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Postering Populism

The routine message and meaning of the populist political
communication in Germany and Austria
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Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to develop a model of political communication of populist parties on election posters (n=208) of the AfD in Germany and the FPÖ in Austria. Populist parties communicate consciously and in a reduced way on election posters, presenting political messages textually and visually. What pervades this thesis is the endeavour to identify typical elements of populist mobilisation and to design a model of populist communication. Following Charmaz, the Grounded Theory approach ensures a strong text-based analysis in order to approach the material in an unbiased and inductive way. To identify typical elements, the collected material is coded in two steps using MAXQDA software. The election posters of AfD and FPÖ illustrate the division of society into "we" and "the others". On the one hand, patriotism, collectivisation and the appeal to positive values shape the "we", while on the other hand, images of the enemy through references to cultural otherness, the discrediting of political elites and the creation of fear establish the reference to "the others". By valorising, defending and representing the "real people", populist parties reveal the relevance of the "for you" component. Paternalistic expressions, traditional moral concepts and a threat to the self-image of the "real people" stylised as common clarify this element and make populist parties appear as a political solution on posters. Populist communication aims at stylising the populist party as representative of the "real people", political content is reinterpreted and functionalised on election posters in order to mobilise voters.

Keywords: political communication – election poster – AfD – FPÖ – populist parties – populist mobilisation – communication strategies – political campaigning – Grounded Theory

Abstract

Celem niniejszej pracy jest wypracowanie modelu komunikacji politycznej partii populistycznych (AfD w Niemczech i FPÖ w Austrii) poprzez plakaty wyborcze (n=208). Partie populistyczne komunikują się świadomie w ograniczony sposób na plakatach wyborczych, prezentując przekazy polityczne tekstowo i wizualnie. Celem przewodnim tej pracy jest dążenie do identyfikacji typowych elementów mobilizacji populistycznej i zaprojektowanie modelu komunikacji populistycznej. Podążając za Charmazem, Podejście oparte na teorii ugruntowanej zapewnia solidną analizę tekstową w celu podejścia do materiału w sposób bezstronny i indukcyjny. Aby zidentyfikować typowe elementy, zebrany materiał był kodowany dwuetapowo przy użyciu oprogramowania MAXQDA. Plakaty wyborcze AfD i FPÖ ilustrują podział społeczeństwo na „nas" i „innych". Z jednej strony patriotyzm i kolektywizm odnoszą się do pozytywnych wartości, kształtują „my", a z drugiej strony przedstawiają "wroga" poprzez odniesienia do odmienności kulturowej, dyskredytują elity polityczne i tworząc poczucie strachu stanowią odniesienie do „innych". Waloryzując, broniąc i reprezentując „prawdziwych ludzi", partie populistyczne ujawniają znaczenie komponentu „dla Ciebie". Wyrażenia paternalistyczne, tradycyjne koncepcje moralne i zagrożenie dla wizerunku samych siebie tychże „prawdziwych ludzi" (stylizowanych na pospolitych), wyjaśniają ten element i sprawiają, że partie populistyczne jawią się na plakatach jako recepta na problemy polityczne. Komunikacja populistyczna ma na celu stylizację partii populistycznych jako reprezentantów „prawdziwych ludzi", treści polityczne są reinterpretowane i funkcjonalizowane na afiszach wyborczych w celu mobilizacji wyborców.

Słowa kluczowe: komunikacja polityczna – plakat wyborczy – AfD – FPÖ – partie populistyczne – populistyczna mobilizacja – strategie komunikacyjne – kampanie polityczne – teoria ugruntowana

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List of abbreviations

AfD

EU election 2014 = EU 2014

EU election 2019 = EU 2019

German Bundestagswahl 2013 = Bundestag 2013

German Bundestagswahl 2017 = Bundestag 2017

German Bundestagswahl 2021 = Bundestag 2021

Regional election Baden-Württemberg 2016 = Baden-Württemberg 2016

Regional election Baden-Württemberg 2021 = Baden-Württemberg 2021

Regional election Bayern 2018 = Bavaria 2018

Regional election Berlin 2016 = Berlin 2016

Regional election Brandenburg 2014 = Brandenburg 2014

Regional election Hamburg 2020 = Hamburg 2020

Regional election Mecklenburg-Vorpommern 2016 = Mecklenburg-Vorpommern 2016

Regional election Nordrhein-Westfalen 2017 = NRW 2017

Regional election Saarland 2017 = Saarland 2017

Regional election Sachsen 2019 = Saxony 2019

Regional election Sachsen-Anhalt 2016 = Saxony-Anhalt 2016

Regional election Schleswig-Holstein 2017 = Schleswig-Holstein 2017

Regional election Thüringen 2019 = Thuringia 2019

FPÖ

Austrian Nationalratswahl 2013 = Nationalratswahl 2013

Austrian Nationalratswahl 2017 = Nationalratswahl 2017

Austrian Nationalratswahl 2019 = Nationalratswahl 2019

Austrian Presidential Election 2016 = Presidential Election 2016

EU election 2014 = EU 2014

EU election 2019 = EU 2019

Regional election Burgenland 2015 = Burgenland 2015

Regional election Burgenland 2020 = Burgenland 2020

Regional election Kärnten 2018 = Kärnten 2018

Regional election Niederösterreich 2018 = Lower Austria 2018

Regional election Oberösterreich 2015 = Upper Austria 2015

Regional election Salzburg 2013 = Salzburg 2013

Regional election Salzburg 2018 = Salzburg 2018

Regional election Tirol 2018 = Tyrol 2018

Regional election Vorarlberg 2019 = Vorarlberg 2019

Regional election Wien 2015 = Vienna 2015

Regional election Wien 2020 = Vienna 2020

I. Introduction

1.1. Populist communication

The phenomenon of populism has been present in Europe and around the world for several years, it seems to be crisis-proof and even more the impression arises that populist movements become stronger through crises. In this context, the assumption that times of crisis are especially times of government seems to be contradicted by the electoral success of populist parties in opposition in recent years. After the last major crises in Europe – the economic crisis in 2009 and the migration crisis in 2014 – populist parties with a Eurosceptic or anti-migration attitude have been successful in attracting voters and gaining political success. To what extent this is equally the case for the persistent health crisis in the midst of the global Covid-19 pandemic remains to be proven in the coming years. In essence, populist parties aim to present an alternative political direction and mobilise people who are dissatisfied with the status quo. A central and strategically important role of this polarisation is played by the political communication of populist parties. In view of their success in various elections, the question remains as to what extent this mobilisation strategy follows a certain model.

Precisely this is what this thesis attempts to answer. This thesis aims to determine to what extent the political communication of populist parties contains typical elements. Election posters were chosen as a typical medium of political communication in this thesis. The following research question guides this thesis: *Assuming that election posters make the meaningful and condensed, verbal and visual message of political actions, what is the preferred model of political communication, typical for populist groupings in Germany and Austria?*

Election posters have been used in public communication since ancient times and are very functional. Moreover, election posters are traditional for political communication and represent a typical, well-institutionalised means of the respective campaign. Election posters per se obviously serve to mobilise in the run-up to elections, addressing

potential voters with political messages and pointing out solutions to current problems. Here, the presence in public space is to be emphasised, election posters take up space and are meanwhile equally established in online communication. Additionally, the lifespan of election posters is longer than that of newspapers, TV or radio broadcasts. By presenting simple answers to complex questions within a minimal amount of space, populist parties frame certain actors like other political parties, economic elites or social classes as scapegoats. The aim is to divide society simplistically into "good" and "bad". What becomes obvious is that election posters constitute a useful part of the whole system of political propaganda.

This raises the question of the extent to which populist parties break taboos communicatively – are these parties merely trying to attract attention, provoke and appeal to voters' displeasure with polarising messages? Is it about postering a division in society? These considerations imply that an analysis of the political communication of populist parties not only reveals central strategies, but also breaks them down to typical elements and, based on this, a model for understanding can be developed. Populist parties communicate purposefully and poster their political messages textually and visually. With limited space available, the message is condensed and the language deliberately chosen. What pervades this thesis is the ambition to identify typical elements and to design a model of populist communication of populist parties. Populism is global in nature, so national representations must to some extent have a common core. However, there is a need for a close examination of how large this common intersection between national representations actually is. For this purpose, the AfD and the FPÖ serve as examples of two populist parties in Central Europe, which, as most similar cases, offer insights into the populist communication of two nations. The findings of this thesis are therefore to a certain extent limited to typical elements of populist communication in these two cultures, but nevertheless promise to identify typical elements and dynamics of populist communication on election posters based on empirical evidence.

1.2. Populism and its political communication: literature review

Literature on the phenomenon of populism portrays a division of society between "the pure people" and "the corrupt elite", between "natives" and "aliens", between an "in-group" and an "out-group".[1] Claes de Vreese et al. 2018 indicate that communicative elements constitute a central pillar of populism, according to which populism is primarily a "communication phenomenon".[2] Toril Aalberg and de Vreese argue that it is necessary to analyse how precisely *the people* or *the others* are communicatively constructed.[3] With their anthology "Populist Political Communication in Europe", Aalberg et al. 2016 make a central contribution by examining populist communication in 24 different countries.[4] Sven Engesser et al. pursue the approach of specifically examining populist online communication: The authors refer to a "populist communication logic" using the categories "ideology", "style", "strategy" and "messenger".[5] Moreover, authors like Sina Blassnig et al. have developed a model of populist communication: At the centre of this approach is a "people-centrism", for which the "populist communicator" demands sovereignty.[6] "The elite" is being denied sovereignty and "the others" are likewise being excluded; the point is to show that "the people" are different from "the elites" and "the others", what Blassnig et al. call "vertical differentiation" and "horizontal differentiation".[7]

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1   Mudde, Cas (2014): The Populist Zeitgeist. In: *Government and Opposition*, 39:4, p. 541-563, here p. 543. And: Mudde, Cas (2016): Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe Today. In: Abromeit, John / York Norman / Gary Marotta / Bridget María Chesterton: Transformation of Populism in Europe and the Americas. History and Recent Tendencies, p. 295-307. London: Bloomsbury Collections. And: Bos, Linda et al. (2019): The effects of populism as a social identity frame on persuasion and mobilisation: Evidence from a 15-country experiment. In: *European Journal of Political Research*, 59:1, p. 3-24, here p. 6.
2   de Vreese, Claes et al. (2018): Populism as an Expression of Political Communication Content and Style: A New Perspective. In: *International Journal of Press / Politics,* 23:4, p. 423-438, here 425, 431.
3   Aalberg, Toril / Claes H. de Vreese (2018): Comprehending Populist Political Communication. In: Aalberg, Toril et al.: Populist Political Communication in Europa. New York: Routledge, p. 3-11.
4   Aalberg, Toril et al. (2016): Populist Political Communication in Europe. London: Routledge.
5   Engesser, Sven / Nayla Fawzi / Anders Olof Larsson (2017): Populist online communication: introduction to the special issue. In: *Information, Communication & Society*, 20:9, p. 1279-1292, here p. 1280.
6   Blassnig, Sina et al. (2019): Dimensions, Speakers, and Targets. Basic Patterns in European Media Reporting on Populism. In: Reinemann, Carsten et al.: Communicating populism: comparing actor perceptions, media coverage, and effects on citizens in Europe, p. 71-101. New York: Routledge.
7   Blassnig, S. et al. (2019): Dimensions, Speakers, and Targets, p. 73.
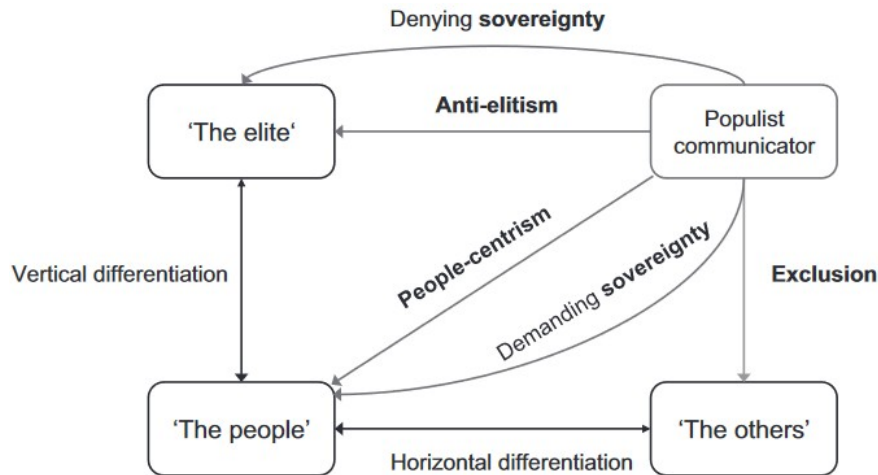
Figure 1: Model of populist communication (Blassnig et al., 2019).

