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Detoxified Radicalisation - New Right Influences on Far-Right Parties: A German Case Study
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Detoxified Radicalization – New Right Influences on Far-Right Parties. A German Case Study.

Master Thesis

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Abstract

Party systems in contemporary democracies have underwent profound changes in the last decades. The emergence of far-right parties is only one of the many factors determining our modern political systems. However, we can also see a further radicalisation of these parties combined with a simultaneous attempt to uphold a 'civil' image. This thesis aims to explain this development by looking at the role of the ideological movement of the New Right and its influence on far-right parties. For this, a case study in Germany shall be conducted. The presence of New Right ideology in far-right parties will be identified via frame analysis and the connections between the two explored through process tracing. Through this analysis the presence of New Right frames in far-right party ideologies was found and the importance of personal connections between the New Right and the aforementioned parties stated. The analysis contributes to the understanding of developments in our party system and aims to explain part of the reason why far-right parties radicalise themselves.11:08 AM

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1. Introduction

In March 2021 the German Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution (*Bundesverfassungsschutz*) classified the party *Alternative für Deutschland* (AfD) as an organisation of interest (*Verdachtsfall)*. The AfD subsequently objected to this classification and took up legal action, claiming that the decision infringed on the fairness between parties. Nonetheless, the Administrative Court in Cologne reaffirmed the decision of the Federal Office in 2022, which now allows the covert collection of data and the observation of persons associated with the party (bpb 2022).

This decision is the most recent instance, maybe even a culmination of an ongoing radicalisation of the AfD over its history. The AfD, founded as an anti-Euro, economically liberal, socially conservative party in 2013 moved continuously and profoundly to the right, today being classified as a far-right populist party within the German party system. Despite this radicalisation the AfD attempted to uphold a 'bourgeois' image disconnected from right-wing extremist actors and beliefs.

One factor often understudied concerning the radicalisation of far-right parties (FRPs) is the influence of the so-called New Right. The New Right is a far-right intellectual movement whose roots lie in 1960s France. It describes itself as a metapolitical actor, meaning that it tries to achieve its political goals not through traditional means of vote- or office-seeking, but rather through cultural and intellectual influencing. There, they seek to portray their ideas in a palatable and intellectual manner, distancing themselves from the 'Old Right', i.e. fascist and neo-Nazi movements (Camus 2019: 74-75).

This thesis aims to examine the effects that connections to the New Right have on the radicalisation of FRPs. Through this research it sets out to answer the question:

How does the New Right influence the radicalisation of far-right parties (FRPs)?

To achieve this, first the ideological core components of FRPs will be examined. Afterwards, the importance of presentation and the process of detoxification of ideas will be described. The importance of detoxification for the New Right can be concluded from this. Here, the history and key ideological features of the New Right as well as an overview over their organizational make-up will be examined and presented. To

identify the presence of New Right thought in FRPs, a codebook was designed characterising the New Right's ethnopluralist framing. The presence of these codes in FRPs will then be identified through a frame analysis of electoral agendas, manifestos, and publications. Finally, to explain how these codes entered FRPs, the connections between the New Right and FRPs will be presented via theory-building process tracing.

2. Theory

To examine the connection between the New Right and FRPs, it is necessary for us to conceptualise the political actors at hand. For this, their key ideological and conceptual elements need to be examined.

2.1. Far-Right Parties (FRPs)

What sets apart FRPs from other parties on the political right are the two ideological core features of nativism and authoritarianism. According to Cas Mudde, nativism serves as the 'minimum definition' of the parties in question, meaning that it is the key ideological feature that connects them (Mudde 2007: 22). Following the works of Micheal Freeden and Terrence Ball, Mudde characterises the minimum definition as the core concept, defined as "one that is both central to, and constitutive of, a particular ideology and therefore the ideological community" (Ball 1999: 391). Onto this constitutive element, the ideological concept of authoritarianism, and, especially in recent developments in Western democratic systems, populism are draped (Mudde 2007: 22-23).

Nativism is a difficult concept to characterise, especially due to the multitude of usages of the term in the history of thought. Generally, it can be defined as "a form of ethnocentrism that considers previous residence in a country or region to constitute a claim to superiority in culture or a higher class of citizenship" (encyclopedia.com). The origins of nativism can be found in the concept of nationalism from which it nonetheless diverts due to its radicality. Consequentially, we can characterise nativism as a form of 'radical nationalism' (Mudde 2007: 16-17).

To better understand the ideological aspects and practices of nativism, we can further subdivide it into three main aspects: economic nativism, welfare chauvinism, and

symbolic nativism (Betz 2019: 113). Economic nativism describes nativist sentiments in the sphere of economy and labour. Exemplary for this are stereotypes of 'job-stealing immigrants' or connecting falling wages to foreign workers 'flooding the labour market' (Betz 2019: 113-114).

Welfare chauvinism also is concerned with an economic aspect of life, but is now situated on the receiving end. The conviction here is that only a native population is capable and willing to uphold a welfare state. This is attributed to the necessity of a certain connection, in this case one of shared nationality that is needed to convince citizens to invest into people they do not personally know (Betz 2019: 117-120).

Finally, symbolic nativism is concerned with the protection of the native society and population. It paints a picture of outside threats to the shared values and beliefs of a society and calls for policies that protect homogeneity. These policies are exemplified in the demand for complete assimilation of migrants under the threat of 'sending them back' (Betz 2019: 122-126).

As we can see, nativism as an ideology describes the conviction that states should only be governed, labour only provided, and welfare only claimed by native citizens. Non-native elements are subsequently seen as threatening and potentially destabilising; homogeneity is thus not only an ideological goal, but the only way to ensure stability and prosperity (Mudde 2007: 22).

Authoritarianism, like nativism, is defined differently depending on the field of study and the moment of analysis. It may be used as a type of regime classification (Linz 2000), a personality trait (Adorno et al. 1950, Altemeyer 1996), or a predisposition towards a specific worldview (Feldman 2003, Stenner 2005, Hetherington and Weiler 2009).

To identify the importance of authoritarianism as a constitutive element of FRPs, it is helpful to examine the ideological elements proposed by the latter two definitions. In political psychology, authoritarianism has classically been defined as "a general disposition to glorify, to be subservient to and remain uncritical toward authoritative figures […] and to take an attitude of punishing outgroup figures" (Adorno et al. 1950: 228). Contemporary study of authoritarianism identifies three distinct characteristics:

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Conventionalism, meaning the tendency to closely adhere to traditional social norms; authoritarian submission, meaning the acceptance of judgements or demands made by established authorities; and authoritarian aggression, meaning the tendency to coerce those who do not follow traditional laws and norms (Altemeyer 1996: 9-12).

The study of authoritarianism as a predisposition puts its emphasis on authoritarians "need for order" (Hetherington and Weiler 2009: 34), which serves as a 'coping mechanism' for the uncertainties of life. To relinquish this uncertainty, scholars argue, authoritarians look towards established authorities (Hetherington and Weiler 2009: 34). In general, we can thus say that authoritarianism emphasises the importance of deriving stability from established sources of authority. Around this, views regarding social norms and laws are constructed (Tillman 2013: 571-572).

In contemporary cases of FRPs, populism also often plays an important role. Ideologically speaking, populism can be defined as the construction of a Manichean worldview, pinning the 'people' against the 'elite' locked in a moral struggle around the general will. It is important to note, that populism is characterised here as a thin-centred ideology, not able to provide a concise worldview by itself but rather depending on other thick-centred ideologies (Mudde 2017: 28-34).

For the purposes of this thesis, the ideological core values described shall serve as the prime characteristics of FRPs.

2.2. *Detoxification and the Importance of Presentation*
An important aspect often overlooked in the study of contemporary FRPs is the way in which they present their ideas in a more palatable and presentable form. In the case of the *Rassemblement National (RN)*, the actions of Marine Le Pen, distancing herself and the party from their off-putting history with holocaust denial and neo-Nazis has been characterised as a form of 'de-toxification' (Reynié 2016: 52).

It is questionable whether or not such a detoxification corresponds to a change in ideas or should instead be seen as a simple change in presentation. Either way, the goal of detoxification is to make the proposed policies more palatable through their presentation in a rational, non-toxic way. Thus, policies that may have been

historically brandmarked can be presented again. We shall see an example of this in our later discussion about ethnopluralism.

Here, we can identify a clear gap in the literature about FRPs. Whilst the ideological components of FRPs are quite well studied and understood, the role that the presentation of their ideas plays is understudied. This thesis aims to take a first step into this direction by examining the influence another group very much dependent on the presentation of their ideas has on FRPs; the so-called New Right.

2.3. *The New Right*

The New Right occupies a unique and difficult to identify position in the political sphere of contemporary democracies. Whilst the New Right tries to distance itself from right-wing extremist 'Old Right' positions and actors, it still holds convictions close to those. However, as was already alluded to in the last chapter, their presentation is substantially different (Salzborn 2016).

The historical development of the New Right starts with its French instance the *Nouvelle Droite* (ND). The ideological father of the ND, Alain de Benoist, was originally part of the French nationalistic right, and activist in organisations such as the Federation of Nationalist Students (*Federation de étudiants nationalistes*) and Europe-Action. However, in 1962 he broke with activism and began pursuing metapolitical endeavours (Camus 2019: 74-75).

De Benoist reasoning for this was the apparent success of the student movements during the 1960s, culminating in the French May Revolts in 1968. For de Benoist, the successes of these movements were dependent on their hegemonic role within society derived from their presence in media and culture. He thus called for the Right to adapt similar tactics, moving beyond 'traditional' political methods like the founding of parties, vote-seeking, and office-seeking to instead adopt metapolitical tactics. The New Right, according to de Benoist, should position itself to be a surveyor, not a participant in the political process (Benoist 2014: 143; Camus 2019: 74-75).

As was already mentioned, New Right metapolitics aim to influence political realities through cultural and intellectual work. For this, de Benoist founded the Research and Study Group for European Civilisation (*Groupement de recherche et d'etdue pour la*

civilisation européenne, GRECE) which influenced the French Right profoundly during the 1970s and 80s. Of special importance were the journals *Nouvelle Ècole* and *Èlements* that were exemplary in their role in influencing the French Right (Camus 2019: 75).

