive practice of the AfD, which are inherently discriminatory and driven by nationalist ideologies. The party's strong influence in Saxony's political realm is likely reflected in this narrative created by the media. As the article's topics strongly align with the AfD's argumentation, the party's message is enhanced. Legitimizing policies is much more feasible when public discourse supports their implementation, making the party's approach seem reasonable. Consequently, Hypothesis 4 can be accepted: newsletters in Saxony are narrated in a way that influences public opinion and employ narratives similar to that of the AfD due to its political strength in the region.

4.4 Policies

The policy dimension does not include many of the keywords, however it does mention criminality as a result of open borders in connection with protection. Moreover, it mentions smuggler activities at a high frequency, accompanied by the mention of their brutal behavior regarding the lack of migrant protection, that the policies aim to stop.

The regulation on suspicion-independent controls in Saxony reflects a strong emphasis on security and control in response to perceived threats from cross-border crime. This aligns with right-wing populist narratives that emphasize the dangers of open borders and the need for stringent measures to protect the public. The policy's broad scope and proactive approach can contribute to the criminalization of migrants and the reinforcement of negative stereotypes, feeding into the broader discourse on migration and security that is often utilized by right-wing populists.

Especially policies from the Ministry of the Interior and Homeland mention smuggling criminality and migration as well as border protection at a high frequency. These findings align with findings of the German parliamentary debates, in which the SPD was concerned with the threat smuggling activities pose on the lives of migrants the most.

The policy documents show some appearances of the concepts also used in the AfD's discourse on border controls, with Criminalization being the most related concept. This narrative frequently associates migration with criminal activity, thus promoting a discourse that criminalizes migrants and refugees. Moreover, as mentioned in the theoretical framework, solidarity acts associated with migration are criminalized as well, leading to legislations that punish people who assist them, including smuggling activities. The charges they face are often times found to be baseless. (PICUM, 2023) The analysis has shown that especially the SPD and border control policies reinforce narratives that criminalize smuggling, however, the analysis of the AfD's discourse strategies has not shown that the party employs this narrative. It can be assumed nevertheless, that this is a discursive

strategy used by parties who are not on the political right spectrum (e.g. the SPD) as it masks discriminatory practices towards migrants and people assisting them, under humanitarian concerns for the lives of migrants. However, it cannot be determined whether this is indeed the case as it goes beyond the scope of this research. Further research might be able to address this.

Keyword	Keyword 2	Co-occurrence Value
border	criminality	5
smuggler	brutal	4
Illegal entry	Numbers	8
Smuggler criminality	Illegal entry	6

Table 7 – Co-occurrence of keywords in policy documents

The policy documents show the usage of terms related to criminality and smuggling, which aligns with the AfD’s narrative in portraying migrants as criminals who pose a threat to public safety. Although economic burdens are rarely mentioned, the relief of municipalities aimed for in controlling borders aligns with the AfD’s narrative, though the low frequency indicates minimal influence on this topic. Nevertheless, similar keywords and the emphasis to control border in response to perceived threats show similarities to the party’s framing of borders as a measure of protection. Therefore, Hypothesis 2: “The Policy documents surrounding border controls at the German-Polish border are influenced by the AfD’s narrative” can be confirmed.

5. Conclusion

This research shows how the AfD employs discourses which reduce complex topics to dichotomies, by which they evoke a feeling of fear and perceived threats in regard to open borders and the lack of controlled migration. This aligns with the typical political right parties’ strategies as already emphasized in Wodak’s work. (2015) In creating those feelings, it facilitates the legitimization of restrictive policies introduced by the radical-right party. Additionally, the concept of Othering legitimized discriminatory language and policy propositions of the AfD, who depicted foreigners as the out-group while framing themselves as the protector of the people. When narrating an issue through Securitization, it allows extreme and illegal measures to be depicted as appropriate and legitimate, which can be seen in the demands the AfD made, which were partly illegal and inhumane. Lastly, the AfD successfully creates emotions of insecurity by using the concept of Criminalization. This increases fear and facilitates moral panics which ultimately leads to shifts in public opinion as it can be seen in the European Election results, where the party gained a significant amount of voters.