Varying authors emphasise the communicative creation of "the people". Jan Jagers and Stefaan Walgrave classify populism as a "political communication style of political actors that refer to the people", as a mobilisation strategy.[8] Furthermore, populism is a "communication frame that appeals to and identifies with the people and pretends to speak in their name".[9] According to Robert Jansen, populist communication uses "nationalist rhetoric that valorises ordinary people" to demonstrate "closeness to the people".[10] Carsten Reinemann et al. also note this when they argue that "uniting with the people by talking about 'we' and 'us'" is an indispensable part of the "communicative construction" of "the people".[11] Accordingly, an important aspect of populist communication is pointing out "the people", what Werner Wirth et al. call "advocative populist communication".[12]

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8   Jagers, Jan / Stefaan Walgrave (2007): Populism as political communication style. An empirical study of political parties' discourse in Belgium. In: *European Journal of Political Research*, 46:3, p. 319-345, here p. 323.

9   Jagers, J. / S. Walgrave (2007): Populism as political communication style, p. 322.

10   Jansen, Robert S. (2015): Populist Mobilization. A New Theoretical Approach to Populism. In: de la Torre, Carlos: The Promise and Perils of Populism, p. 159-188, here p. 169. Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky. And: Jagers, J. / S. Walgrave (2007): Populism as political communication style, p. 322.

11   Reinemann, Carsten et al. (2016): Populist Political Communication. Toward a Model of Its Causes, Forms, and Effects. In: Aalberg, Toril et al.: Populist Political Communication in Europa, p. 12-28, here p. 14. New York: Routledge.

12   Wirth, Werner et al. (2016): The appeal of populist ideas, strategies and styles: A theoretical model and research design for analyzing populist political communication. Working paper No. 88, p. 47.

Nevertheless, the creation of "out-groups" is central: these "out-groups" may be elites, which is expressed primarily through a "communication that explicitly condemns [...] the current power-holders", the status quo.[13] In 2016, Michael Hameleers, Linda Bos and de Vreese analysed the blaming of elites, examining the influence of "emotionalized blame attribution".[14] Wirth et al. recognise this aspect and distinguish between two communication strategies with regard to anti-elitism: 1. "blame shifting" and 2. "discrediting the elite".[15] As Jagers and Walgrave pointed out in 2007, immigrants are constructed as part of "the others" alongside elites.[16] In this context, the creation of fear, which Ruth Wodak elaborates on in "Politics of Fear", is fundamental.[17] This is done primarily by generating emotions, similar to what Wirz indicates for emotions like "hope", "anger" or "fear".[18] Furthermore, Wodak adds the aspect of "those down there" in the context of the construction of an enemy group and refers to "spongers" or "work-shy".[19] Wirth et al. classify this construction of enemy groups as "conflictive populist communication".[20] Wodak 2021 offers a list of 14 discourses of populist communication.[21]

Table 1: Populist discourses

Discourse 1	Immigration, Migrations, Asylum Seekers
Discourse 2	Cultural and Family Values
Discourse 3	The 'Homeland' – the Nation and its Grand History
Discourse 4	Gender Politics
Discourse 5	The 'Pure' Language – Mother Tongue
Discourse 6	Globalization

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13 de Vreese, C. et al. (2018): Populism as an Expression of Political Communication Content and Style, p. 427.
14 Hameleers, Michael / Linda Bos / Claes de Vreese (2017): "*They* Did it": The Effects of Emotionalized Blame Attribution in Populist Communication. In: *Communication Research*, 44:6, p. 870-900.
15 Wirth, W. et al. (2016): The appeal of populist ideas, strategies and styles, p. 51.
16 Jagers, J. / S. Walgrave (2007): Populism as political communication style, p. 319.
17 Wodak, Ruth (2021): The Politics of Fear. The Shameless Normalization of Far-Right Discourse. 2nd Edition, p. 12. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
18 Wirz, Dominique (2018): Persuasion Through Emotion? An Experimental Test of the Emotion-Eliciting Nature of Populist Communication. In: *International Journal of Communication*, 12:1, p. 1114-1138.
19 Wodak, R. (2021): The Politics of Fear, p. 9.
20 Wirth, W. et al. (2016): The appeal of populist ideas, strategies and styles, p. 47.
21 Wodak, R. (2021): The Politics of Fear, p. 71.

Discourse 7	Occident versus Orient – Christianity versus Islam and Judaism
Discourse 8	Communism
Discourse 9	Citizenship and Belonging – 'Pure' People
Discourse 10	Security, Law and Order
Discourse 11	EU- and Euro-scepticism
Discourse 12	Market Economy
Discourse 13	Democracy and the People
Discourse 14	Privileges and Corruption

Source: own, H. M. following Wodak 2021.

Bengt Johansson and Christina Holtz-Bacha examine how political issues are communicated: According to them, a "use of positive appeals [...] is much more common", but recently an "increase of negativity in electoral campaigning" has become apparent.[22] Central communicative strategies aim to "simplify the political message, gain attention, evoke emotions".[23] Lore Hayek concludes that "personalization reduces complexity".[24] Furthermore, political communication is an instrument to mobilise voters, serving the purpose of "mass persuasion".[25] Authors like Theo van Leeuwen ("visual semiotics") and Müller ("political iconography") show the extent to which considerations on the targeted use of iconography shape visual elements on election posters.[26] Similar reflections are fundamentally shown in the SAGE Handbook of Political Advertising.[27]

22 Johansson, Bengt / Christina Holtz-Bacha (2019): From Analogue to Digital Negativity: Attacks and Counterattacks, Satire, and Absurdism on Election Posters Offline and Online. In: Veneti, Anastasia / Daniel Jackson / Darren Lilleker: Visual Political Communication, p. 99-119, here p. 103 and 115. New York: Springer International Publishing.

23 Geise, Stephanie (2017): Theoretical Perspectives on Visual Political Communication Through Election Posters. In: Holtz-Bacha, Christina / Bengt Johansson: Election Posters Around the Globe. Political Campaigning in the Public Space, p. 11-31, here p. 16. New York: Springer Publishing.

24 Hayek, Lore (2011): Visual Communication in Election Campaigns. In: *The International Journal of the Image,* 3:1, p. 139-146.

25 Partington, Alan / Charlotte Taylor (2017): The Language of Persuasion in Politics. An Introduction. New York: Routledge. And: Seidmann, Steven A. (2008): Posters, Propaganda, and Persuasion in Election Campaigns Around the World and Through History. Bern: Peter Lang, p. 7.

26 van Leeuwen, Theo (2001): Semiotics and Iconography. In: van Leeuwen, Theo / Carey Jewitt: The Handbook of Visual Analysis. London: SAGE Publications Ltd., p. 92-118, here p. 92. And: Müller, Marion G. (2011): Iconography and Iconology as a Visual Method and Approach. In: Margolis, Eric / Luc Pauwels: The SAGE Handbook of Visual Research Methods. London: SAGE Publications Ltd., p. 283-297, here p. 283.

27 Lee Kaid, Lynda / Christina Holtz-Bacha (2006): The SAGE Handbook of Political Advertising. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Election posters are presented in many places as a central medium of political advertising and communication, combining image and text and are, as Stephanie Geise 2017 phrases it, an "established medium of visual political communication", are multimodal in nature.[28] On an election poster, language is combined with "other semiotic resources".[29] In 2017, Holtz-Bacha and Johansson highlight the significance of the visual aspect of election posters, as visual elements are absorbed faster than textual ones, and distinguished between two functions: 1. "Announcement function"; 2. "Mobilising function"; furthermore, the omnipresence of election posters in the public as an "obtrusive medium" is to be emphasised.[30] Campaign slogans embody the "central electoral statement" of a party's campaign and are associated with the party by viewers of election posters.[31] In 2018, Geise differentiates between three types of election posters and calls them "typographic posters" (without pictorial elements), "iconic posters" (without textual elements) and "multimodal, text-image posters" (combination of image and text).[32] During elections, "text-image posters" are particularly dominant, with Geise further distinguishing between "portrait posters" of the candidate and "candidate-image posters" if the candidate is depicted in a dialogue situation – whereas election posters with other motifs can be distinguished between "story-telling posters" (creation of a narrative) or "object posters" (illustration of individuals or other objects).[33] Geise also describes the existence of "target segmentation strategies" to address specific audiences.[34] Narrative creation is explored by Bryan McLaughlin examning the effects of political narratives on voters.[35] Moreover, authors like Dietram

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28 Geise, S. (2017): Theoretical Perspectives on Visual Political Communication Through Election Posters, p. 14.
29 Martínez Lirola, María (2016): Multimodal analysis of a sample of political posters in Ireland during and after the Celtic Tiger. In: *Revista Signos*, 49:91, p. 245-267, here p. 251.
30 Holtz-Bacha, Christina / Bengt Johansson (2017): Posters: From Announcements to Campaign Instruments. In: Holtz-Bacha, Christina / Bengt Johansson: Election Posters Around the Globe. Political Campaigning in the Public Space, p. 1-12, here p. 7-8. New York: Springer Publishing.
31 Holtz-Bacha, C. / B. Johansson (2017): Posters, p. 9.
32 Geise, S. (2017): Theoretical Perspectives on Visual Political Communication Through Election Poster, p. 16.
33 Geise, S. (2017): Theoretical Perspectives on Visual Political Communication Through Election Poster, p. 16.
34 Geise, S. (2017): Theoretical Perspectives on Visual Political Communication Through Election Poster, p. 16.
35 McLaughlin, Bryan / John Velez / Joshua Dunn (2019): The political world within: how citizens process and experience political narratives. In: *Annals of the International Communication Association*, 43:2, p. 156-172.

Scheufele approach the phenomenon of "agenda-setting, priming and framing".[36] Election posters aim to occupy certain terms, to create a story.

This thesis follows studies that analyse the political communication of election posters of the AfD and the FPÖ. In this context, authors like Nicole Doerr examine specific themes of the AfD posters such as "anti-Islam" or "ethno-nationalism" as a central component of the visual mobilisation strategy.[37] In addition, Annika Reitz makes an important contribution by examining the AfD's election posters for the 2017 Bundestagswahl and elaborating on central narratives.[38] Dennis Steffan and Niklas Venema show how mobilisation strategies such as "personalisation" or "negative campaigning" differ between online and traditional election posters of the AfD.[39] For the FPÖ's political communication on election posters, Hayek made a contribution in 2011 by analysing textual and visual elements, highlighting in particular the strategy of personalisation.[40] Theodora Höger elaborates another main topic when she examines the role of migration and Islam on election posters.[41] Maria Rößler, however, adopts a linguistic approach when she analyses posters for the 2017 Nationalratswahl and identifies linguistic strategies.[42]

1.3. Research design

This thesis aims to develop an empirical evidence-driven model on the design of populist communication on election posters of the AfD and FPÖ, the following research

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36 Scheufele, Dietram (2009): Agenda-Setting, Priming, and Framing Revisited: Another Look at Cognitive Effects of Political Communication. In: *Mass Communication and Society*, 3:2-3, p. 297-316.