The idea of utilising intellectual and cultural work to influence and change political realities was not something that was invented by de Benoist. Rather, displaying fidelity to his own idea of being open to 'ideologically distant' theories (see Benoist 2017: 33), we can find this idea in theories of cultural hegemony of Italian communist and political theorist Antonio Gramsci.

Gramsci was one of the founders of the Italian Communist Party and thus was subsequently arrested in 1926 by the Italian fascists under Benito Mussolini. In his ten years of internment, he authored multiple 'prison notebooks', a collection of philosophical, sociological, and political theses in which he explored the necessary prerequisites for a revolution (Leggewie 1987: 286).

His premise was based on the interconnectedness between culture and political change. Already in 1916 he published the following thesis in a left-wing newsletter:

> "[First] some and then an entire class thought about the bases of certain conditions and about the best means with which they could revolt against this oppression and rebuild society anew. This means that before every revolution an intensive critical and cultural work must take place, that those first unruly have been penetrated culturally and ideologically"

> (Gramsci 1916)

We can see that in Gramscian thought dominance in the cultural realm is seen as a prerequisite for political change. Gramsci calls this dominance cultural hegemony, describing it as a variable situation of power between the ideal types of total power equality and complete subjugation. For Gramsci, this situation is the main form of rule in modern states, where the civil society and the state are interdependent. Thus, before a political revolution could take place, a cultural revolution needs to happen, an idea called the 'Gramsci tactic' or Gramscism (Leggewie 1987: 288-291).

De Benoist appropriated Gramscism for the New Right in his book *Cultural Revolution from the Right*, an analysis of the issues concerning the right combined with propositions of tactics to overcome these issues. De Benoist addresses a broad audience with his book, calling all those 'politically right' that "[view] the diversity of

the world and the following relative inequalities which are its necessary consequences as something positive and the ongoing unification of the world […] as something negative" (Benoist 2017: 30). He furthermore calls for the identification of egalitarianism as the main 'enemy' of the political right and for the invention of new theories opposite to it that are supposed to make the right capable of acting and possessing power (Benoist 2017: 33).

De Benoist's endeavours with GRECE and his multitude of journals is thus put into perspective by the tactic of right-wing Gramscism displayed by and advocated for. The influence that GRECE had on the French right can thus be seen as a consequence of the metapolitical endeavours following Gramsci's theories of the ND.

2.4. *The New Right's Ideology*

Having discussed the tactics of the New Right in general and the ND in particular, we shall now take a look at their ideological core features. Through their ideology, the New Right tried to disconnect themselves from the 'Old Right' which still brought with it the shadows of fascism and National Socialism of the 1920s and 1930s. One key ideological element of the New Right is the shift away from nationalism towards ethnopluralism. Ethnopluralism focusses less on nationality or race and more on culture, utilising an approach of cultural fundamentalism, i.e. viewing human beings as inherent bearers of culture and describing different cultures as incommensurable (Spektorowski 2003: 118; see also Stolcke 2021). However, whilst there is no longer an insistence on a hierarchy of cultures comparable to the idea of hierarchy within "zoological racism" (Spektorowski 2003: 118), New Right discussion of ethnopluralism still insists that 'mixing' cultures leads to detrimental effects and that, especially 'Western' culture, needs to be 'regenerated'. Thus, despite their apparent rejection of Old Right ideas about nation and culture, the New Right still subscribes to a *völkisch* (ethnonationalist) view when calling for the regeneration of culture through ethnopluralism (Salzborn 2016: 38; see also Rueda 2021).

The relativist approach that the New Right takes towards culture, viewing cultures as distinct and incommensurable, also sheds a light on a second key ideological element: the rejection of universalisms in society. For de Benoist, universalist ideas and approaches to societal problems are inherently flawed due to differences between

people. The New Right thus rejects universalisms in general, including the idea of egalitarianism, general human rights, and complete equality (Leggewie 1987: 296).

From their rejection of universalism follows also the New Right view on the political sphere. Following the ideas of Carl Schmitt, the New Right views the political process through a friend-foe dichotomy. As a consequence, the New Right also rejects democratic pluralism and, as with culture, advocates for homogeneity within political society (Thiele 2021: 143-146).

Their rejection of democratic pluralism puts the New Right clearly into the antidemocratic spectrum. However, since the New Right's main 'audience' is supposed to be within the democratic spectrum, there is discussion about how to characterise the New Rights position in the political spectrum. Some thinkers view the New Right as occupying a 'grey area' between democratic and antidemocratic spheres from where it tries to influence the conservative parts of the democratic spectrum (Botsch 2016: 63). Other theories see the New Right as a bridge between democratic and antidemocratic spheres, a meeting place for democratic and antidemocratic right-wing forces, or as a hinge between democracy and antidemocratic thought (Langebach and Raabe 2016: 577-580, see also Gessenharter 1989, Pfahl-Traughber 1994). From the different theories, we can deduce that, no matter what the exact characterisation of the New Right's position is, the New Right ideologically occupies a hard to define area between antidemocratic radical-right and democratic far-right positions.

2.5.   The New Right's Influence in the World

From their beginnings in France, New Right tactics and thought quickly got adopted by other actors. Exemplary is the case of the German New Right (*Neue Rechte*, GNR), where the relationship was in a way reciprocal, seeing how de Benoist was influenced heavily by theorists of the German Conservative Revolution of the 1920s and 1930s, whilst his ideas got adopted by new radical-right movements during the 1960s and 1970s (Bar-On 2013, 19-22).

In 1980, the *Thule-Seminar* was founded in Kassel as a German equivalent to GRECE. It later played a key role in translating New Right works, especially de Benoist's, into German (Weiß 2016). Whilst the *Thule-Seminar* can be called inactive since the 1990s

(Braunthal 2009: 150), the *Institut für Staatspolitik* (IfS) around the publicist and New Right thinker Götz Kubitschek serves as the main organisation of the New Right in Germany. Its publications, especially the magazine *Sezession* can be seen as the main reproductive instance of New Right thought in Germany and its conferences serve as the backbone of German New Right organisation (Botsch 2016: 63-64; Klare and Sturm 2016: 196).

Other intellectual outlets of the GNR are the newspapers *Junge Freiheit* and *Blaue Narzisse*, the magazine *Compact*, and the online blog *PI News*. Apart from the intellectual think tanks of the GNR, there also exist activist organisations. Exemplary here is the Identitarian Movement (*Identitäre Bewebung Deutschland*, IB) as a German counterpart to the French *Generation Identitaire*. The IB characterises itself not as an intellectual but as an activist organization, bringing the thoughts of the GNR on the streets.

Similar export processes were spearheaded by actors like Marco Tarchi in Italy or Aleksandr Dugin in Russia who worked on exporting New Right thought and building a network of think tanks, conferences, and publications. In all of these cases, New Right actors sought out to pursue metapolitical endeavours in order to change the political reality.

Seeing the aims of New Right think tanks and activist groups regarding the political climates in contemporary democracies combined with their position in the political spectrum between the democratic and undemocratic far-right as well as the way in which they present their ideas, we can formulate the following expectation:

> *New Right influence shapes far-right discourse through the adoption of New Right frames which de-toxify right-wing extremist ideas.*

Following this expectation, should it be proven, we can formulate another expectation regarding the connections between the two groups:

> *The closer FRPs are to New Right actors, the more they adopt their ideas.*

The mechanisms behind this influence shall be provided in the research design.

3. Case Selection

To analyse the connection between the New Right and FRPs we shall conduct a case study of the situation in Germany. In the study of FRPs, Germany was for a long time seen as a deviant case due to the absence of a strong FRP in its parliament. This however changed in 2017 with the AfD entering the German parliament winning 12.7% of the total votes.

Since then, we can characterise Germany as a typical case in the study of FRPs. For the purposes of our research, Germany can also be classified as a typical case in the study of the interconnectedness of FRPs and the New Right with the GNR influencing the AfD. We can see similar relationships between FRPs and New Right actors in other countries. Examples include France, where the ND has connections to the *Rassemblement National* (RN) (McCulloch 2006), the USA, where the Trumpist Wing of the Republican Party has connections to the so-called Alt-Right (Thompson 2021), or Austria, where the *Freiheitliche Partei Östereichs* (FPÖ) has connections to the Austrian New Right (Heinisch 2004).

As a typical case of New Right influences on FRPs, we can thus claim that the situation in Germany is representative of the connection between the New Right and FRPs.

Having selected in which country to conduct the analysis, a second case selection moment is in order. The timespan in which the analysis shall be conducted ranges from 6 February 2013 and 26 September 2021. The starting point of the analysis corresponds to the foundation of the AfD, the end point to the date of the last federal election in Germany. Through this, the development of the influence of the GNR over time can be assessed with the AfD's development being observable in its totality.

4. Methodology

To study the influence the GNR has on the AfD, we shall utilise a two-step analysis with two different methods. Through this, the presence of GNR ideology within the AfD shall first be identified. Afterwards, the ways in which the GNR projects its influence shall be assessed.

4.1.   The New Right's Ethnopluralism Frame

As was already mentioned, ethnopluralism constitutes the key ideological element of New Right thought. To assess the presence of GNR ideology in the AfD, a frame analysis shall be conducted. This type of analysis seeks out to identify the features and roles of frames. Frames are defined as mental constructs that enable social actors to rationalise the world around them in a specific way (Johnston 2005: 238).

For the purposes of this analysis, a codebook was created based on the ethnopluralism frame in New Right publications. All in all 3 publications per aspect for a total of 18 were evaluated to create the codebook represented in table 1. A list of publications examined with examples for each of the subframes can be found in Appendix A. Whilst this codebook does not claim to be an exhaustive picture of the New Right's ideology, it gives insight into the most important ideological aspects.