The research also showed a significant shift of mainstream parties towards a more restrictive position on immigration. However, especially the media played a role in amplifying the AfD's positions and opinions, especially in the region of Saxony where the party already holds significant political power.

This study similarly underscores the impact of right-wing populist rhetoric on influencing public opinion and consequently policy decisions, and it is emphasized that political discourse and media narratives surrounding a topic have a significant impact on each other.

Moreover, due to the threat populism poses on European societies, it is important to understand the influence it has on how societies view minorities depending on the way they are framed. Since xenophobia and discrimination of minorities ultimately affect democratic and human rights, governments and policy makers should be aware of this. (Roth, 2017) This study has shown a significant impact of the AfD in making setbacks in the European Integration process. Policy makers should be aware of this threat, since radical-right populist parties are emerging in many European countries. Further research could analyze the use of Criminalization towards migration assistants and solidary practices to unmask the underlying motivation of the discourse.

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7. Appendix

Key words	Result	source
AfD AND border control	CDU lässt illegale Einwanderung einfach laufen	AfD-Fraktion Sachsen (afd-fraktion-sachsen.de)
	Grenzkontrollen helfen dabei, den Drogenhandel zurückzudrängen!	AfD Sachsen
	Masseneinwanderung ist sozialer Sprengstoff: Grenzkontrollen unverzichtbar!	AfD-Fraktion Sachsen (afd-fraktion-sachsen.de)
	Import von Billigarbeitern verhindern!	AfD-Fraktion Sachsen (afd-
	Anfrage enthüllt: Mutmaßliche Terrorunterstützer konnten ungehindert einreisen	AfD Sachsen
	Syrische Raser in Dresden: Das war Mord!	AfD Sachsen
	Obergrenze 200.000? Deutschland verträgt keine neuen Asylbewerber!	AfD-Fraktion Sachsen (afd-fraktion-sachsen.de)
	Bayern zeigt: Wir können illegale Migranten an der Außengrenze zurückweisen!	AfD-Fraktion Sachsen (afd-
	Unberechtigte Asylbewerber direkt an der Grenze zurückweisen!	AfD-Fraktion Sachsen (afd-
	Grenzen kontrollieren? Nur heiße Luft von Kretschmer!	AfD-Fraktion Sachsen (afd-
	Grenzen sichern! Illegale Einreisen unterbinden!	AfD-Fraktion Sachsen (afd-
	Grenzkontrollen, jetzt! Butterbrot statt Bargeld!	AfD-Fraktion Sachsen (afd-
	Grenzkontrollen: Einreiseverweigerungen sind rechtlich möglich!	AfD-Fraktion Sachsen (afd-
	Streit um Grenzkontrollen: Keine halben Sachen! Schuster muss	AfD-Fraktion Sachsen (afd-

	sich gegen Faeser durchsetzen! <i>In Inneres Posted 24.05.2023</i>	
	Asylkrise 2.0: Grenzkontrollen sofort einführen!	AfD-Fraktion Sachsen (afd-
AfD AND border	Illegale Einreisen nach Deutschland gehen derzeit zurück	Dresdner neue nachrichten (DNN)
	Faesers Abschiebepläne im Kabinett: Bei den Grünen regt sich Widerstand	DNN
Border control	Bundesinnenministerin Faeser plant stationäre Grenzkontrollen	DNN
	Faeser sieht stationäre Grenzkontrollen als „Möglichkeit“	DNN
	Unterwegs mit dem Grenzschutz: „Bei manchen Schicksalen stößt man als Polizist an seine Grenzen	DNN
	Polizeigewerkschafterin zu festen Grenzkontrollen: „Wir können die Menschen nicht einfach zurückschicken“	DNN
	Verlängerung der Grenzkontrolle zwischen Österreich und Deutschland	DNN
	Irreguläre Migration: neue Debatte um Grenzkontrollen zu Polen und Tschechien	DNN
	Grenzkontrollen zu Polen, Tschechien und Schweiz bis Mitte Juni verlängert	DNN
	Faeser führt Gespräche mit Polen und Tschechien über mögliche Grenzkontrollen	DNN
	Polen, Tschechien, Schweiz: Stationäre Grenzkontrollen gestartet	DNN