37 Doerr, Nicole (2021): The Visual Politics of the Alternative for Germany (AfD): Anti-Islam, Ethno-Nationalism, and Gendered Images. In: *Social Sciences.*, 10:1. p. 1-15.

38 Reitz, Annika (2019): Political Campaign Strategies of the party Alternative for Germany: A qualitative Study of Posters for the 2017 Federal Election.

39 Steffan, Dennis / Niklas Venema (2020): New medium, old strategies? Comparing online and traditional campaign posters for German Bundestag elections, 2013-2017. In: *European Journal of Communication*, 35:4, p. 370-388.

40 Hayek, L. (2011): Visual Communication in Election Campaigns, p. 139-146.

41 Höger, Theodora (2018): Framing Migration for Political Success? A Study of Austrian National Election Posters from 1994 and 2017.

42 Rößler, Maria (2018): Die Sprache von Wahlplakaten: eine Analyse von sprachlichen Strategien politischer Werbung anhand von Wahlplakaten der österreichischen Nationalratswahl 2017.

question guides this thesis: *Assuming that election posters make the meaningful and condensed, verbal and visual message of political actions, what is the preferred model of political communication, typical for populist groupings in Germany and Austria?* In this context, it is important to consider which elements constitute the message of populism in these two countries as well as the means by which this communication is constructed. Asking these questions is relevant because advertising with election posters, alongside advertising on TV and despite the influence of digital advertising via social media, still plays a central role.[43] Considering the new possibilities of political campaigning through social media, one might argue that the influence of election posters as a political advertising tool is dwindling. However, one can hardly escape the omnipresence of election posters in public space, they are easily accessible and mobilise people of all generations from different social classes – therefore it seems to be reasonable to consider election posters rather complementary to advertising with social media: Election posters cover real physical areas that social media cannot reach in virtual space.

The gap that this thesis seeks to close becomes apparent: While the medium of the election poster is still an established tool in the run-up to elections to mobilise voters, this type of advertising is subject to less research. Instead, studies focus on mobilisation and polarisation via online campaigning.[44] Other publications analyse speeches or party programmes. This work, however, aims to develop an empirical evidence-driven model of populist political communication based on an analysis of election posters of populist parties, using the AfD in Germany and the FPÖ in Austria.

The material selected is a set of election posters from regional, national and European elections since 2013. A total of 208 election posters were compiled, press and

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43 Holtz-Bacha, Christina / Eva-Maria Lessinger (2017): Indispensable and Very Much Alive: Posters in German Election Campaigns. In: Holtz-Bacha, Christina / Bengt Johansson: Election Posters Around the Globe, p. 159-186. New York: Springer Publishing. And: Lilleker, Darren / Nigel Jackson (2011): Political Campaigning, Elections and the Internet. New York: Routledge.
44 See: Owen, Diana (2017): New Media and Political Campaigns. In: Kenski, Kate / Kathleen Hall Jamieson: The Oxford Handbook of Political Communication. Oxford: Oxford University Press. And: Stier, Sebastian (2018): Election Campaigning on Social Media: Politicians, Audiences, and the Mediation of Political Communication on Facebook and Twitter. In: *Political Communication*, 35:1, p. 50-74.

communication teams were contacted with the request to provide election posters. Furthermore, the collection of material was complemented with online databases, the election posters are written in German with the respective translations provided by the author. The period 2013-2021 was chosen because the AfD first entered the political arena in 2013 and the last regional elections took place in 2021. Moreover, the choice of material across different elections justifies the assumption that typical elements can be identified in every election. Examining the election posters of only two populist parties is to a certain extent a limitation of this thesis, but nevertheless promises to provide insight about typical elements of populist communication on election posters. The case selection of this thesis is limited to the AfD in Germany and the FPÖ in Austria. Both parties serve as an example of populist parties in Central Europe. Furthermore, both parties have a comparable political culture, the countries have significant historical similarities and share advertising with election posters as a central medium in the election campaign. A most-similar-case is applied.

The research problem becomes evident: Populist parties communicate purposefully on posters and package their political messages textually and visually. In the case of the election poster, the central message is condensed because there is only a limited amount of space available and language is deliberately chosen. What pervades this thesis is the endeavour to identify typical conceptual elements of postering and to design an empirical evidence-driven model of populist communication of AfD and FPÖ. This requires an appropriate methodological approach.

In order to be able to develop a model based on empirical data, different authors resort to the Grounded Theory approach. Authors like Barney Glaser, Anselm Strauss and Juliet Corbin or Kathy Charmaz have differing ideas about how to apply categories to the material and how to deal with prior theoretical knowledge: Fundamentally, Glaser follows the approach that the data "could speak for itself", he advocates an open and inductive approach of the "unbiased *tabula rasa*" researcher.[45] Furthermore, Glaser

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45 Thornberg, Robert / Kathy Charmaz (2014): Grounded Theory and Theoretical Coding. In: Flick, Uwe: The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis, p. 153-169, here 154. London: SAGE Publications Ltd. And: Thornberg, Robert / Ciarán Dunne (2019): Literature Review in Grounded Theory. In: Bryant, Antony / Kathy Charmaz: The SAGE Handbook of Current Developments in Grounded Theory, p. 206-221, here 208. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

argues that "literature should not be reviewed prior to data collection" in order to ensure the researcher's impartiality as far as possible.[46] However, Strauss and Corbin advocate a different approach, stating that familiarisation with the relevant literature prior to analysis "enhance one's sensitivity to subtle nuances in data".[47] Therefore, Strauss and Corbin's approach "moved the method towards verification", one does not approach the material in a completely unbiased way.[48] Charmaz takes a different approach by assuming that "neither data nor theories are discovered, but rather are constructed".[49] In other words, Charmaz considers the positivist Grounded Theory approach to be a constructivist Grounded Theory approach, but takes into account the "inductive, comparative [...] approach of Glaser and Strauss's (1967) original statement".[50]

This thesis is based on the Grounded Theory approach following Charmaz. The rationale for choosing this method can be justified by the fact that this approach enables a strong text-based analysis and is therefore considered useful and purposeful. According to Charmaz, the aim is to deal with the data as unbiased as possible, therefore it makes sense to devote oneself to the final literature review only after the analysis, so that no predefined categories guide the analysis.[51] Charmaz makes a fundamental distinction between "extant texts" and "elicited texts"; subsequently, election posters are examined, which belong to "extant texts", since the researcher "does not affect their construction".[52] In order to systematically analyse election posters, the material was coded using MAXQDA software.

Charmaz divides the coding process into "initial coding" and "focused coding".[53] In the first step, "initial coding", the researcher works closely with the material, creating codes to break down the data.[54] In this thesis, visual or textual segments of the election posters

46 Thornberg, R. / C. Dunne (2019): Literature Review in Grounded Theory, p. 208.
47 Thornberg, R. / C. Dunne (2019): Literature Review in Grounded Theory, p. 210.
48 Charmaz, Kathy (2006): Constructing Grounded Theory. A Practical Guide through Qualitative Analysis, p. 8. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
49 Thornberg, R. / C. Dunne (2019): Literature Review in Grounded Theory, p. 210.
50 Charmaz, Kathy (2014): Constructing Grounded Theory. 2nd Edition, p. 12. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
51 Thornberg, R. / C. Dunne (2019): Literature Review in Grounded Theory, p. 210.
52 Charmaz, K. (2006): Constructing Grounded Theory, p. 36-37.
53 Thornberg, R. / K. Charmaz (2014): Grounded Theory and Theoretical Coding, p. 156.
54 Belgrave, Linda Liska / Kapriskie Seide (2019): Coding for Grounded Theory. In: Bryant, Antony / Kathy Charmaz: The SAGE Handbook of Current Developments, p. 167-185, here p. 176. London:

were selected and assigned a corresponding code. In addition to this classical way of coding, it was helpful to code segments using other MAXQDA tools ("colour-coding" or "highlighter coding"). Thereby, it is important that the codes do not only reflect the depicted information, but already show an increased level of abstraction.[55] First codes were, for instance, the portrayal of a politician, the national flag or the identification of central groups such as "immigrants" or "EU".

In the second step, the "focused coding", central categories are to be developed based on all codes.[56] These categories serve as the basis for theory building. Categories are created "that have the most analytic power or determine a new code that captures a number of initial codes".[57] After identifying central groups such as "immigrants", "economic elite", "political parties" or the "EU", the next step was to form the category "the others". MAXQDA also offers a tool for this: The "Creative Coding function" supports sorting codes on a large surface. This visual representation makes it possible to identify similarities and differences between the codes and group them into categories.

Finally, a model will be built based on central categories. The coding in the analytical part forms the "bones of [...] analysis", the "theoretical integration" is the step that, according to Charmaz, brings these "bones into a working skeleton".[58] MAXQDA offers the MAXMaps feature to visualise the relationship of the codes, concept maps were created. MAXQDA not only facilitates the different steps in coding, but the memo function within the framework of the Grounded Theory approach is also noteworthy. First ideas, impressions and questions can be expressed with this function and reconsidered in a later stage. Charmaz also recognises the added value of writing memos, it offers a "space and place for exploration and discovery".[59]

SAGE Publications Ltd.

55 Bücker, Nicola (2020): How to Code Your Qualitative Data – A Comparison Between Grounded Theory Methodology and Qualitative Content Analysis. In: *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 21:1, p. 1-30, here p. 10.

56 Bücker, N. (2020): How to Code Your Qualitative Data, p. 10.

57 Belgrave, L. / K. Seide (2019): Coding for Grounded Theory, p. 176.

58 Charmaz, K. (2006): Constructing Grounded Theory, p. 47.

59 Charmaz, K. (2006): Constructing Grounded Theory, p. 81-82.

In this thesis, categories were inductively created and combined in several stages using the Grounded Theory approach in order to examine what typical elements of the election posters of the AfD and FPÖ are. The following main categories emerged during the analysis and structure the main part of this thesis: "representation", "content", "creation" and "target of populist communication".

The method of this thesis includes methodological challenges, especially the justification of category building. Making those methodological decisions requires a level of abstraction on the part of the researcher. In this context, the awareness of the subjectivity of the researcher needs to be pointed out, which to a certain extent can be regarded as limitation and disadvantage. Coding and category building are a subjective process and already contain an initial interpretation with consequences for the model to be developed. After "initial coding", according to Charmaz, central categories are formed in "focused coding". How this step was carried out is illustrated by the following visualisation using the example of the category "content of populist communication", to show how abstract categories were derived from subcategories.