The ethnopluralism frame is subdivided into three subframes concerned with different aspects of New Right ideology: cultural self-identification, threats, and solutions. The cultural self-identification subframe is thus concerned with the way culture and cultural groups are portrayed in New Right publications and consists of the codes cultural differences; and rejection of universalisms. The subframe of threats is derived from New Right publications identifying threats to culture and society and consists of the codes replacement and migration as a cultural threat. Finally, the solutions subframe is derived from publications proposing solutions to the challenges identified by the New Right and consists of the codes birth stimulation and rejection of multiculturalism.

Table 1: The Ethnopluralism Frame in New Right Publications

Subframe	Aspect	Explanation	Examples
Cultural Self-Identification	Cultural Differences	Cultures define themselves through their differences from other cultures	- People and culture derive their value from uniqueness - Unique cultures need to be preserved

	Rejection of Universalisms	Rejection of any and all universal concepts and attributes	- Rejection of universalist approaches to policy problems - Rejection of universal attributions to culture or people
Threats	Replacement	Migration is aimed at 'replacing native populations'	- "Great Replacement" theory - Fear of replacement migration - Migration as settlement
	Migration as a Cultural Threat	Migration is a threat to cultural stability	- Loss of homogeneity - Mixing cultures destabilizes societies - Parallel societies as a great threat
Solutions	Birth Stimulation	Support for births over migration to uphold population	- Native births instead of immigration - Immigration cannot fill demographic 'hole' - Preservation of (our) people
	Rejection of Multiculturalism	Multiculturalism is detrimental for the stability of identity and society	- Failure of multiculturalism - *Leitkultur* / leading culture - Cultural assimilation

Source: Own work

The identification of the ethnopluralism frame also shows us the key policy areas with which the New Right is concerned: Cultural politics, identity, migration, and integration. This list will prove useful in determining the importance of ethnopluralist framing in FRP publications.

The publications analysed were coded by hand utilising the software Atlas.ti. Codes were counted on a per-sentence basis meaning that for each found code the sentence

in which it was identified was counted as one instance. Whilst rare, the codes were not treated as exclusive, meaning that a sentence could be an instance of multiple codes.

4.2. Proposed Causal Mechanisms

The analysis of the underlying mechanisms at play regarding the New Right's influence leads us to the second step of the analysis. Through theory-building process tracing (Beach and Pedersen 2013: 16-18), we try to break open the 'black box' between the independent and dependent variable. The logic of theory-building process tracing can be seen in Figure 1. By moving between evidence and theory, we can assess the validity of the proposed causal mechanisms.

Figure 1. Theory-Building Process Tracing
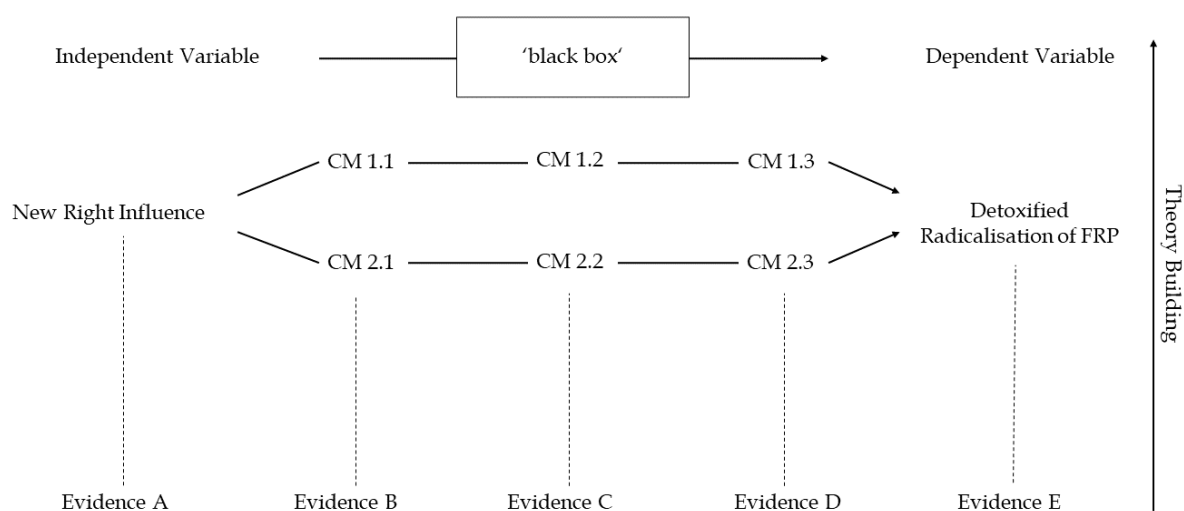
Source: Own work based on Beach and Pedersen 2013

For this I propose two mechanism at play: the first mechanism is one of direct influence through co-membership, the second one, one of indirect influence through idea-borrowing. It is important to note that these mechanisms are not exclusive and that the list may not be exhaustive. Rather, I have derived these mechanisms from possible ways in which frames can shift and enter discourse but do not claim that there are no other mechanisms at play.

The direct influence model describes how through the party membership of (former) New Right actors, their ideas and frames get introduced into FRPs. New Right

intellectuals, despite the meta-political imperative of the New Right, may seek to become party members and get elected to offices with agenda-setting power. From this position they may then influence the ideological standpoints of the party in question. The mechanism is thus dependent on the co-membership of individuals in both FRPs and New Right organisations. The direct causal mechanism is represented in table 2, possible operationalisations can be seen in the second row.

Table 2. Proposed Direct Causal Mechanism

	IV	CM 1.1	CM 1.2	CM 1.3	DV
Explanation	New Right influence	New Right actors becomes member of FRP	New Right party members occupy party positions	Introduction of New Right frames into party ideology	Detoxified radicalization of FRP
Operationalisation	Presentation of New Right ideas	Co-membership of (former) New Right actors	Election to party or parliamentary offices	Presence of New Right frames in party manifestos and publications	Adoption of New Right frames by FRP

Source: Own work
Notes: CM – causal mechanism, DV – dependent variable, IV – independent variable, FRP – far-right party

The indirect influence model is not dependent on New Right actors joining parties but rather on already present party members being influenced by the New Right. Within the party they could lobby for the adoption of New Right frames and ideas. Should this effort prove successful, the New Right frame enters the party ideology. Here, the membership is not important, rather points of contact between the New Right and the FRP are of interest. The indirect mechanism is represented in table 3, operationalisations can be seen in the second row.

Table 3. Proposed Indirect Causal Mechanism

	IV	CM 1.1	CM 1.2	CM 1.3	DV
Explanation	New Right influence	Contact between FRP members and New Right	Lobbying for the adoption of New Right ideas	Introduction of New Right frames into party ideology	Detoxified radicalization of FRP
Operationalisation	Presentation of New Right ideas	Presence of New Right actors at party events or party members at New Right events	Calls for the adoption of New Right ideas and frames	Presence of New Right frames in party manifestos and publications	Adoption of New Right frames by FRP

Source: Own work
Notes: CM – causal mechanism, DV – dependent variable, IV – independent variable, FRP - far-right parties

5. Data Sources

For the identification of the GNR's ethnopluralism frame, 18 New Right publications from the media outlets *Sezession, Junge Freiheit*, and *Compact* were evaluated. A list of these publications and examples for the aspects of the ethnopluralist frame can be found in Appendix A.

To ascertain the presence of the GNR's ethnopluralism frame in the AfD's party ideology, the AfD's manifesto, its electoral agendas, and its publications put forward shall be analysed. The vast majority of documents was lifted directly from the AfD's party website (afd.de) or the website of the parliamentary group of the AfD in the German *Bundestag* (afdbundestag.de). The electoral agendas for the 2013 Federal election and for the 2014 European elections was lifted from the website of the NGO AbgeordnetenWatch (abgeordnetenwatch.de).

Included were all electoral agendas from 2013 to 2021 (Federal election 2013, European elections 2014, Federal election 2017, European elections 2019, Federal elections 2021), the AfD's manifesto published in 2016, as well as all 45 publications available from the AfD's web presence. These publications include position papers, informational flyers,

and the AfD's parliamentary group's newsletter *Fraktion Kompakt*. A complete list of all 51 documents analysed can be found in Appendix B.

Whilst this means that all documents currently put forward by the AfD will be analysed, it also points towards a number of limitations. The analysis will not include speeches given by AfD politicians, press releases by the party or party members, as well as proposed laws put to vote in the German parliament. Furthermore, due to Germany's federal organization, there exist a number of documents and statements on the sub-federal level, i.e. on the level of the *Bundesländer*, that are not included in the analysis.

6. Analysis

As was already mentioned, the analysis consists of two steps. First, the presence of ethnopluralist framings in AfD agendas and publications shall be examined. Afterwards, the processes through which they entered the party shall be explored.

6.1. The Ethnopluralist Frame in AfD Agendas and Publications

The AfD's electoral agendas provide a good starting point for our analysis of New Right frames in AfD publications. If we examine the electoral agendas from 2013 to 2021 as well as the AfD's 2016 manifesto we can find a number of instances of ethnopluralist framing. In order to put these into perspective later, the words spent on these framings were counted. The results of the analysis can be seen in figure 2.