	Kampf gegen Schleuser an Usedom's Grenze zu Polen: Migranten zahlen 15.000 Dollar für Transport „Sind wirklich an der Belastungsgrenze“: Ministerpräsident Rhein sieht Limit bei Migration erreicht	DNN
	Faeser erwägt nun doch Grenzkontrollen zu Polen und Tschechien	DNN
	Klingbeil sieht keine „Zaubermaßnahme“ zur Begrenzung von Migration	DNN
	Sachsen und Polizei-Gewerkschaft fordern vom Bund „lageabhängige“ Grenzkontrollen	DNN
	Jede vierte Kommune wegen Aufnahme von Geflüchteten noch im „Notfallmodus“	DNN
	Schleuserbandenchef festgenommen: 33-Jähriger soll mit Millionenbeträgen Terror in Nahost finanziert haben	DNN
	Mehr Asylsuchende und Abschiebungen in Sachsen	DNN
	Unterkünfte, Sprachkurse, Stimmung: Hat Sachsen noch Kraft für Flüchtlinge?	DNN
	Maßnahmen wirken“: Faeser verlängert stationäre Grenzkontrollen um drei Monate	DNN
	Warum die Bundespolizei Flüchtlinge gleich wieder nach Polen zurückschickt	Sächsische.de
	Schleusungen an Sachsens Grenzen nehmen wieder zu	Sächsische.de

Border control	Gefährliche Fahrt: Männer schleusen in einem Wohnmobil elf Menschen	Sächsische.de
	Sachsen: Zahl von Asylbewerbern geht zurück	Freie Presse
	Immer mehr illegale Einreisen in Cottbus und Spree-Neiße	Wochenkurier lokalausgabe
	An der Grenze der Überlastung	Wochenkurier lokalausgabe
	35 unerlaubte Einreisen aufgedeckt	Wochenkurier lokalausgabe
	Über 350 illegale Einreisen aufgedeckt	Wochenkurier lokalausgabe
Border control- Facebook	AfD Fraktion Sachsen	
	AfD Sachsen	
Border control – Bundestag	Plenarprotokoll 20/125 28. 9.23	Bundestag
	Plenarprotokoll 20/140 29.11.2023	Bundestag
	Plenarprotokoll 20/103 11.5.23	Bundestag
	Plenarprotokoll 20/121 20.9.23	Bundestag
	Plenarprotokoll 20/122 21.9.23	Bundestag
	Plenarprotokoll 20/123 22.9.23	Bundestag
	Plenarprotokoll 20/133 8.11.23	Bundestag
	Plenarprotokoll 20/154 22.2.24	Bundestag
	Plenarprotokoll 20/157 14.3.24	Bundestag
	Plenarprotokoll 20/158 15.3.24	Bundestag
	Plenarprotokoll 20/175 13.6.24	Bundestag
Grenzkontrolle	3. Gesetzentwurf der Bundesregierung - Entwurf eines Gesetzes zur Neustrukturierung des Bundespolizeigesetzes (barrierefreie Version wird erstellt)	BMI policy
	4. Nancy Faeser interview	BMI
Bundespolizei	2 VERORDNUNG (EU) 2021/1148 DES EUROPÄISCHEN PARLAMENTS UND DES RATES vom 7. Juli 2021 zur Schaffung eines Instruments für finanzielle Hilfe im Bereich Grenzverwaltung und Visumpolitik im Rahmen des Fonds für integrierte Grenzverwaltung	Policy Police Department
	1.	Policy,Police Department

	5. Binnengrenzkontrollen an den Landgrenzen zu Polen, Tschechien und der Schweiz: Notifizierung bei der EU-Kommission erfolgt	BMI
	6. Bundesinnenministerin Nancy Faeser ordnet flexible Schwerpunktkontrollen an den Schleuserouten an den Grenzen zu Polen und Tschechien an	BMI
	Sächsisches Staatsministerium des Innern. (2004, July 21). <i>Verwaltungsvorschrift zur Durchführung ereignis- und verdachtsunabhängiger Kontrollen gemäß § 19 Abs. 1 Satz 1 Nr. 5 des Polizeigesetzes des Freistaates Sachsen (VwV Verdachtsunabhängige Kontrollen).</i> https://www.revosax.sachsen.de	Revosay.sachsen.de