The first codes describe the use of individual words like "truth" or "justice", which were combined into "values" during the analysis, as they appeal to a value image of the viewers of the posters. In a next step, the category "we" was created by working out different terms or motifs that emphasise commonalities and the existence of the "real people". Accordingly, this category includes codes that emphasise such a content orientation, like the reference to a common homeland or the emphasis on a traditional family image. In contrast, the mention of "Islam" or "immigration" are assigned to the category "immigrants". This category includes codes that name the consequences of immigration or specifically cultural characteristics of Islam. Again, the category "immigrants" is a subcategory of "enemies". In addition to this one group of enemies, for example, economic elites or political opponents were defined as further enemy groups. Overall, the content of the political messages of the election posters was divided into the categories "we", "the others" and "policy fields".
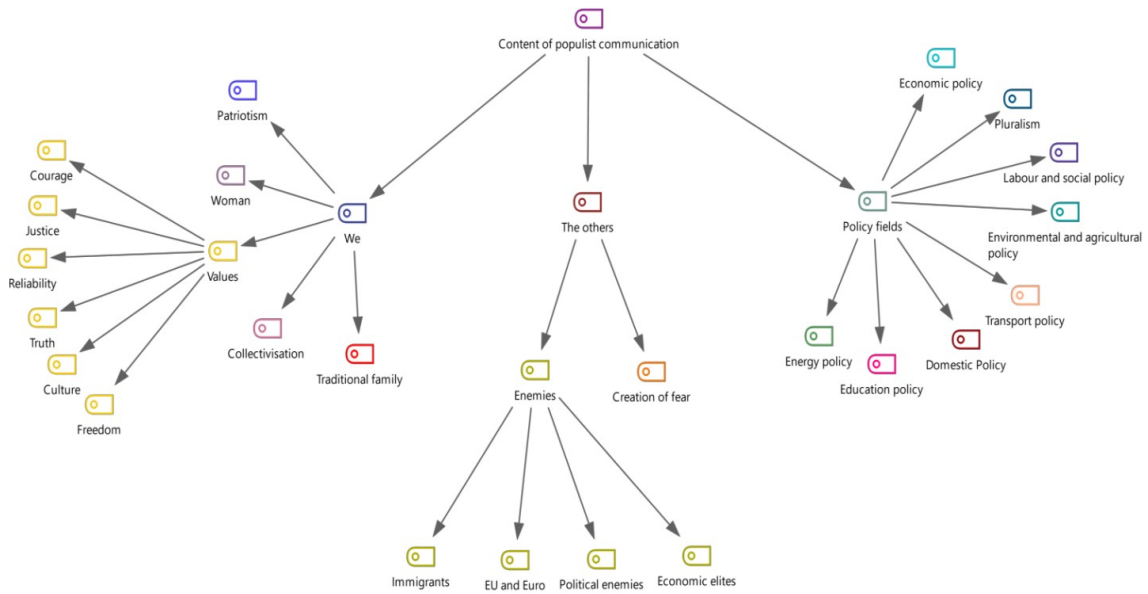
Figure 2: MAXMaps: Content of populist communication.

Source: own, H. M.

This example of the MAXMaps tool ("Hierarchical-Code-Subcode-Model") serve to illustrate how methodological decisions were made and justify the category building.

The following tables illustrate the operationalisation of these categories.

Table 2: Representation of populist communication

Politicians are the central object of the poster.	Politicians	**Central motif**
Photo motifs are the central object of the poster.	Photo motif	
Pure text forms the central object of the poster.	Text	
Election crosses are depicted.	Election cross	**Signs and symbols**
Regional / national flags are depicted.	Flag	

Source: own, H. M.

Table 3: Content of populist communication

Possessive and personal pronouns are used.	Collectivisation	**We**
Terms of the entire nation or the specific region appeal to a shared, proud sense of home.	Patriotism	
A traditional family image consisting of father, mother,	Traditional	

child is propagated.		family image	
Expressions appealing to the courage of the viewers of the election posters.	Courage	Values	
Expressions demanding justice / more justice.	Justice		
Expressions showing the responsibility of the party / voters.	Responsibility		
Expressions demanding truth / more truth.	Truth		
Expressions embodying a common national culture.	Culture		
Words that are tangential to the topic of immigrants: Refugees, Islam.	Immigrants	Enemy images	**The other**
Expressions showing the misbehaviour of political opponents.	Political opponents		
Terms addressing the construct of the EU and its policies.	EU		
Words highlighting the existence of economic elites.	Economic elites		
Textual or visual elements creating fear or show a threat.	Creating fear		
Expressions highlighting economic policy issues: Market economy, rents.	Economic policy		**Policy fields**
Expressions that are tangential to national labour policy and the social system: Pensions, care, wages.	Labour and social policy		
Expressions revealing domestic policy issues.	Domestic policy		
Expressions embodying educational policy content: School system, education.	Education policy		
Mentioning other, smaller policy areas: Environmental and agricultural policy, transport policy, energy policy, pointing out a pluralistic society.	Other policy areas		

Source: own, H. M.

Table 4: Construction of populist communication

Exclamation marks are depicted.	Exclamation marks	**Punctuation marks**
Question marks are depicted.	Question marks	
Inverted commas are depicted.	Inverted commas	
Verbs expressing the process of voting.	Verbs of voting	**Verbs**
Verbs establishing a paternalistic relationship and are protective.	Paternalistic verbs	
Verbs demanding the ending of something.	Verbs of termination	
Verbs calling for something to be improved.	Verbs of improving	
Other verbs demanding different things; verbs addressing economic-political processes; verbs emphasising something divisive.	Other verbs	
Use of verbs in imperative form.	Imperatives	
Expressions including colloquialisms.	Colloquial expressions	**Playing with language**
Expressions negating something.	Expressions of negation	
Using a second language.	Second language	
Striking choice of words.	Choice of words	

Source: own, H. M.

Table 5: Target of populist communication

Posters propagating a strong nation state.	**Germany / Austria first**
Posters demonstrating negative aspects of the consequences of immigration.	**People who are anti-immigrants**
Posters addressing social groups: the socially disadvantaged, families, senior citizens, young people.	**Social groups**
Posters appealing to the general dissatisfaction of voters.	**Dissatisfied people**
Posters targeting other groups such as "fearful people" or "anti-EU".	**Other groups**

Source: own, H. M.

II. Analysis of populist communication on election poster

In the following, the typical elements on the election posters of the AfD and FPÖ are examined in four steps.[60] Based on this, the final part presents an empirical evidence-driven model of populist communication for the medium of the election poster.

2.1. Representation of populist communication

First, the question of what the central motifs of the election posters are and thus how the political messages are communicated visually is addressed.

2.1.1. What is typical?

Central elements of the representation of populist communication are:

1. Personalisation is central (85 posters), the aim being to create recognition value. Polarising photo motifs (67 posters) and advertising with text passages (51 posters) serve to attract attention. However, the respective parties pursue different strategies: The AfD primarily tries to mobilise with polarising photo motifs, the FPÖ relies on personalised election campaigns.

2. AfD and FPÖ deliberately use signs and symbols. Signs like the national flag are key (148 posters). Thereby, an appeal is made to a national / regional identity. Election crosses as a symbol are similarly important (89 posters) and serve to mobilise people; they poster the call to vote for the respective party. A simplification of the message through national / regional signs can be identified as well as an activation through the election cross to indicate the importance of the election.

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60 Selected election posters are presented below to illustrate the most important results. An overview of these exemplary election posters, including a translation by the author, can be found on the back.

2.1.2. Central motive

The analysis of the central motif has focused on three categories: 1. advertising with politicians; 2. advertising with photo motifs; 3. advertising with text.

As a first option, personification and simplification take place through the **depiction of political personalities.** Politicians are supposed to generate a certain recognition value. For the AfD, advertising with politicians is a minority (8 posters). The posters focus on politicians from the party leadership: in addition to Lucke, Meuthen and Gauland, Petry and Weidel are depicted as female politicians smiling friendly into the camera. This creates a closeness to the viewer of the poster. While the AfD hardly ever advertises with regional politicians, they are depicted smiling at the camera.

Poster 1

However, for the FPÖ, advertising with politicians is central (77 posters). In every election examined in the period 2013-2021, the FPÖ advertises with politicians. In national and European elections up to 2019, the FPÖ consistently advertises with Strache smiling friendly into the camera. Due to the Ibiza scandal in 2019 and Strache's personal complicity, the party leadership was restructured in 2019, Strache was expelled and Hofer and Kickl henceforth represented the leadership and the central motifs on the election posters. The fact that regional FPÖ politicians are depicted in all regional elections is striking. Most of them look friendly into the camera and smile.

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Poster 2

Poster 3

For a second option, **advertising with a photo motif** is important. The analysis of the photo motifs of the posters revealed the subcategories "people", "animal" and "other object". For the AfD, advertising with photo motifs is central (59 posters), motifs depicting people are particularly striking (30 posters). Furthermore, the analysis of the representation of women is revealing (15 posters), women are presented as in need of protection: For example, a crying girl is depicted (Bavaria 2018) or a half-naked woman chained to a radiator (Saxony 2019). It is obvious that these election posters suggest fear, while women are postered as the core victim group. Explicitly sexist motifs are also pictured: Women in bikinis (Bundestag 2017; Bavaria 2018) or a pregnant woman with part of her bare belly (Bundestag 2017) are portrayed. The family is understood as a family in the traditional sense: Father, mother and children are shown (Bundestag 2017, Bavaria 2018).

Moreover, the men depicted on the posters embody traditional values by wearing a traditional costume (Bundestag 2017). Animal motifs underline the message of the respective poster: a piglet, for instance, illustrates that Islam would not be suitable for German cuisine (Bavaria 2018) and sheep symbolise the rejection of slaughter (Saxony 2019). The category "other objects" takes up a large share of the AfD's mobilisation strategy (23 posters), the aim is to generate emotions. Primarily, these motifs show economic-political considerations: A burning banknote is shown (Saxony-Anhalt 2016) or a Euro sinking into water (Baden-Württemberg 2016). From this observation it is already clear that a threatening disposition is created. This emotion is also produced by a Germany flag perforated by bullets (Baden-Württemberg 2021).

19

Poster 4

Poster 5

The posters of the FPÖ are hardly based on photo motifs (8 posters), it is essentially limited to advertising with people. Moreover, the way in which a group of people is portrayed, for example advertising with young people or senior citizens, reflects both the political message and the target group of these posters.

Poster 6

The third category is **advertising with texts** containing no visual elements. For the AfD, this group is central (33 posters) and primarily aims to polarise, convince and mobilise with content in the context of regional elections. The content of these texts varies considerably and will be examined in more detail in chapter 2.2. Furthermore, the FPÖ advertises with only text on posters (20 posters). A trend can be identified: For national or EU elections, there is hardly any advertising with such posters. Again, the

observation can be made that particularly for regional elections, text passages are used for advertising.

Poster 7

Poster 8

2.1.3. Signs and symbols

Apart from the respective central motif of the election posters, it can be noted that the parties repeatedly resort to symbolic means of communication. These aim to evoke certain feelings so that viewers of election posters feel addressed, while symbols serve to mobilise and identify.

With the **use of the election cross** as a symbol, there is a direct effect on the viewer of the poster. It not only suggests voting as part of the democratic process, but also invites the viewer to vote for the party – to place a cross. What is striking about the AfD posters (36 posters) is that the election cross is drawn in a typical colour of the respective regional election, in red or blue, creating a visual similarity to the traditional AfD party logo colours.

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The FPÖ employs the symbol of the election cross extensively (53 posters). Moreover, the colour of the election cross on the posters varies between red and blue according to the colours of the party logo. Also, the fact that election crosses are playfully integrated can be seen: The "o" in the name "Hofer" (Federal presidential election 2016) or in "FPÖ voten" ("Vote FPÖ", EU 2019) are accompanied by an election cross.

Poster 9

Poster 10

Moreover, there is another sign that is supposed to mobilise the viewers of the election posters: **national / regional flags** or colours of these flags. The AfD uses this sign exclusively in the context of regional elections (63 posters). On some posters, the German flag is depicted in addition to regional coats of arms (Saxony-Anhalt 2016; Saxony 2019; Thuringia 2019). It must be mentioned here that the AfD was able to achieve a particularly high election result at regional level in the federal states of Saxony-Anhalt, Saxony and Thuringia.

22

Poster 11

Poster 12

The majority of FPÖ posters feature flags (85 posters, 147 flags). The largest share is taken up by the Austrian flag, especially in national elections like the 2019 Nationalratswahl, it is evident that several of such flags are used on one election poster. Furthermore, the coat of arms of individual regions creates a similar effect as the Austrian flag and conveys a close regional bond.

Poster 13

These results can be visualised with a tool from MAXQDA, the Code-Matrix-Browser: The overview illustrates the code frequencies on the posters, the calculation of the symbol size is based on all coded segments of the election posters.

23

Figure 3: Code-Matrix-Browser: "Representation of populist communication".