Figure 2: The Ethnopluralism Frame in AfD Electoral Agendas and Manifestos 2013-2021.
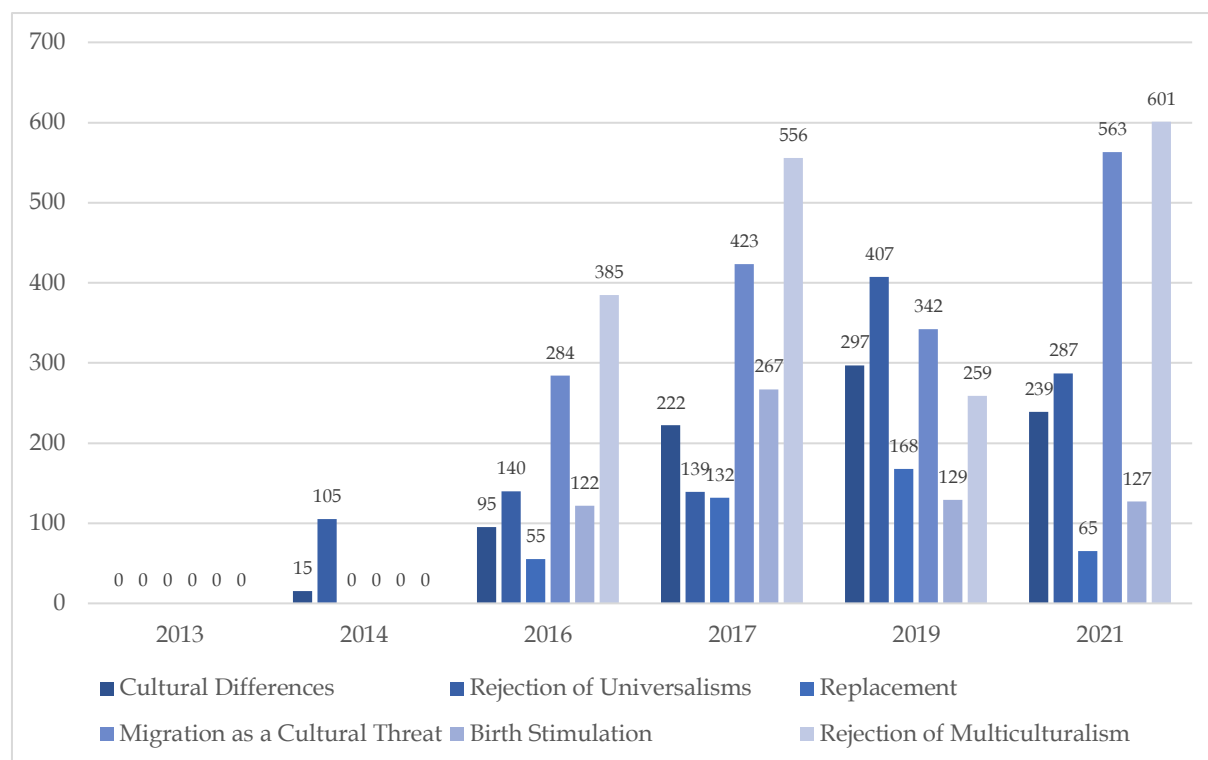
Source: Own work

The words spent on the ethnopluralism frame need to be put into perspective regarding the differing lengths of the agendas as well as the room put aside for policy areas that the ethnopluralism frame is concerned with. For this, the words spent on potentially ethnopluralist topics were counted and put into relation with the complete length of the electoral agendas. As was already mentioned, potentially ethnopluralist topics include cultural politics, identity, migration, and integration. Afterwards, the percentage of potentially ethnopluralist topics actually exhibiting ethnopluralist frames was calculated by putting the sum of words spent on ethnopluralist frames in relation to the words spent on potentially ethnopluralist topics. The results of these calculations can be seen in table 4.

Table 4. Relative Presence of the Ethnopluralism Frame in AfD Electoral Agendas and Manifestos 2013-2021.

Document	Length (words)	Potentially Ethnopluralist Topics (words)	Potentially Ethnopluralist Topics (%)	Actual Ethnopluralist Frames (%)
Electoral Agenda 2013	837	50	5.97 %	0 %
Electoral Agenda 2014	9420	1655	17.57 %	7.25 %
Party Manifesto 2016	26047	4555	17.49 %	23.73 %
Electoral Agenda 2017	17802	3022	16.98 %	57.54 %
Electoral Agenda 2019	18554	3138	16.91 %	51.06 %
Electoral Agenda 2021	28647	3848	13.43 %	48.91 %

Source: Own work
Note: Sources for individual documents can be found in Appendix B.

As we can see, the number of words spent on topics potentially framed in an ethnopluralist way increased with every new electoral agenda. The electoral agenda of 2021 is notable in that, whilst the absolute number of words spent on these topics increased, the percentage of the agenda talking about them decreased. Nonetheless, as we can see that the percentage of potentially ethnopluralist topics actually framed in an ethnopluralist way rose sharply between 2016 and 2017, staying around 50% for the electoral agendas of 2019 and 2021.

We can thus say that ethnopluralist framings play an important role in the AfD's discussion of topics of culture, identity, migration, and integration after 2016. Before that, not only were the topics not as important, measured on the words spent on them, the ethnopluralist frame was also less important.

We can see a similar trend if we examine the AfD's publications. Since the earliest publication available on the AfD's website is from 2018, this part of the analysis is not able to make any inferences about the developments before that. However, since 2018,

45 pieces have been published by the AfD thus enabling us to examine recent developments in 2018-2021. The number of words spent on ethnopluralist framings can be seen in figure 3.

Figure 3: The Ethnopluralism Frame in AfD Publications 2018-2021.
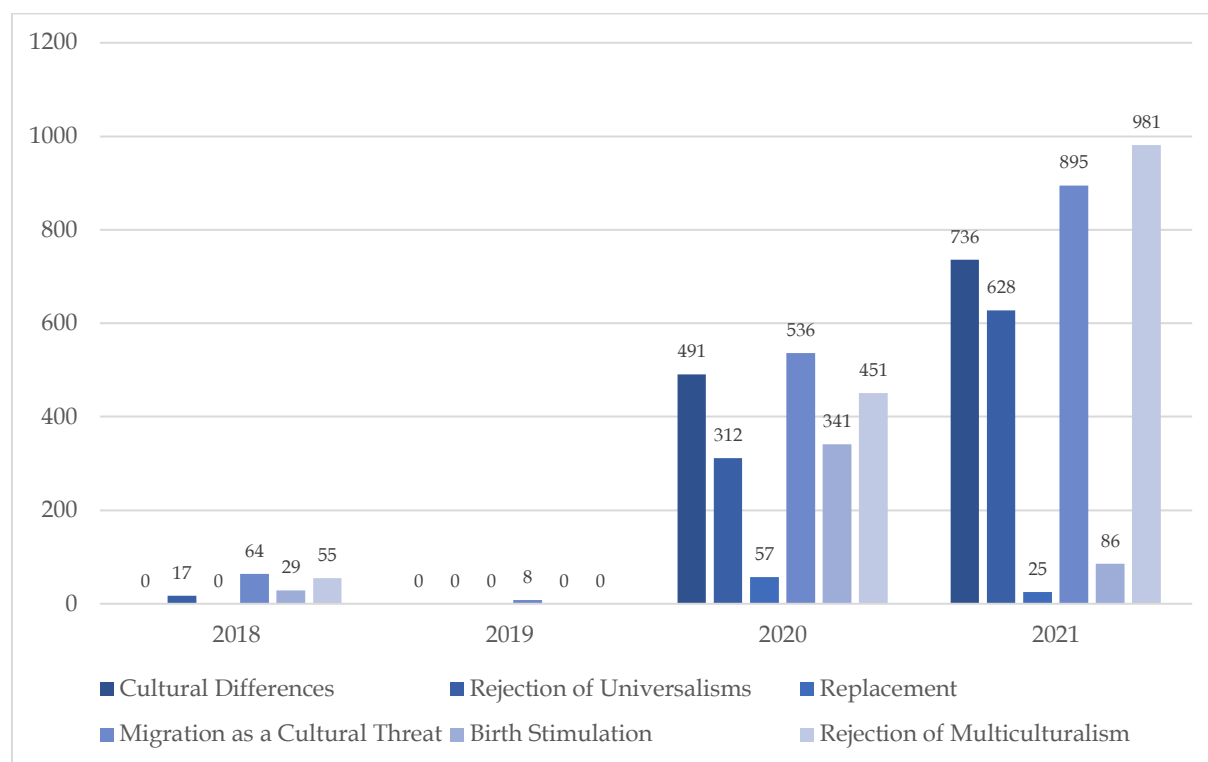
Source: Own work

Again, these findings need to be put into perspective by comparing them to the entirety of publications put forward in the given year. Due to the single-issue nature of most of these publications, the major exception being the AfD's parliamentary group's newsletter, the potential for ethnopluralist framing was determined on a per-document basis, meaning that every publication was codes as either possessing or not possessing the potential for ethnopluralist framings. Again, the total number of words spent on potentially ethnopluralist topics was compared to the sum of words spent on ethnopluralist frames. The results of these calculations can be seen in table 5.

Table 5. Relative Presence of the Ethnopluralism Frame in AfD Publications 2018-2021.

Documents	Total Length (words)	All Potentially Ethnopluralist Publications (words)	All Potentially Ethnopluralist Publications (%)	Actual Ethnopluralist Frames (%)
Publications 2018	1383	1383	100 %	11.93 %
Publications 2019	19014	14405	75.75 %	0.01 %
Publications 2020	120795	56029	46.38 %	3.91 %
Publications 2021	148346	56161	37.86 %	5.97 %

Source: Own work
Note: Sources for individual documents can be found in Appendix B.

It is important for the interpretation of these findings to keep the immense volume of publications in mind. By deciding on a document-by-document basis whether or not an ethnopluralist frame could be present, the total number of words is inflated. This could be the result of the inclusion of the parliamentary group's newsletter where one article may be connected to ethnopluralist framings whilst the rest of the articles is not. Furthermore, since there was only a single publication in 2018, the numbers for this year lose in terms of their representative strength.

Nonetheless, we can see an increase in actual ethnopluralist framings between 2019 and 2021. Simultaneously, the percentage of publications with the potential for ethnopluralist framings fell. Comparing this to the AfD's electoral agendas, where the potential ethnopluralist framings fell whilst the actual framings stayed similar, we can connect the development in AfD publications to a similar effect.

All in all, the presence of ethnopluralist framings in AfD manifestos, electoral agendas, and publications cannot be denied. Neither can its rising importance over time. Having thus identified the ethnopluralist frame in the AfD's ideology, we can now turn to the question of how these frames entered the party.