Source: own, H. M.

It can be concluded that advertising with symbols like the national flag is an iterative feature of populist communication. Similar to the election cross, this is an element that is not directly noticeable, but has a strongly suggestive effect. The observation that the FPÖ advertises significantly more with politicians, while the AfD relies more on advertising with text or photographs, can be explained by the fact that the FPÖ has a particularly long tradition of advertising with a strong personality, such as Haider a few decades ago. According to this, the FPÖ has a stronger potential for identification with the party leadership than the AfD. The AfD primarily tries to mobilise voters with polarising texts or photo motifs.

2.2. Content of populist communication

Previously, it was analysed how political messages are visually represented. In a second step, the content of populist communication on election posters is now to be explored. During the analysis of the election posters, three central categories emerged: 1. creation of "we"; 2. creation of "the others"; 3. use of policy fields.

2.2.1. Creation of "we"

This part is about determining how the group of "we" is constructed on the election posters. Four categories can be identified: 1. patriotism; 2. values; 3. collectivisation; 4. traditional family image.

2.2.1.1. What is typical?

The "we" on the election posters of AfD and FPÖ is built on four pillars:

1. Election posters embody patriotism through the use of national colours and allusions to national commonalities (135 posters). Both parties refer to a common homeland in trying to appeal to national / regional identity. By addressing the viewers in this way, the parties create a feeling of being understood, of closeness.

2. Different moral values are addressed in order to mobilise (109 posters). For the AfD, the values "courage" (46 posters) and "truth" (16 posters) are central. Voters should dare to vote for the AfD, a stigmatisation of AfD voters is to be counteracted and potential doubts about a taboo decision in favour of the AfD are to be dispelled. The AfD would fight for the truth and only tell the truth. For the FPÖ, the values "loyalty" (20 posters) and "justice" (17 posters) are dominant. Moreover, the narrative is that the FPÖ acts loyally and reliably, fighting for justice so that Austria experiences fairness.

3. Election posters aim at collectivisation (78 posters) by appealing to common virtues of the viewers of the posters and presupposing a consensus of values. The parties try to

build a sense of community and achieve this with the help of personal and possessive pronouns. Furthermore, the viewer of the posters feels safe, understood and part of a larger whole.

4. The family image is understood as a traditional family image. AfD and FPÖ advertise with a traditional family image consisting of father, mother and children (22 posters).
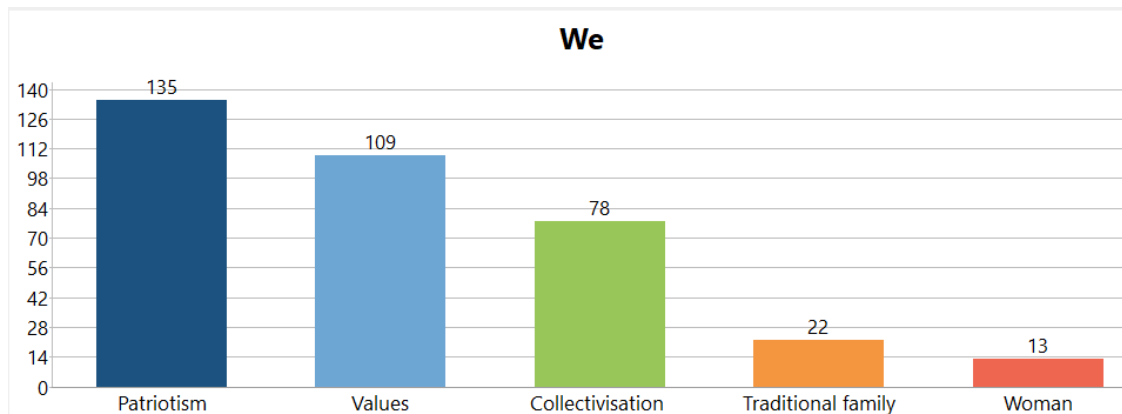
Figure 4: Bar chart for the code "We".

Source: own, H. M.

2.2.1.2. Generating patriotism

The following section examines how the appeal to a sense of home is constructed. By naming a common homeland, viewers of the posters are addressed as a common group.

The AfD appeals to a national identity (53 posters). This national identity is obviously shaped by the term "Deutschland" ("Germany"), exclamations like "Mut zu Deutschland" ("Courage for Germany", EU 2014) or the question "Und was ist Ihr Grund, für Deutschland zu kämpfen?" ("And what is your reason for fighting for Germany?", Bundestag 2017), set out this reference to Germany as a nation. In contrast, expressions such as "Mut zu Brandenburg" ("Courage to Brandenburg", Brandenburg 2014) or "Mut zwischen den Meeren" ("Courage between the seas", Schleswig-Holstein 2017) imply a regional identity.

Poster 14

Poster 15

Similar results can be found on the election posters of the FPÖ (79 posters). Posters on the national or European level understand the homeland as an entire nation; exclamations like "Österreich braucht Dich" ("Austria needs you", EU 2019) or "Für Österreich mit Herz und Seele" ("For Austria with heart and soul", Presidential election 2016) adorn the posters. However, exclamations such as "Für unser Tirol" ("For our Tyrol", Tyrol 2018) or "Salzburger Frühling" ("Salzburg Spring", Salzburg 2018) are intended to strengthen regional identities.

Poster 16

2.2.1.3. Appealing to values

The second pillar of the construction of the "we" on election posters is the targeted appeal to values (109 posters). An imaginary group is created that possesses and appreciates the ideal virtues implying that this group must vote for the party representing the validity of these values. AfD (66 posters) and FPÖ (43 posters) both appeal to moral convictions like courage, justice, responsibility, truth, and culture.

The value **"courage"** constitutes a first category. For the AfD, this value is central (46 posters): The central campaign slogan "Mut zu Deutschland" ("Courage for Germany") dominates the posters for the 2014 EU elections, calling on the viewer to have the courage to vote for the AfD. Likewise, the campaign slogan "Mut zur Wahrheit" ("Courage for the truth", Bundestag 2013) encourages people to stand up for the truth. Furthermore, the AfD is presented as a party that dares to tell the truth, to name reality. The fact that the concept of courage is a central pillar of the AfD's mobilisation strategy is also evident by the central campaign slogan in the 2017 Bundestagswahl: "Trau Dich, Deutschland!" ("Dare, Germany!"). Other campaign slogans around this value can be identified on posters for regional elections, such as "Hanseatisch. Mutig. Unbequem." ("Hanseatic. Courageous. Uncomfortable", Hamburg 2020) or "Unbequem. Real. Mutig" ("Uncomfortable. Genuine. Courageous", Berlin 2016). The emphasis on courage refers to the breaking of taboos that is perceived in Germany with the commitment to AfD. It is not considered socially acceptable to vote for the AfD.

Poster 17

Poster 18

28

37:5991574347
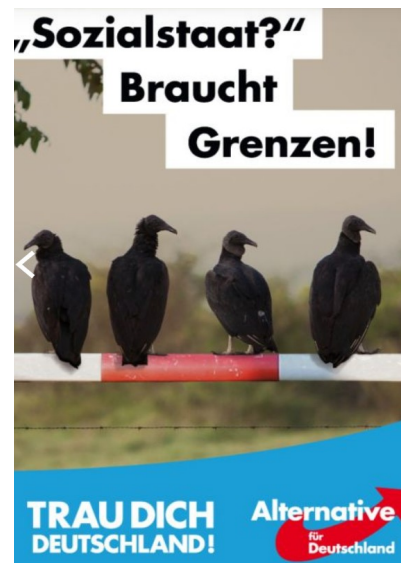
The situation is different in Austria, where the FPÖ has long been part of the established party spectrum. However, the FPÖ hardly uses terms related to the value of "courage" in its advertising, the only one being "entschlossen" ("resolute", Salzburg 2018).

A further category constitutes the value **"justice"**. In the case of the AfD, this is a small group and is only addressed in the 2016 / 2021 regional elections in Baden-Württemberg. In 2016, this value was advertised in connection with Grundgesetz Art. 1, it reads "Die Würde der Frauen ist unantastbar" ("The dignity of women is inviolable"), whereby the original refers to "human beings" and not only to "women".

For the FPÖ, "justice" plays an important role (17 posters). A central term in the midst of this category is "fairness", which is part of the campaign slogan for the 2017 Nationalratswahl ("Österreicher verdienen Fairness", "Austrians deserve fairness"). Hence, this has a clear psychological effect: the viewers of the posters agree that they should experience more fairness. This can happen in different areas and therefore this value of "fairness" can be combined with diverse contents. Another poster in 2017 says "Der rot-schwarze Speck muss weg" ("The red-black fat must go"), this statement, together with the demand for fairness, leads the viewer to think that it would almost only be considered fair if "rot-schwarz" ("red-black") were voted out. For the 2019 Nationalratswahl, the tricolon "Fair. Sozial. Heimattreu." ("Fair. Social. Loyal to the homeland.") is being used for advertising, including a reference to three values.

Poster 20

Poster 19

The third category is formed around the value **"responsibility"**. While the AfD rarely addresses this value, it can be found, for instance, on election posters for the regional elections in Saxony in 2019, with one poster demanding "Bessere Pflege für unsere Besten" ("Better care for our best"). It is made clear that the responsibility is to take better care of the elderly. Moreover, a similar image of values is visible on another poster: a firefighter holds a little girl in his arms, fire can be seen in the background, the impression of a dramatic situation is created, with the addition of "Für unser Engagement" ("For our commitment", Saxony 2019), the value of responsibility is again appealed to. In this regard, the context of the fire brigade also plays a role. Since there are both professional and voluntary fire brigades in Germany, adding the word "commitment" seems to be an appeal that, insofar as one values this commitment or exercises it oneself, one needs to vote for the AfD.

For the FPÖ, this value plays a central role (20 posters): Besides "Respekt für die ältere Generation" ("Respect for the older generation", Upper Austria 2015), this theme can furthermore be found on a poster for the regional election in Salzburg 2013 ("Respekt für alle Generationen", "Respect for all generations"). Moreover, the frontrunner Hofer is portrayed as someone "mitten im Leben" ("in the middle of life"), as a "Stimme der Vernunft" ("voice of reason") or as a politician "mit Herz und Seele" ("with heart and soul") during the 2016 federal presidential election – these are expressions suggesting that Hofer acts reliably and responsibly.

Poster 21

Poster 22

The AfD advertises with the value of **"truth"** (16 posters). Particularly much attention is paid to this value with the central campaign slogan "Mut zur Wahrheit" ("Courage for the truth", Bundestag 2013). Through this term, the political messages communicated on the posters are legitimised to a certain extent. These are economic policy statements, like that the Euro would ruin and divide Europe or that a peaceful Europe would not need a Euro. Another term is "reality" which is part of the election campaign slogan "Unser Programm heißt Realität" ("Our programme is called reality", NRW 2017). It is striking that election posters combine this aspect of "reality" with different policy fields, contents of transport, energy or domestic policy are addressed. The AfD thus claims the sovereignty of interpretation for these areas and devalues other parties.

Poster 23

Poster 24

Likewise, the FPÖ uses the value of "truth". Hence, it is advertised that the truth is reasonable, the frontrunner Haimbuchner is presented as someone fighting for the truth and even more, communicating it (Upper Austria 2015). The frontrunner Bitschi (Vorarlberg 2019) is portrayed in a similar way. According to this, he is someone who would say "was Sache ist" ("what's going on"). Once again, the ideal image is portrayed that the frontrunner tells the truth, he comes across as approachable and trustworthy. This conspicuous feature of frontrunners portraying themselves with this value is also supported by a poster for the regional elections in Burgenland in 2020, according to

which the FPÖ, and in this case frontrunner Tschürtz, is "glaubwürdig und verlässlich" ("credible and reliable").

Poster 25

The value of **"culture"** on AfD election posters refers in particular to "German culture". Furthermore, the fact that culture is understood as "German culture" is visualised by the poster "Deutsche Leitkultur! Islam-freieschools!" ("German main culture! Islam-free schools", Bavaria 2018). The concept of culture, and even more so the concept of "Leitkultur" ("main culture"), is meant to illustrate that the AfD clearly positions itself against the influence of Islam and seeks to reinforce German culture. Moreover, the concept of "culture" on the posters implies that there are ideological differences between German culture and Islam.

Poster 26

Poster 27

Another poster alludes to this distinction, it demands "Kulturraum schützen!" ("Protect cultural space!") and the supplement says "Festung Europa" ("Fortress Europe", Bavaria 2018). Instead of pointing out possible commonalities, however, the idea is to "protect" one's own, European cultural space from another culture. Islam takes on a predominant role in highlighting different cultural ideas: It is addressed with "Unser Land, unsere Regeln! Burkas? Wir stehen auf Bikinis!" ("Our country, our rules! Burkas? We like bikinis!", Bavaria 2018). First, the term "Regeln" ("rules") emphasises the reference to certain legal and cultural concepts – since it is "unser Land" ("our country"), "unsere Regeln" ("our rules") would dominate as well. However, the fact that the term "burka" and "Islam" are then advertised with a critical distance implies that the concept of culture on the posters is understood as German culture. This image is also carried by a poster for the regional elections in Berlin in 2016, it states that the AfD is committed to the "German Leitkultur" ("German main culture") and that Islam does not belong to Germany. In particular, a poster reading "Christliche Werte bewahren! Der Islam gehört nicht zu Bayern!" ("Preserve Christian values! Islam does not belong to Bavaria!", Bavaria 2018) featuring a statue of Jesus, sums up the results of this category well. The point is that one's own cultural space, in this case even more precisely, Christian values, must be protected from outside influences such as Islam.

However, the FPÖ does not employ the value "culture" much, it is mainly used visually. By wearing a traditional costume (Salzburg 2018) or depicting a crescent moon (Vienna 2020), the antagonistic relationship between one's own culture and foreign culture is symbolically visualised. In 2013, the central election campaign slogan was "Höchste Zeit für Nächstenliebe" ("High time for charity"): "Asylbetrüger" ("asylum fraudsters") should leave or "Pleite-Staaten" ("bankrupt states") should not receive any further support – in contrast, it is "höchste Zeit für Nächstenliebe" ("high time for charity"). Advertising with this statement as an allusion to this very commandment and a central concept of Christianity and then to deny support to a group shows that Christian symbolism is merely used as an empty vehicle to polarise. These posters once again demonstrate that there is a distinction between one's own group and a foreign group. This is also stated on another poster: "Liebe deine Nächsten. Für mich sind das unsere

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Österreicher" ("Love your neighbours. For me, that are our Austrians"). Not only does it become clear that Strache is clearly in favour of a stronger position for Austrians, but it is suggested that other people, not Austrians, do not need to be loved as "neighbours". Another reference to Christian values is visible in the 2016 federal presidential election. The addition "So wahr mir Gott helfe" ("So help me god") is an allusion to the fact that Hofer, as future Federal President, would take the oath of office with religious affirmation.

Poster 28

2.2.1.4. Collectivising

A third pillar of the construction of the "we" involves the collectivisation of the viewers of the posters. This collectivisation is generated by the use of personal and possessive pronouns, thus creating a proximity between the viewer and the party.

On a multitude of posters (41 posters), the AfD collectivises, possessive pronouns are used – "unsere Kinder" ("our children", Mecklenburg-Vorpommern 2016), "unsere Frauen und Töchter" ("our women and daughters", Bavaria 2018) or "unser Land" ("our country", Baden-Württemberg 2016) are referred to. It is noteworthy that the use of possessive pronouns is mainly in connection with nouns of the family, like children, women or citizens, on the one hand, or with nouns of the territory, such as country, home, Germany or Hamburg, on the other. Through words like "unsere Heimat" ("our homeland", Saxony-Anhalt 2016), an attempt is clearly made to include the viewer of the poster. Moreover, the aim is to emphasise the common homeland, thereby creating a

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feeling that this common homeland also entails obligations and that it is only right to vote for AfD in order to protect this common homeland. This feeling is reinforced by personal pronouns. By "wir gemeinsam handeln" ("we act together", Mecklenburg-Vorpommern 2016) or more generally "wir handeln" ("we act", Hamburg 2020), but also "wir" ("we") already have a "bunte Vielfalt" ("colourful diversity", Bundestag 2017), this communal actionism is emphasised. In these cases, the "we" is equated with the AfD's vision of Germany. The election call thereby also includes collectivisation, as is made clear in the 2017 Bundestag election with "Trau Dich, Deutschland!" ("Dare, Germany!"). It is recognisable that the viewer of the poster is not only addressed by possessive or personal pronouns and a feeling of collectivisation is built up, but also that an appeal is made to the entire nation with "Deutschland" ("Germany").

Poster 29

Poster 30

Furthermore, the FPÖ uses the stylistic device of collectivisation (39 posters). For instance, possessive pronouns such as "unsere Leut'" ("our people", Salzburg 2018), "unsere Senioren" ("our seniors", Tyrol 2018) or "unsere Eltern" ("our parents", Burgenland 2015) are mentioned. It is striking that these are nouns that refer to people. Besides this, the group of nouns referring to "unsere Heimat" ("our homeland", EU 2019), "unsere Sprache" ("our language", Nationalratswahl 2019) or "unser Wien" ("our Vienna", Vienna 2020) is also significant. This illustrates that the possessive

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pronouns emphasise people on the one hand and Austria as such on the other. The viewer of the posters is supposed to feel obliged to vote FPÖ. Here, the personal pronouns are used more in the sense that the "we" is the FPÖ and not the entire nation. For example, the FPÖ advertises with "wir stützen" ("we support", Tyrol 2018) or "wir geben Euch zurück, was sie Euch nehmen" ("we give back to you what they take from you", Nationalratswahl 2017).

Poster 31

Poster 32

2.2.1.5. Propagating a traditional family image

A recurring element of the AfD posters is the family (14 posters). Here, the family is understood in a traditional sense and consists of mother, father and child. If this framework is adhered to, it is part of the "we". For example, the pictogram of an election poster (Baden-Württemberg 2016) depicting a woman, a man and two children illustrates this aspect. How this traditional image of the family is combined with emotion is presented by the AfD in the 2017 Bundestagswahl. One poster shows party politician Petry holding an infant, asking "Und was ist Ihr Grund für Deutschland zu kämpfen?" ("And what is your reason for fighting for Germany?"). In the same election campaign, another poster portrays a family on the beach, holding hands and running towards the sea. The poster advertises "'Traditionell'"? Uns gefällt's." ("'Traditional?' We like it."). Simultaneously, it excludes those families or couples that do not fit into

this traditional image, as the AfD advertises with "Familie statt Genderwahn" ("Family instead of gender mania", Schleswig-Holstein 2017).

Poster 33

Poster 34

The FPÖ hardly ever advertises with a traditional family image. This traditional family image is illustrated by depicting motifs, in each case the male FPÖ politician is shown with a woman holding a child (Tyrol 2018, Salzburg 2013). A different tendency is conveyed by a poster for the Vienna 2020 elections, where a male FPÖ politician is shown, but instead of a woman and child, an older couple is featured. Here, a new generational image of a traditional family is created. What remains the same, however, is that it is traditional in the sense that it conveys a "typical image" of a family.

Poster 35

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Finally, these results of the construction of the "we" can be visualised using the Code-Relations-Browser, another MAXQDA tool. This tool shows the common appearance of categories on an election poster; subsequently, the category "we" is linked to the category "representation of populist communication".

The reference to a common homeland can be seen to be particularly prevalent with symbols (national flag) and advertising with text. Of course, the use of a national flag suggests national pride or the reference to a common homeland. However, the fact that this reference is equally textual indicates the importance of this category. Moreover, the homeland is postered visually as well as textually in order to mobilise voters. Another striking aspect is the common appearance of the categories "values" and "national flag", which shows that values (especially "culture") and regional / national flags are used to construct this group of "we".
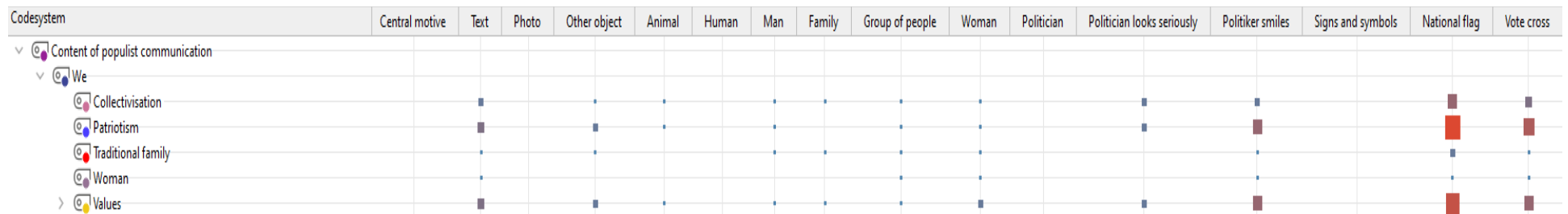
Figure 5: Code-Relations-Browser: Relation "We" and "Representation of populist communication".

Source: own, H. M.

2.2.2. Creation of "the others"

In the following, the extent to which a group of the foreign is constructed is examined. During the analysis, four different categories were defined: 1. immigrants; 2. EU; 3. political opponents; 4. economic elites.

2.2.2.1. What is typical?

In addition to the construction of a common group, the "we", the second characteristic of the election posters is the group "the others". Fear is deliberately created, combined with four different enemy images to mobilise voters and motivate them to take action, to vote. This is achieved by using a textual and a visual level.

1. Immigrants are central (53 posters). It can be observed that the FPÖ has been focusing on this topic in elections since 2013 and has only deviated from it slightly, while the AfD has increasingly campaigned on the topic of failed asylum policies, especially in recent years. Particularly noteworthy is the reference to Islam. The posters primarily attack religious and cultural aspects of Islam and portray them as incompatible with national values. Furthermore, it is suggested that immigrants and criminality are closely connected – a threatening atmosphere is constructed, terms polarise.

2. Referring to other parties is a typical element (37 posters). Other parties are combined with negative expressions, it is evident that other parties are to be associated with the status quo and, more importantly, that this status quo is characterised as negative.

3. The issue of the EU and the Euro is present on the posters of the AfD and FPÖ (24 posters). In this context, it is noticeable that the AfD advertises much more strongly with Euro issues and general economic policy issues in the 2014 EU elections, which it no longer does in 2019. The FPÖ's election posters, however, are more strongly based on the motto "Austria first" and call for a strong nation state.

4. An economic elite is hardly constructed as an enemy image on the election posters of AfD and FPÖ. What became even more apparent on these posters, however, is the division of society into "we" and "the others".
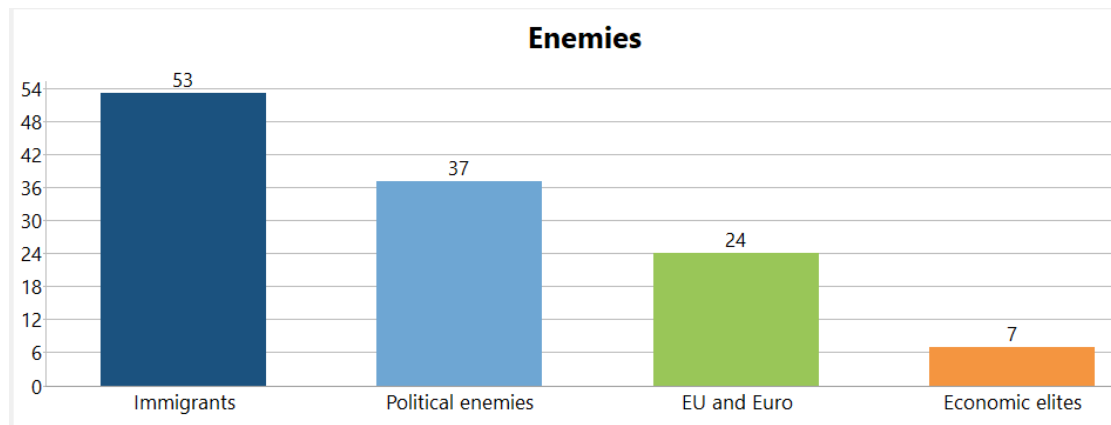
Figure 6: Bar chart for the code "Enemies".
Source: own, H. M.