6.2.   *The Causal Mechanisms at Play*

To examine the way in which GNR ethnopluralist frames entered the AfD, we need to examine the connections between the party and New Right organisations. First, following the proposed direct mechanism, we shall examine co-memberships of GNR actors within the AfD. A complete list of all co-memberships found can be found in Appendix C. Whilst this list does not claim to be exhaustive, rather it provides insight into the personal connections between the GNR and the AfD.

As we can see from the co-memberships portrayed in Appendix C, members of the GNR are seeking out membership in the AfD. Especially the connections between the IB and the AfD is highly interesting, especially in light of the AfD's incompatibility resolution with the IB. Nonetheless, many IB activists are employed by AfD politicians or parliamentary groups.

Furthermore, actors of the GNR also were elected to leadership positions within the AfD, such as Jannik Brämer becoming 2nd Speaker of the AfD's youth organisation in Berlin or Yannic Noé becoming the Speaker for the AfD in Leverkusen. In addition to this, GNR actors also occupied political positions such as a seat in a city council with the support of the AfD.

One case of special importance is Erik Lehnert who, before being employed by AfD member of parliament Harald Weyel, was the director of the IfS. Through him, the main think tank of the GNR entered the German parliament.

The scope of the analysis of the direct mechanism is highly limited due to the lack of information about co-membership. It is difficult to ascertain membership in certain GNR organisations because of their loose structure. Thus, whilst this part of the analysis gives a preliminary insight into the importance of personal overlaps, the results should be treated with care and the scope of the analysis should be kept in mind.

Turning now to the indirect mechanism proposed, we can see that AfD actors have been frequent guests at GNR events. A list of AfD actors participating in GNR events can be found in Appendix D. Again, this list does not claim to be exhaustive but aims to give an insight into the connections between the GNR and the AfD.

Exemplary for the close connections between the GNR and the AfD are the cases of Björn Höcke and Marc Jongen. In 2017, Jongen spoke at the 17th Winter Academy of the IfS about violence. He opened his lecture which was later published in the GNR magazine *Sezession* by expressing his feeling of being able to speak to 'friends in spirit' at the IfS (Steinhagen 2017). Since 23 January 2017, Jongen has been the AfD's parliamentary group's cultural speaker in the German parliament. Here, he portrayed a fidelity to New Right ideas and was able to transcribe these into the AfD's cultural politics.

Höcke on the other hand is one of the most prominent AfD politicians, although he is an extremist within the party. Since 2014 Höcke has been interviewed by GNR media outlets like *Sezession* or *Junge Freiheit* (Sommer 2014). In 2016, he organised a meeting with the GNR intellectuals Götz Kubitschek and Ellen Kositza to discuss possible party membership (Amann 2016).

This connection between Höcke and the German New Right became important in the *Flügel*'s efforts to move the AfD to the right. It is important to note that the *Flügel* was officially disbanded in April 2020. This was in response to a call by the AfD leadership to disband the organisation after the *Flügel* was declared to be right-wing extremist by the German Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution (Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz 2021: 93-96). Furthermore, members Andreas Kalbitz and André Poggenburg left the AfD and founded their own parties. Nonetheless, according to it is expectable that the efforts of the *Flügel* carry on despite its apparent dissolution (Landesamt für Verfassungsschutz Thüringen 2020: 24).

The ethnopluralist and ethnonationalist influence of the New Right on the *Flügel* becomes apparent if one looks at the *Flügel*'s 'Five Principles for Germany' (*Fünf Grundsätze für Deutschland*). Here, through statements like "There is one thing we will not do: give our country and our nation away. Germany is our country!", "Dangerous ideologies that want to create the multicultural society and abolish the classical family are being rejected by us!", and "Germany was the home of our ancestors. Germany must be upheld as the home of our children. Germany is our home – our country- and our nation!" (Der Flügel 2016, translation by the author).

Similar positions were later adopted in the Thuringian AfD's position paper *Leitkutlur, Identität, Patriotismus*. Here we can find New Right frames like the cultural self-identification subframe in the allusion to Johann Gottfried Herder: "the multiplicity and diversity of people [constitutes] the building principle of one humanity" (AfD Thüringen 2018: 44, translation by the author). The threats get exemplified through formulations like: "Especially multiculturalism in theory and praxis marks this threat [to the basis of stability and freedom]. Thus one cannot reject that multicultural societies are fragmented and conflict-ridden societies" (AfD Thuringia 2018: 65, translation by the author).

Höcke as leader of the Thuringian AfD's parliamentary group as well as speaker for Europe, culture, media, digital society and sport was paramount in the creation of this position paper. His personal convictions as well as the *Flügel* positions shine through these formulations.

Other AfD members present at GNR events include party elites like Alice Weidel, Alexander Gauland, or Jörg Meuthen. We can thus see that the GNR's connections to the AfD are not only existent on 'lower' levels of party organisation. Rather, the higher levels are also displaying interconnectedness through their presence at GNR events.

The AfD also invited multiple actors of the GNR to their own events.

7. Discussion

The connections presented paint a convincing picture of the interconnectedness between the GNR and the AfD. Especially concerning the direct mechanism, the co-membership of IB members is notable. Since the IB characterises itself as the activist part of the GNR, it is feasible that they are more willing to engage in 'traditional' political work than their intellectual counterparts.

However, we should not draw too grand conclusions from these findings. As was already alluded, the connections presented only give a small insight into the potential connections between the GNR and the AfD. To argue without a doubt that the GNR's detoxification of right-wing extremist ideas was the main driver of the AfD's radicalisation would necessitate more and deeper examinations of the interconnectedness of the two.

Nonetheless, from the analysis presented, we can see that the AfD's connections to the GNR exist on all levels. Members, party employees, but also party elites share either a membership with a GNR organisation or are present at their events. It is thus feasible that the ethnopluralist frame entered the AfD's party ideology on such a way. Further, the intra-party efforts to move the party to the right, as was exemplified by the *Flügel*, display an active effort in favour of the GNR's frames.

However, we should not jump towards the conclusion that the GNR's influence is met without resistance. As we have seen with the AfD's incompatibility decision with the IB, there are efforts to diminish the potential influence of the GNR. However, this decision seems to be highly inconsequential if one takes a look at the multitude of IB actors present within the AfD.

The contribution of this research can be found in both the identification and operationalisation of the New Right's ethnopluralism frame as well as in the exploration of the importance of personal connections for the adaption of such frames. The mechanisms proposed are useful in analysing the connections between non-traditional political actors and parties thus contributing to the understanding of how political ideologies are formed and change.

8. Conclusion

Returning to our expectations formulated in the beginning of this thesis, we can say that the AfD, here representative of FRPs, has indeed been influenced by the New Right. The intellectual and detoxified manner in which the New Right presents its ideas has been taken up by the party and utilised in manifestos, agendas, and publications.

The second half of our expectation can also be affirmed. Whilst I do not claim that the closeness to the GNR, here representative of the New Right, is the sole reason for the radicalisation of the AfD, its influence can be seen in the existence of ethnopluralist frames and the multitude of connections between the AfD and the GNR.

However, we must recognise the limitations of the research presented. Firstly, due to its nature as a case study, the generalisability of the findings is based on the typicality of the case. Other analyses on other cases could help to ensure the generalisability.

Furthermore, the scope of the research was limited. Deeper insights into the presence of the ethnopluralist frame could be gained by including speeches by AfD politicians, sub-federal publications, and laws proposed in parliament.

Further research could utilise a comparative approach to compare the influence of New Right movements in differing political systems. Especially a study of the American Alt-Right could yield interesting results, based on the institutional differences between the USA and European democracies.

Another area of interest could be the mainstreaming of New Right ideas. If the New Right's metapolitical endeavours aim to change the cultural realm in order to prepare for a political change, the effects may also be seen in mainstream parties adopting New Right talking points and frames.

In the history of the study of FRPs, the New Right's influence has often been underestimated. To ensure a full understanding of the fringes of the democratic spectrum, it is necessary to engage in further research into this topic. The New Right's role in contemporary democracy is one characterised by simultaneous ostracization and connection, stemming from the New Right's position in the political sphere. Their actions from this position should remain a point of study in order to understand the influence the New Right has on contemporary party systems.

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10. Appendices

10.1. Appendix A: The Ethnopluralism Frame in New Right Publications

Subframe	Aspect	Examples
Cultural Self-Identification	Cultural Differences	"*Volk und Kultur haben einen grundlegenden Wert, der aus ihrer Einzigartigkeit wächst. Diese ethnokulturelle Einzigartigkeit ergibt sich notwendig aus der Abgrenzung zu anderen, ebenso einzigartigen und eigentlichen Lebenswelten.* People and culture have a fundamental value, which stems from their uniqueness. This ethnocultural uniqueness is necessarily derived from the demarcation towards other, equally unique and actual lifeworlds." (Sellner 2017b, translation by the author) "*Zu den einen unverkennbaren Volkscharakter formenden Faktoren zählen als bedeutendste die gemeinsame Abstammung, die gemeinsame Sprache und ein gemeinsam beherrschtes und durch Grenzen gesichertes Territorium.* Among the factors that form a distinctive national character, the most important are common ancestry, a common language and a jointly controlled territory secured by borders." (Waldstein 2021) "*Indem sie Menschen um sich sammelt, Identität stiftet und zur Weitererzählung mahnt, bringt sie in Abgrenzung zu anderen Geschichten und Gemeinschaften logischerweise auch Abstammungsgemeinschaften oder besser Fortpflanzungsgemeinschaften hervor. Auch erfolgreiche Synthesen in der Ethnogenese, wie etwa die Italiker und Etrusker, bilden auf dauer eine solche.* By gathering people around it, creating identity and exhorting them to continue the narrative, it logically also produces communities of descent, or better, communities of reproduction, in distinction from other stories and communities. Successful syntheses in ethnogenesis, such as the Italics and Etruscans, also form such communities in the long run. (Sellner 2017a)

| | Universalisms | "*Der Globalismus ist Globalisierung zum Weltstaat, er macht unsere Heimaten unkenntlich und wirft uns doch auf den Boden zurück, in dem wir wurzeln. Globalismus heißt für uns Terreur und Terroir.*"

Globalism is globalisation towards a world state, it makes our homes unrecognizable and still throws us back on the grounds in which we root. Globalism means for us Terreur and Terroir."