2.2.2.2. Concept of an enemy

With "the others" a permanent enemy is postulated. This image of the enemy serves to clarify the political message. How diverse this enemy is and that it can be of an economic, political and cultural nature is demonstrated in the following.

The first group is formed around **immigrants**. Here, to be even more specific, the abuse of the right of immigration is central for the AfD (26 posters). Some posters (EU 2014, Bundestag 2013 and 2017) have almost identical text, the posters demanding that immigration would need strict rules. A poster for the 2017 Bundestagswahl advertises a statistic, it is depicted that in 2017 there was allegedly 52% more "Einwandererkriminalität" ("immigrant crime"). Such a figure almost gives the statement a scientific effect. Other posters are from different regional elections: The issue is that the "Asylmissbrauch" ("asylum abuse", Hamburg 2020) should be stopped and the "Asylchaos" ("asylum chaos", Baden-Württemberg 2016) needs to be ended, borders should be secured (Saxony-Anhalt 2016). It becomes apparent that the AfD

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seeks to mobilise discontent about asylum policy. Thus, the term "Asylchaos" ("asylum chaos") is meant to suggest fear and an uncontrollable situation. It is not primarily about borders being unsafe, but rather that borders should be closed to prevent further immigrants from coming to Germany. This feeling of insecurity is likewise addressed with "Wer schützt uns vor den 'Schutzsuchenden'?" ("Who will protect us from the 'protection seekers'?", Saxony 2019). However, the concept of the "Festung Europas" ("Fortress Europe", Bavaria 2018) is not only in the context of European political considerations. As Bavaria was the gateway of the Balkan route in 2015 in the context of the migration crisis, the term "fortress" expresses a certain need for protection. A pattern emerges: it is about the reinterpretation of an essentially different fact in the sense of the AfD's political statement.

Poster 36

Poster 37

Islam takes a central role, it is about creating an enemy image of immigrants who confess to Islam (9 posters). This is exemplified by a poster with "'Burkas?' Wir steh'n auf Bikinis" ("'Burkas?' We like bikinis.", Bundestag 2017). Such an image not only attracts the attention of many people, but also polarises. By comparing the concept of the burka with bikinis, the AfD suggests the feeling that bikinis are something typically German and burkas embody the foreign and dangerous; an opposition between Islam and German culture is constructed. This assumption is also reflected with "'Der Islam?'

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Passt nicht zu unserer Küche." ("'Islam?' Doesn't fit with our cuisine"), depicting a piglet. The piglet underlines this statement, as pork is not eaten in Muslim culture. Therefore, this difference between Islamic countries and Germany, which may seem culinary at first glance, intends a cultural divide. This pattern becomes particularly apparent when looking at the posters for the 2018 Bavarian regional elections, exclamations like "Christliche Werte bewahren! Der Islam gehört nicht zu Bayern" ("Preserve Christian values! Islam does not belong to Bavaria!"), "Deutsche Leitkultur! Islamfreie Schulen!" ("German main culture! Islam-free schools!") or "Frauenrechte schützen! Kopftuchfreie Schulen!" ("Protect women's rights! Headscarf-free schools!") indicate how Islamophobia is postered on election posters. These statements are deliberately superficial, because there are no schools with Islam, but at most schools with children who are of the Islamic faith. Furthermore, an election poster for the regional elections in Saarland 2017 illustrates this aspect: meat, mainly pork, is depicted on a barbecue and it is "Zeit zum Umschwenken!" ("Time to change sides!"). The feeling is built up that Islam does not belong to Germany and this is exactly what an election poster literally says for the Berlin 2016 regional election. This is obviously an allusion to a speech by former Federal President Wulff, who caused polarisation in 2010 with a speech in which he stated that Islam would now also belong to Germany.

Poster 38

Poster 39

A further aspect of the enemy image of immigrants is based on criminality. This perception is shaped by terms such as "Terror und Gewalt" ("Terror and violence", Baden-Württemberg 2016). Furthermore, visual elements like a sign saying "No-Go-Area" (NRW 2017) or a clenched fist and a woman holding her arms in front of her

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head seeking protection (Baden-Württemberg 2021). Moreover, terms like "Pfefferspray" ("pepper spray", Saxony 2019), the sexist motif of a half-naked woman chained to a radiator or the question "Wer schützt uns vor den 'Schutzsuchenden'?" ("Who will protect us from the 'protection seekers'?", Saxony 2019) suggest impending criminality. The AfD advertises with "Weltoffen! Aber nicht für Banden und Clans!" ("Open-minded! But not for gangs and clans!", Hamburg 2020), however, the AfD portrays itself in this context as tolerant and cosmopolitan, but in a next step relativises the statement by excluding "gangs and clans" from it. This positively connoted value of "tolerance" is not used as an end in itself, but to express a demarcation. A reinterpretation of positively connoted terms with validity exclusively for one's own clientele takes place.

Poster 40

For the FPÖ, the issue of immigration and its abuse plays a central role (27 posters). The FPÖ advertises with "EU-Asylchaoten" ("EU asylum chaos", EU 2019) or "Illegale stoppen – Grenzen schützen" ("Stop illegals – protect borders", Nationalratswahl 2019). Additionally, the FPÖ claims to be a "Vordenker statt Spätzünder" ("Forward thinker instead of late bloomer", Nationalratswahl 2017) in dealing with refugee crises, and clear demands are formulated in that "Asylbetrüger" ("asylum fraudsters", Nationalratswahl 2013) are to be expelled. These posters show

two central characteristics. On the one hand, it becomes clear that the topic of immigration and the abuse of the right to immigration has dominated every national election in Austria since 2013. On the other hand, it is obvious that fear is stirred up by additions such as "Chaoten" ("chaotes"), "Betrüger" ("fraudsters") or "Illegale" ("illegals"). In the context of regional elections, frontrunners link social welfare benefits or the right to housing to speaking German (Upper Austria 2015), demand rapid deportation of immigrants (Lower Austria 2018) and the setting of a maximum limit of immigrants (Burgenland 2015). This aggressiveness pervades other posters, exemplified by those for the Vienna 2020 regional elections ("Keine Gnade für ausländische Kriminelle", "No mercy for foreign criminals").

The FPÖ hardly mentions Islam directly as an enemy group in connection with immigration. Chancellor Kurz's statement that Islam belongs to Austria is used for advertising – Strache replies with "Die Islamisierung gehört gestoppt" ("Islamisation must be stopped", Nationalratswahl 2017). Election posters for the Vienna 2020 regional election advertise "Kein Platz für Islamisten und Fanatiker" ("No place for Islamists and fanatics") and depict women in burkas in a museum. The suggested equation of Islam and fanaticism is intentional. In Vienna as a big city with a rather high percentage of immigrants, the campaign is extensively formulated, the campaign slogan 2020 ("Holen wir unser Wien zurück", "Let's get our Vienna back") suggests that Vienna has been "taken" by someone else and that it therefore needs to be liberated. Here, the historical situation is alluded to when the Turks were outside Vienna in 1529, a functionalisation of historical events takes place.

Poster 41

Poster 42

However, the FPÖ rarely uses the issue of crime. Through terms such as "brutale Gewalttaten" ("brutal acts of violence") or "Opfer- statt Täterschutz" ("victim protection instead of offender protection", Lower Austria 2018), the image of a dangerous situation is created. On a visual level, this feeling is further suggested by a man with a knife (Vienna 2020). The FPÖ uses "Toleranz" ("tolerance") on its posters, which, however, expresses intolerance. In the context of the regional election in Salzburg in 2013, a poster thus reads "Weil wir Sicherheit statt falscher Toleranz brauchen!" ("Because we need security instead of false tolerance!"). Here, the expression of "false tolerance" is particularly interesting, as it intends that tolerance, that is, the recognition of other people and opinions, is titled as wrong and would lead to insecurity. This is what the poster expresses suggestively. Furthermore, the exclamation "Wir grenzen niemand aus. Schon gar nicht unsere Wiener." ("We exclude no one. Especially not our Viennese", Vienna 2015) calls for the FPÖ to be tolerant. In a further step, however, this statement is relativised, that in no case would "our Viennese" be excluded. By "our Viennese" they mean above all the "real" Viennese.

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Poster 43

Poster 44

A second category of these enemy images manifests itself as an **internal enemy** in the form of other political parties. By constructing political opponents as enemies, the parties manage to polarise and simplistically divide the political landscape into "good" and "bad".

The AfD mentions in particular the governing parties at national level SPD and CDU / CSU (16 posters), but also attacks in the context of, for instance, the regional election of Baden-Württemberg 2021 with the slogan "Kretschmann setzen, sechs!" ("Kretschmann, sit down, six", incumbent Minister President of Baden-Württemberg, Bündnis 90 / Die Grünen) a different political party. With this poster, the AfD formulates its displeasure at the style of government and chooses the method of school grading to express political failure; voters who are dissatisfied with the current government are addressed. This becomes just as clear when looking at other posters, "Ordnung statt rot-grün Chaos" ("Order instead of red-green chaos", Schleswig-Holstein 2017) or "Mut zur Leistung statt rot-grüner Bildungsexperimente" ("Courage to perform instead of red-green educational experiments", Saxony-Anhalt 2016) are demanded – other political parties are connoted with negative expressions.

Poster 45

Poster 46

Likewise, the FPÖ addresses other parties (22 posters). These are statements referring to Chancellor Kurz or "Schwarz-Grün" ("Black-Green") as the governing party alliance (Nationalratswahl 2019, Vienna 2020). In all cases, the parties mentioned are associated with pejorative terminology, the viewer of the poster associates negative feelings. Thus, without the FPÖ, Austria would move to the "links" ("left"), or "Schwarz-Grün" ("black-green") would endanger the national security. These are expressions on the posters that emphasise that the FPÖ is the saviour of Austria and that other parties bring suffering. In the context of the 2017 Nationalratswahl, the political positions of the SPÖ / ÖVP are portrayed on the posters and then, a contrasting response from the FPÖ. The voter becomes aware of two things: firstly, the FPÖ's allegedly correct stance becomes clear, secondly, the misconduct of other parties is shown. It is suggested to the voter that it is only rational to vote FPÖ. This type of mobilisation is also used at the regional level, for instance by adding the phrase "Rot-Schwarz abwählen" ("Vote out red-black", Burgenland 2015). Additions such as "bringen uns in Gefahr" ("put us in danger") attract attention. The posters then state "Wer das nicht will, wählt FPÖ" ("If you don't want that, vote FPÖ") – it becomes clear what has already been examined: It is about criticising the status quo, discrediting the behaviour of other political parties.