(Kisoudis 2021, translation by the author)

In den weltabgeschiedenen Klausen der linken Unis wurde dieser lebensunfähige Hyperuniversalismus herangezüchtet und auf die Gesellschaft losgelassen. In ihm wird die Vergessenheit und Gleichgültigkeit für jede Form von Begrenzung, ob biologisch, geographisch oder ökonomisch, zur offenen Leugnung.

In the secluded cloisters of left-wing universities, this hyper-universalism, incapable of life, has been bred and unleashed on society. In it, oblivion and indifference to any form of limitation, whether biological, geographical or economic, becomes open denial.

(Sellner 2016, translation by the author)

Und in dieser sich rapide destabilisierenden Umgebung von bröckelnden Grenzen, ausgehandelten Identitäten, Formlosigkeit, Durchmischung, Entwurzelung, aufgezwungenen ethnischen Kontexten, zerstreuten Beschränkungen, wechselnden Loyalitäten – in einer solchen Umgebung sieht der Konservatismus, der für manche die Konservierung von landestypischem und nationalem bedeutet, sich selbst in einer vitalen Rolle, vitaler als jemals zuvor.

And in this rapidly destabilising environment of crumbling borders, negotiated identities, formlessness, mixing, uprooting, imposed ethnic contexts, dispersed restrictions, shifting loyalties - in such an environment, conservatism, which for some means the preservation of the vernacular and the national, sees itself in a vital role, more vital than ever before.

(Wegener 2014, translation by the author) |
| Threats | Replacement | „*Es gilt daher in erster Linie (auch über die Coronakrise hinaus) die Priorität des Volkserhalts, konkret den Erhalt unseres Volkes, durch diese Phase der Auflösung und Verflüssigung hindurch. Die Abwendung des Bevölkerungsaustauschs durch die* |

		Ersetzungsmigration ist das entscheidende Ziel für unsere Generation und unsere Zeit. The prime objective must thus be (even beyond the corona crisis) the priority of the preservation of people, concretely the preservation of our people through this phase of dissolution and fluidification. The aversion of the replacement of people through replacement migration is the decisive goal of our generation and our times." (Sellner 2022, translation by the author) *„Ist es nicht in Wirklichkeit ganz einfach umgekehrt? Gab es nicht vielmehr ein homogenes Volk, das erst durch jahrzehntelange Replacement migration »divers« geworden ist?* Is not in reality simply the opposite true? Was there not a homogenous people that became 'diverse' due to decades of replacement migration?" (Sommerfeld 2016, translation by the author) *„Mit der vorangetriebenen „Replacement Migration", also dem Bevölkerungsaustausch, entfaltet sich der finale Akt der Entmachtung souveräner Nationalstaaten, die einhergeht mit der Auflösung und Durchmischung der Völker samt Identitätsverlust.* With the propagated ‚replacement migration', meaning the replacement of people, the final act of disempowerment of sovereign nation states combined with the dissolution and mixing of cultures including a loss of identity unfolds itself. (Anonymous Compact Author 2018, translation by the author)
	Migration as a Cultural Threat	"*Umgekehrt führte die Masseneinwanderung zu einem Verlust an Homogenität, der nicht ein Mehr an individueller Freiheit zur Konsequenz hatte – wie von den Befürwortern des „Multikulturalismus" behauptet – sondern einen Substanzabbau, der die Existenz der europäischen Nationen ebenso wie die der Demokratie in Frage stellt.* On the other hand mass immigration leads to a loss of homogeneity which does not result in an increased freedom – as claimed by the proponents of 'multiculturalism' – but instead a

		loss of substance that threatens the existence of the European nations and of democracy"
  (Kubitschek 2021, translation by the author)

„Die Installierung »multiethnischer Demokratien« in solchen Gesellschaften bedeutet folgerichtig die kulturelle und politische Enteignung der angestammten Mehrheit wie auch ihre stetige demographische Reduktion. Das hat nun nicht mehr viel mit Volksherrschaft und Volkssouveränität zu tun.
The installation of ‚multiethnic democracies' in these societies means consequentially the cultural and political expropriation of the native majority as well as their constant demographic reduction. This can really no longer be called rule of the people and sovereignty of the people."
  (Lichtmesz 2018, translation by the author)

Der britische Publizist Douglas Murray zählt das auch hier wieder mitschwingende Schuld-Narrativ in seinem gerade auf deutsch veröffentlichten Buch „Der seltsame Tod Europas: Immigration, Identität, Islam" neben der (islamischen) Masseneinwanderung, dem Verblassen der Bindekräfte des Christentums und der immer weitergehenden Einschränkung der Redefreiheit zu denjenigen Faktoren, die den Niedergang des Westens kennzeichnen.
In his book "The Strange Death of Europe: Immigration, Identity, Islam", which has just been published in German, the British journalist Douglas Murray lists the guilt narrative, which is again resonant here, alongside (Islamic) mass immigration, the fading of the binding forces of Christianity and the ever-increasing restriction of freedom of speech as the factors that mark the decline of the West.
  (Wiesberg 2018, translation by the author) |
| Solutions | Birth Stimulation | *"Überall auf der Welt läßt sich beobachten, daß die Geburtenrate sinkt, sobald der Wohlstand steigt. Kann man dagegen nun überhaupt etwas unternehmen? Können wir uns als Kollektiv, als deutsches Volk, auf ein „Weniger ist mehr" einlassen? Gibt es einen Weg zurück von der Überhöhung materiellen Besitzes hin zur Wertschätzung immaterieller Dinge und intakter sozialer Beziehungen?* |

		Everywhere in the world it can be observed that the birth rate falls as soon as prosperity rises. Is there anything we can do about it? Can we as a collective, as a German people, commit ourselves to a "less is more"? Is there a way back from the exaltation of material possessions to the appreciation of immaterial things and intact social relationships?" (Menzel 2015, translation by the author) "*Die Geburtenraten der am wenigsten assimilierbaren Migrantengruppen liegen gleichzeitig europaweit stabil über denen der einheimischen Bevölkerungen. Auch wenn die Geburtenraten dieser Gruppen zum Teil langsam zurückgehen, ist eine Angleichung auf absehbare Zeit nicht zu erwarten. Höhere Geburtenraten und ausbleibende Assimilation würden unter diesen Umständen auch ohne weitere Zuwanderung langfristig einen Bevölkerungsaustausch bewirken.* At the same time, the birth rates of the least assimilable migrant groups are stably above those of the native populations throughout Europe. Even if the birth rates of these groups are slowly declining in some cases, an equalisation is not to be expected in the foreseeable future. Under these circumstances, higher birth rates and a lack of assimilation would lead to a population exchange in the long term, even without further immigration." (Schmidt 2015, translation by the author) "*Wer ist nun berufen, aus all jenen demographischen, familienpolitischen wie allgemein gesellschaftlichen Mißständen eine Kehrtwende zu fabrizieren, die zur Beilegung des hartnäckigen Gebärstreiks führt? Bundesfamilienministerin von der Leyen hält das Ruder in der Hand.* Who is now called upon to fabricate a turnaround from all these demographic, family-political and general social grievances that will lead to a settlement of the stubborn birth strike? The Federal Minister for Family Affairs, von der Leyen, is at the helm. (Kositza 2006, translation by the author)
	Rejection of Multiculturalism	"*England sollte eine Mahnung an Deutschland sein, den fatalen Weg in die multikulturelle Fragmentierung endlich zu bremsen. Mehr als je*

| | | *zuvor ist es nun notwendig, der Wahrheit ins Gesicht zu sehen, auch wenn sie häßlich und erschreckend und angsteinflößend ist. Es führt kein Weg daran vorbei. Jeder Versuch, nun den Kopf in den Sand zu stecken, wird zu nur noch schlimmeren Folgen führen.*

England should be a reminder for Germany to finally slow down the fatal path into multicultural fragmentation. More than ever it is now necessary to face truths even if they hurt. There is no way around this. Every attempt to stick the head in the sand will only lead to worse consequences."

(Lichtmesz 2011, translation by the author)

"*Sicher scheint nur eines: Das Gesicht (Mittel-)Europas wird sich nachhaltig verändern, und zwar in eine Richtung, die die Verfechter der multikulturellen Ideologie und ihre Hilfstruppen seit Jahrzehnten zu befördern suchen. Nun bekommen sie mit der Massenzuwanderung eine Brechstange in die Hand, mit der sich dieser Prozeß noch einmal deutlich beschleunigen dürfte.*

Just one thing seems certain: the face of (central) Europe will change substantively, into one direction that the proponents of multicultural ideologies and their helpers try to build up since decades. With mass immigration they get handed a crowbar with which this process will speed up profoundly."

(Wiesberg 2015)

"*Einer Studie des Wissenschaftzentrums Berlin zufolge hat sich der Multikulturalismus verselbsttändigt. Die Dominanz einer Merhheitskultur sei nicht länger selbstverständlich. Das wirke sich letzlich auf die Lebensrealität nationaler Minderheiten aus.*

Following a study of the Scientific Centre in Berlin, multiculturalism has taken up a life on its own. The dominance of a majority culture is no longer natural. This infringes on the lived realities of national minorities."

(Hämmerling 2021) |

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AfD Manifesto and Electoral Agendas

Nr.	Title	Type	Context	Date	Length (words)	Potentially Ethnopluralist Topics (words)	Actual Ethnopluralist Frames (words)	Potentially Ethnopluralist Topics (%)	Actual Ethnopluralist Frames (%)	Source
1	Wahlprogramm 2013	Electoral Agenda	Federal Election 2013	14.04.2013	837	50	0	5,973715651	0	https://www.abgeordnetenwatch.de/sites/default/files/election-program-files/afd_1.pdf
2	Mut zu Deutschland. Für ein Europa der Vielfalt	Electoral Agenda	European Election 2014	22.03.2014	9420	1655	120	17,56900212	7,250755287	https://www.abgeordnetenwatch.de/sites/default/files/election-program-files/afd-europawahl-2014.pdf
3	Programm für Deutschland. Grundsatzprogramm.	Party Manifesto	Party Manifesto 2016	30.04.2016	26047	4555	1081	17,48761854	23,73216246	https://www.afd.de/wp-content/uploads/sites/111/2018/01/Programm_AfD_Online-PDF_150616.pdf
4	Programm für Deutschland. Wahlprogramm	Electoral Agenda	Federal Election 2017	24.09.2017	17802	3022	1739	16,97562072	57,5446724	https://www.afd.de/wp-content/uploads/sites/111/2017/06/2017-06-01_AfD-Bundestagswahlprogramm_Onlinefassung.pdf
5	Europawahlprogramm	Electoral Agenda	European Election 2019	14.01.2019	18554	3138	1602	16,91279508	51,05162524	https://www.afd.de/wp-content/uploads/sites/111/2019/03/AfD_Europawahlprogramm_A5-hoch_web_150319.pdf
6	Deutschland. Aber normal.	Electoral Agenda	Federal Election 2021	10.04.2021	28647	3848	1882	13,43247111	48,90852391	https://www.afd.de/wp-content/uploads/sites/111/2021/06/20210611_AfD_Programm_2021.pdf

AfD Publications

Nr.	Title	Type	Year	Length (words)	Potentially Relevant Topic	Ethnopluralist Framing	Source
1	Mut zu Deutschland. Die Politischen Ziele der AfD-Bundestagsfraktion	Flyer	2018	1383	1	1	https://q2z7z6i5.rocketcdn.me/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/AfD_BTF_15-Punkte_Flyer_RL.pdf
2	Die "Grüne" Energiewende	Flyer	2019	1169	0	0	https://q2z7z6i5.rocketcdn.me/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/afd_btf_flyer_die_gruene_energiewende_digitale_version.pdf
3	Für ein Waffengesetz mit Augenmaß!	Flyer	2019	915	0	0	https://q2z7z6i5.rocketcdn.me/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/afd_btf_waffengesetz_2019_flyer_digitale_version.pdf
4	Mythos CO2-Steuer	Flyer	2019	1257	0	0	https://q2z7z6i5.rocketcdn.me/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/afd_btf_ak_umwelt_co2-steuer_digitale_version.pdf
5	Fraktion Kompakt. November 2019	Parliamentary Group Newsletter	2019	14405	1	0	https://q2z7z6i5.rocketcdn.me/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/afd_btf_fraktionszeitung_ausgabe_1_2019_digitale_version.pdf
6	Organspende. Die Vertrauenslösung.	Position Paper	2019	1268	0	0	https://q2z7z6i5.rocketcdn.me/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/afd_bt

							f_ak_gesundheit_organspende_broschuere_digitale_version.pdf
7	Corona. Wege aus der Krise.	Flyer	2020	871	0	0	https://q2z7z6i5.rocketcdn.me/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/afd_btf_corona_flyer_digitale_version.pdf
8	Die Zukunft des Autos	Flyer	2020	694	0	0	https://q2z7z6i5.rocketcdn.me/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/afd_btf_ak_verkehr_zukunft_automobil_flyer_digitale_version.pdf
9	Digitale Standpunkte	Flyer	2020	855	0	0	https://q2z7z6i5.rocketcdn.me/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/afd_btf_ak_digitale-agenda_positionspapier_digitale_version-2.pdf
10	Untersuchungssausschuss PKW-Maut des Deutschen Bundestages	Flyer	2020	709	0	0	https://q2z7z6i5.rocketcdn.me/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/afd_btf_ak_verkehr_ua-pkw-maut_flyer_digitale-version.pdf
11	Fraktion Kompakt. Juni 2020	Parliamentary Group Newsletter	2020	7490	1	0	https://q2z7z6i5.rocketcdn.me/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/afd_btf_fraktionszeitung_ausgabe-2-2020_digitale_version.pdf
12	Fraktion Kompakt. Dezember 2020	Parliamentary Group Newsletter	2020	10763	1	1	https://q2z7z6i5.rocketcdn.me/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/afd_btf_fraktionszeitung_ausgabe-3-2020_digitale-version.pdf
13	Agrarpolitisches Leitbild der AfD-Bundestagsfraktion	Position Paper	2020	4330	0	0	https://q2z7z6i5.rocketcdn.me/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/afd_btf_broschuere_agrapolitisches-leitbild_digitale_version-2.pdf
14	Bewertung der AfD-Bundestagsfraktion zur "Berateraffäre von der Leyen"	Position Paper	2020	3466	0	0	https://q2z7z6i5.rocketcdn.me/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/afd_btf_ak-verteidigung_broschuere_sondervotum-vdL_digitale-version.pdf
15	Bildungs- und forschungspolitische Leitlinien	Position Paper	2020	6010	0	0	https://q2z7z6i5.rocketcdn.me/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/ak-bildung_leitlinien-2020_digitale-version.pdf
16	Entwicklungszusammenarbeit für Deutschland	Position Paper	2020	4913	1	0	https://q2z7z6i5.rocketcdn.me/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/ak-entwicklung_leitlinien_digitale_version.pdf
17	Europa in Freiheit	Position Paper	2020	8568	1	1	https://q2z7z6i5.rocketcdn.me/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/afd_btf_ak-eu_broschuere_va-europa-in-freiheit_digitale_version.pdf
18	Familienpolitische Leitlinien	Position Paper	2020	3249	1	1	https://q2z7z6i5.rocketcdn.me/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/ak-familie_leitlinien_bs-a4_digitale_version-1.pdf
19	Für ein Europa der Vielfalt und der guten Nachbarschaft	Position Paper	2020	2528	1	0	https://q2z7z6i5.rocketcdn.me/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/afd_btf_ak-eu_europa-der-vielfalt_digitale-version.pdf
20	Gesundheit in Deutschland	Position Paper	2020	5689	0	0	https://q2z7z6i5.rocketcdn.me/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/afd_btf_ak_gesundheit_in_deutschland_digitale_version-1.pdf
21	Grundsatzbeschluss des Bundesvorstandes zur freiheitlich-demokratischen Grundordnung	Position Paper	2020	474	0	0	https://www.afd.de/wp-content/uploads/sites/111/2021/01/Grundsatzbeschluss_Grundordnung_27.11.2020.pdf
22	Haushaltsanträge 2021	Position Paper	2020	8286	0	0	https://q2z7z6i5.rocketcdn.me/wp-

	Title	Type	Year				URL
							content/uploads/2021/01/ak-verteidigung-haushalt_bs-a4_digitale-version.pdf
23	Innenpolitische Leitlinien	Position Paper	2020	5287	1	1	https://q2z7z6i5.rocketcdn.me/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/afd_btf_ak-innen_positionspapier_digitale_version.pdf
24	Konzept zur Sozialpolitik	Position Paper	2020	7433	1	1	https://www.afd.de/wp-content/uploads/sites/111/2021/04/20210326_Konzept_zur_Sozialpolitik_ohne_Programm.pdf
25	Konzeption für die Ausbildung einer starken Bundeswehr	Position Paper	2020	19225	0	0	https://q2z7z6i5.rocketcdn.me/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/Ak-Verteidigung-Konzeption_der_Ausbildung_digitale_version.pdf
26	Sportpolitische Thesen	Position Paper	2020	5580	0	0	https://q2z7z6i5.rocketcdn.me/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/ak-sport_sportpolitische-thesen_bs-a4_digitale-version.pdf
27	Straßenumbenennungen	Position Paper	2020	5798	1	0	https://q2z7z6i5.rocketcdn.me/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/afd_btf_stra%C3%9Fenumbenennungen_digitale_version.pdf
28	Tourismuspolitik für Deutschland	Position Paper	2020	3694	0	0	https://q2z7z6i5.rocketcdn.me/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/afd_btf_broschuere_tourismuspolitik-f%C3%BCr-deutschland_digitale_version.pdf
29	Verkehrs- und Infrastrukturpolitik für Deutschland	Position Paper	2020	4883	0	0	https://q2z7z6i5.rocketcdn.me/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/ak-verkehrs-und-infrastrukturpolitik_digitale-version.pdf
30	Arm durch Inflation?	Flyer	2021	553	0	0	https://q2z7z6i5.rocketcdn.me/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/flyer_soziale-folgen-der-inflation_digitale-version-1.pdf
31	Raus aus der Lockdown Krise	Flyer	2021	512	0	0	https://q2z7z6i5.rocketcdn.me/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/flyer_aufbruch-fuer-deutschland_digitale-version.pdf
32	Was sind Menschenrechte und was sind sie nicht?	Flyer	2021	830	1	0	https://q2z7z6i5.rocketcdn.me/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/ak-menschenrechte_flyer_allgemein-2021_digitale-version.pdf
33	Wofür wir stehen	Flyer	2021	521	0	0	https://q2z7z6i5.rocketcdn.me/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/ak-bau_flyer_wofuer-wir-stehen_digitale-version.pdf
34	Fraktion Kompakt. Juni 2021	Parliamentary Group Newsletter	2021	14602	1	1	https://q2z7z6i5.rocketcdn.me/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/afd_btf_fraktionszeitung_ausgabe-4-2021_digitale_version.pdf
35	Bildung oder Umerziehung?	Position Paper	2021	34650	0	0	https://q2z7z6i5.rocketcdn.me/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/Bildung_oder_Umerziehung_digitale_version.pdf
36	Der Gründungsidee der Europäischen Union verpflichtet	Position Paper	2021	4047	0	0	https://q2z7z6i5.rocketcdn.me/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/ak-eu_broschuere_din-a5_subsidiaritaetspruefung_digitale-version.pdf
37	Die Soziale Marktwirtschaft vom Kopf auf die Füße stellen	Position Paper	2021	10491	0	0	https://q2z7z6i5.rocketcdn.me/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/ak-

							wirtschaft-2021_bs-a4_digitale-version.pdf
38	Enquetekommission Berufliche Bildung in der digitalen Arbeitswelt	Position Paper	2021	7771	0	0	https://q2z7z6i5.rocketcdn.me/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/ak-enquete-kommission_beruf_a4_vfinal_digitale-version.pdf
39	Erklärung zum deutschen Staatsvolk und zur deutschen Identität	Position Paper	2021	873	1	1	https://www.afd.de/wp-content/uploads/sites/111/2021/01/Erkl%C3%A4rung-Deutsches-Staatsvolk_20_01_2021.pdf
40	Kultur und Medien	Position Paper	2021	8389	1	1	https://q2z7z6i5.rocketcdn.me/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/ak-kultur_positionen-und-initiativen_digitale_version.pdf
41	Künstliche Intelligenz für mündige Bürger	Position Paper	2021	8323	0	0	https://q2z7z6i5.rocketcdn.me/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/enquete-ki-broschuere-digitale-version.pdf
42	Maut. Sondervotum der AfD-Bundestagsfraktion zur "Pkw-Maut"	Position Paper	2021	16599	0	0	https://q2z7z6i5.rocketcdn.me/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/ak-ua_pkw-maut-2021_digitale_version.pdf
43	Realpolitik im deutschen Interesse	Position Paper	2021	8718	0	0	https://q2z7z6i5.rocketcdn.me/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/AK_Aussen_Realpolitik_im-deutschen_Interesse_webversion.pdf
44	Souveränität, Migration und Antisemitismus in der EU	Position Paper	2021	12064	1	1	https://q2z7z6i5.rocketcdn.me/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/ak-eu_broschuere_souveraenitaet-migration-und-antisemitismus-in-der-eu_digitale-version.pdf
45	Terroranschlag. Sondervotum der AfD-Fraktion im Deutschen Bundestag zur Arbeit im 1. Untersuchungsausschuss "Terroranschlag Breitscheidplatz"	Position Paper	2021	19403	1	0	https://q2z7z6i5.rocketcdn.me/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/ak-ua_breitscheidplatz-digitale_version.pdf

10.3. Appendix C: Co-Memberships of GNR and AfD Actors

Nr.	Name	GNR Organisation	AfD Position	Position	Source
1	Jan Scharf	Identitäre Bewegung	Employee AfD Parliamentary Group Sachsen-Anhalt	Party Employee	https://lsa-rechtsaussen.net/geschlossenheit-rechts-aussen-die-afd-sachsen-anhalt-vor-den-kommunal-und-europawahlen/
2	Sven Wüstefeld	Identitäre Bewegung	Employee AfD Parliamentary Group Sachsen-Anhalt	Party Employee	https://lsa-rechtsaussen.net/geschlossenheit-rechts-aussen-die-afd-sachsen-anhalt-vor-den-kommunal-und-europawahlen/
3	Daniel Fiß	Identitäre Bewegung	Employee AfD MP Siegbert Droese	Party Employee	https://www.addn.me/nazis/bewaffnete-identitaere-wollen-in-stadtraete/
4	Hildburg Meyer-Sande	Identitäre Bewegung	Employee AfD Hamburg	Party Employee	https://taz.de/Identitaere-arbeitet-fuer-AfD-Fraktion/!5482521/
5	Paul Meyer	Identitäre Bewegung	Employee AfD Parliamentary Group Brandenburg	Party Employee	https://blog.zeit.de/stoerungsmelder/2019/02/05/afd-rechtsextreme-mitarbeiter-brandenburg-thueringen-verfassungsschutz_28014
6	Lars Steinke	Identitäre Bewegung	Employee AfD Parliamentary Group Niedersachsen	Party Employee	https://taz.de/Job-als-Mitarbeiter-statt-Parteiausschluss/!5480041/
7	Martin Schieck	Identitäre Bewegung	Employee AfD Parliamentary Group Thüringen	Party Employee	https://rechercheportaljenashk.noblogs.org/post/2020/07/12/der-fall-martin-schieck-und-die-luegen-der-afd-normannia-burschenschafter-und-einprozent-aktivist-als-mitarbeiter-der-thueringer-afd/
8	Benjamin S.	Identitäre Bewegung	Employee AfD MP Michael Frisch	Party Employee	https://www.swr.de/report/9/-/id=233454/did=25404258/nid=233454/1h92qfx/index.html
9	Albert G.	Identitäre Bewegung	Employee AfD MP Holger Arppe	Party Employee	https://www.zeit.de/politik/deutschland/2017-06/afd-identitaere-bewegung-unvereinbarkeitsbeschluss-funktionaere
10	Erik Lehnert	Institut für Staatspolitik	Employee AfD MP Harald Weyel	Party Employee	https://taz.de/Strategien-der-Neuen-Rechten/!5512485/
11	Manuel Ochsenreiter	Magazine 'Zuerst!', Junge Freiheit	Employee AfD MP Markus Frohnmaier	Party Employee	https://taz.de/Die-AfD-Fraktion-und-ihre-Mitarbeiter/!5550036/
12	Nils Hartwig	Identitäre Bewegung	2nd Speaker AfD District Unna	Party Position	https://www.hellwegeranzeiger.de/kreis-und-region/afd-stellvertretender-sprecher-kommt-aus-der-identitaeren-bewegung-w1671564-p-1000455826/
13	Martin Küsteraren	Identitäre Bewegung	Founding Member, AfD District Paderborn	Party Position	https://rkowl.blackblogs.org/2020/10/06/vereinssitz-der-identitaeren-bewegung-bei-martin-kuesterarend-in-oberntudorf-salzkotten/
14	David Mühlenbein	Identitäre Bewegung	Founding Member, AfD District Paderborn	Party Position	https://rkowl.blackblogs.org/2020/10/06/vereinssitz-der-identitaeren-bewegung-bei-martin-kuesterarend-in-oberntudorf-salzkotten/
15	Alexander Lehmann	Identitäre Bewegung	Member	Party Position	https://www.rhein-zeitung.de/region/aus-den-lokalredaktionen/westerwaelder-zeitung_artikel,-naehe-zu-rechtsextremem-umfeld-hachenburger-raete-lehnen-afdbewerber-ab-_arid,2348718.html
16	Hannah-Tabea Rößler	Identitäre Bewegung	AfD Candidate in Halle	Party Position	https://lsa-rechtsaussen.net/geschlossenheit-rechts-aussen-die-afd-sachsen-anhalt-vor-den-kommunal-und-europawahlen/
17	Konrad Kohlhas	Identitäre Bewegung	2nd Speaker AfD District Westthüringen	Party Position	https://blog.zeit.de/stoerungsmelder/2019/02/05/afd-rechtsextreme-mitarbeiter-brandenburg-thueringen-verfassungsschutz_28014
18	Jannik Brämer	Identitäre Bewegung	2nd Speaker Junge Alternative Berlin	Party Position	https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/ex-afd-politiker-jannik-braemer-in-berlin-festgenommen
19	Yannic Noé	Magazine 'Arcardi'	Speaker AfD District Leverkusen	Party Position	https://www.ksta.de/region/leverkusen/stadt-leverkusen/preisgekroente-reportage-das-rechte-netzwerk-des-leverkusener-afd-sprechers-yannick-no%C3%A9-29934476?cb=1655083127796&
20	Paul Neumann	Identitäre Bewegung	AfD City Council	Political Position	https://www.addn.me/nazis/bewaffnete-identitaere-wollen-in-stadtraete/
21	Toni Schneider	Identitäre Bewegung	AfD City Council	Political Position	https://www.addn.me/nazis/bewaffnete-identitaere-wollen-in-stadtraete/

10.4.   *Appendix D: Points of Contact Between the GNR and the AfD*

<u>AfD Actors Present at GNR Events</u>

Nr.	GNR actor	AfD actor	Type	Event	Source
1	konflikt Magazin	Carlo Clemens	Interview	Interview	https://www.belltower.news/rechtsextremismus-verdacht-afd-will-chef-der-eigenen-jugendorganisation-ausschliessen-115105/
2	Ein Prozent e.v.	Björn Höcke	Interview	Ein Prozent e.V. YouTube channel	https://www.dw.com/de/wer-ist-die-neue-rechte/a-57973028
3	Sezession	Marc Jongen	Publication	Article	https://sezession.de/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/Sez76-Migration-und-Stre%C3%9Ftest.pdf,
4	Identitäre Bewegung	Hans-Thomas Tillschneider	Speech	Salon "Überwachung durch den Verfassungsschutz"	https://www.keinveedelfuerrassismus.de/afd-mdl-nrw-roger-beckamp-treibt-schulterschluss-mit-der-extremen-rechten-voran/
5	Identitäre Bewegung	Roger Beckamp	Speech	Salon "Überwachung durch den Verfassungsschutz"	https://www.keinveedelfuerrassismus.de/afd-mdl-nrw-roger-beckamp-treibt-schulterschluss-mit-der-extremen-rechten-voran/
6	Institut für Staatspolitik	Björn Höcke	Speech	IfS Winter Academy	https://www.mdr.de/nachrichten/sachsen-anhalt/halle/saalekreis/afd-schnellroda-ifs-kubitschek-neue-rechte-100.html
7	Institut für Staatspolitik	Alice Weidel	Speech	IfS Winter Academy	https://www.mdr.de/nachrichten/sachsen-anhalt/halle/saalekreis/afd-schnellroda-ifs-kubitschek-neue-rechte-100.html
8	Institut für Staatspolitik	Alexander Gauland	Speech	IfS Winter Academy	https://www.mdr.de/nachrichten/sachsen-anhalt/halle/saalekreis/afd-schnellroda-ifs-kubitschek-neue-rechte-100.html
9	Institut für Staatspolitik	Jörg Meuthen	Speech	IfS Winter Academy	https://www.mdr.de/nachrichten/sachsen-anhalt/halle/saalekreis/afd-schnellroda-ifs-kubitschek-neue-rechte-100.html
10	Institut für Staatspolitik	Marc Jongen	Speech	IfS Winter Academy	https://marcjongen.de/migration-und-thymostraining-dr-marc-jongen-beim-ifs/