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Poster 47

A third category of enemies is the **EU**. Here, the Euro is not understood as part of demonstrating an economic elite, but as an integral part of the economic policy idea of the EU. The AfD mentions the EU especially in the context of the EU elections (15 posters). Already with the statement "Aus Liebe zu Deutschland. Freiheit statt Brüssel" ("For the love of Germany. Freedom instead of Brussels", EU 2019), it becomes clear how two seemingly antagonistic groups are highlighted. For the 2014 EU election, the central campaign slogan is "Mut zu Deutschland" ("Courage for Germany"), in 2019 "Geht's noch, Brüssel?" ("Are you serious, Brussels?"). This suggests that voters should have courage for the sovereign nation state in the midst of the EU. With "Mehr für Bürger. Weniger Brüssel" ("More for citizens. Less Brussels."), two apparently contrasting groups are once again highlighted, the "citizens" and "Brussels". With simple linguistic means ("more" and "less") the basic attitude of the AfD becomes visible. Furthermore, in the 2013 Bundestagswahl, critical economic policy statements are made that refer to the EU, the posters show that the Euro has negative effects for Europe, would ruin and divide Europe. These posters can be placed in the context of the AfD's anti-EU stance at the time; the party clearly advocated Eurosceptic positions in its very first manifesto.[61] In the context of the 2017 Bundestagswahl, it goes on to say "'Euro-Rettung?' Nicht um jeden Preis." ("'Euro rescue?' Not at any price."), depicting

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61 Wahlalternative 2013: Gründungsaufruf Wahlalternative 2013.

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a 1-Euro coin sinking into water (possibly the Mediterranean). Other posters advertise "TTIP verhindern" ("Prevent TTIP", Baden-Württemberg 2016, Saxony-Anhalt 2016).

Poster 48

Poster 49

The FPÖ advertises sparsely with EU-specific topics (9 posters). In the 2019 EU election, it says "FPÖ voten gegen EU-Asylchaoten" ("FPÖ vote against EU asylum chaots"); a further content-related characteristic is visible in that EU topics are directly linked to asylum policy. Likewise, with "Türkei nicht dabei" ("Turkey not in", EU 2014), a foreign policy issue appears. The poster "Österreich zuerst, dann die EU" ("Austria first, then the EU") summarises what has already been elaborated. This is made equally clear by another poster with "Österreich denkt um. Zu viel EU ist dumm" ("Austria rethinks. Too much EU is stupid", EU 2014), it is not a fundamental criticism of the EU, but rather that "too much" EU is bad. Under each of the examined posters for the 2014 EU election is the addition "Besser für Österreich, besser für Europa" ("Better for Austria, better for Europe"), according to which the election of the FPÖ would only have positive consequences. Equally relevant is an examination of the central campaign slogan "Denkzettel für EU & Rot-Schwarz" ("A lesson for EU & red-black"). The expression "lesson" suggests some kind of punishment.

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Poster 50

The fourth category of recurring enemy images includes **economic elites.** In principle, this group is not central to the AfD, but the "little man" is emphasised, who is to be strengthened. It is shown that not everyone can afford everything yet that there are people who can. Such a message is communicated with "Wohlstand kommt vom Mittelstand" ("Prosperity comes from the middle class", Brandenburg 2014). Furthermore, the enemy image of the economic elites manifests itself in the form of faceless banks (Bundestag 2013). Here, reference is obviously made to the Greek crisis as well as to Germany's role as a money lender. Economic elites were primarily attacked on election posters in 2013 / 2014.

Also for the FPÖ, the group of economic elites does not play a central role. Banks are addressed, the FPÖ calls for "Banken in die Schranken" ("Banks in ranks", EU 2014), so this group is stylised and criticised to a certain extent as the economic elite. On another poster in the context of the 2013 Nationalratswahl, it is promoted that the SPÖ / ÖVP would help "Bank & Spekulant" ("bank & speculator"). Again, it can be seen that, especially through the prior statement "Wir helfen im eigenen Land" ("We help in our own country"), first the common ground is pointed out and then, in a second step, a different and foreign group is constructed, which in this case can clearly be assigned to an economic-political grouping.

Poster 51

Poster 52

2.2.2.3. Creating fear

What at first sight may be identified as no direct enemy group, but certainly concerns the creation of the group of "the others" and is a typical feature, is the depiction of situations that evoke fear. In creating fear, a distinction can be made between a textual and a visual level. The AfD deliberately creates fear (20 posters). For textual aspects, phrases like "Extremisten" ("extremists", Baden-Württemberg 2021), "Anschlag" ("attack", Berlin 2016), "Sozialismus" ("socialism", Thuringia 2019), but also verbs like "ruinieren" ("ruin") or "verzweifeln" ("despair", both Bundestag 2013) are portrayed. Likewise, images evoke this fear, for instance by showing a perforated German flag (Baden-Württemberg 2021) or a sign saying "No-Go-Area" (NRW 2017). By advertising with exclamations and images, the AfD primarily succeeds in generating attention. The resulting feeling of fear is supposed to lead the viewer of the respective poster to perceive the AfD as a protector, to vote for them.

Similarly, the FPÖ creates a feeling of fear (13 posters), especially on a textual level. There are exclamations such as that the "Zukunft" ("future") and "Sicherheit" ("security", both Nationalratswahl 2019) are at risk, or more generally through terms

like "Islamisierung" ("Islamisation", Nationalratswahl 2017). Aggressive words like "brutale Gewalttaten" ("brutal acts of violence"), "Sex-Attacken" ("sex attacks", both Lower Austria 2018) or negatively connotated verbs like "verlieren" ("lose", Lower Austria 2018) are conspicuous. Additions as "radikal" ("radical") make nouns like "Islam" seem more threatening (Vienna 2020).

Poster 53

Poster 54

Furthermore, the results of the construction of "the others" can be visualized with the Code-Relations-Browser illustrating the co-occurrence with another category in one segment. In the following, the categories of "the others" are presented together with the category "representation of populist communication".

The fact that enemy images are explicitly addressed is striking – the use of specific enemy images like "immigrants" or "the EU" is notably frequent in conjunction with advertising text passages. Moreover, the political messages are to be communicated unambiguously, enemy images are expressed explicitly. Furthermore, it can be seen that in general the category "enemies" occurs together with national flags. Obviously, a contrast is created – enemy images are defined as foreign and dangerous, while the use of national flags is intended to mobilize voters to choose the "right side" and to see themselves as part of the people.

Figure 7: Code-Relations-Browser: Relation "The others" and "Representation of populist communication".

Source: own, H. M.

2.2.3. Policy fields

Previously, it was illustrated to what extent the election posters of AfD and FPÖ construct an image of "we" and "the others". In addition to these two groups, a third pillar runs through the election posters: different policy areas are referred to and linked with "we" and "the others" (123 posters).

2.2.3.1. What is typical?

Four policy fields can be identified, which are mainly the medium of the intended main message "we" versus "the others", with political messages being functionalised by the parties.

1. Advertising with economic policy messages is central (38 posters), AfD and FPÖ primarily seek to mobilise voters who are in a difficult economic position and are more receptive to possible campaigns. This image is confirmed with the construction of the enemy image of economic elites and the EU.

2. The policy field of labour and social policy is relevant (36 posters) and links to the economic policy issue, both parties demand a better and fairer social system. Moreover, the focus is on the issue of care, people in precarious employment are addressed.

3. Domestic political aspects on the posters mainly revolve around the issue of security (31 posters): national security is at risk, referring explicitly to the need for stronger borders. Again, the feeling of an external enemy in terms of immigration is suggested.

4. Other policy areas include educational policy content, which can only be found on AfD election posters. Thereby, other political parties are targeted, which illustrates the distinction between "we" versus "the others". Environmental and agricultural policy content includes AfD posters that supposedly promote more animal welfare, while for the FPÖ this policy relates to a specific regional issue.
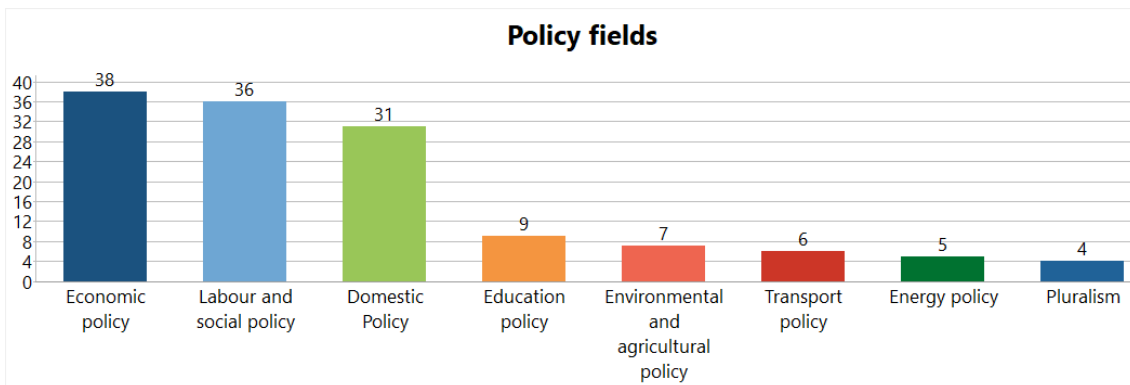
Figure 8: Bar chart for the code "Policy fields".

Source: own, H. M.

2.2.3.2. Economic policy

The economic policy issue dominates many of the AfD's posters. First, there are posters criticising the nature of the Euro in general, with "Schuldenunion" ("debt union") or with "'Euro-Rettung?' Nicht um jeden Preis!" ("'Euro rescue?' Not at any price!", Bundestag 2017). It becomes obvious that the AfD criticises the nature of the Euro from its political beginnings. However, the issue of economic policy goes beyond the existence of the Euro. Other posters address the consequences of high rents (Hamburg 2020) or the supposed success in the energy transition and its consequences based on the still high energy costs (Baden-Württemberg 2016). European economic policy issues like TTIP are also mentioned (Saxony-Anhalt 2016, Baden-Württemberg 2016).

Poster 55

Banks represent an important group on the FPÖ's posters with economic policy messages (19 posters): It says "Banken in die Schranken" ("Banks in ranks", EU 2014) or "Bank & Spekulant" ("Bank & speculator", Nationalratswahl 2013). In addition, the FPÖ demands fair taxes (Nationalratswahl 2017). That economic and social policy are to a certain extent depicted together is shown by posters like "Keine Sozialgeschenke für ausländische Abkassierer" ("No social gifts for foreign cashiers", Vienna 2020) or "Grundversorgung sichern" ("Secure basic services", Lower Austria 2018). Furthermore, poverty should be eliminated (Burgenland 2015) and fair wages paid (Upper Austria 2015).

Poster 56

2.2.3.3. Labour and social policy

Labour and social policy issues are represented by the AfD (14 posters). Care is a particular topic on election posters, on the one hand, the AfD demands better care (Saxony 2019) or promotes an upgrading of the care professions (Bavaria 2018). On the other hand, the German social system is addressed: These are posters clearly stating that more money should be invested in the country's own social system for the benefit of German citizens and not "illegale Migranten" ("illegal migrants", Bavaria 2018).

For the FPÖ, the aspect of labour and social policy plays an important role (22 posters). A first pillar is the demand for a fair social system. This is illustrated, for instance, by the demand for "Mindestsicherung" ("minimum income", Tyrol 2018). Furthermore, social benefits are linked to the ability to speak German (Upper Austria 2015). Moreover, another pillar is the focus on and reference to senior citizens (Lower Austria 2018, Upper Austria 2015, Nationalratswahl 2017). Beyond that, it is about labour policy, with the FPÖ demanding fair wages (Upper Austria 2015), promising opportunities for young people (Salzburg 2013) or secure jobs (Burgenland 2015).

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Poster 58

2.2.3.4. Domestic policy

Domestic policy forms another policy area for the AfD. Primarily nouns like "Grenzen" ("borders", Baden-Württemberg 2016, Saxony-Anhalt 2016) are mentioned, which are to be secured. Moreover, the concept of protection is central, citizens are to be safeguarded (Saxony-Anhalt 2016) – from whom is also explicitly stated: the "Schutzsuchenden" ("protection seekers", Saxony 2019). On the visual level, fences illustrate the concept of borders (Bundestag 2017, Baden-Württemberg 2016) and the AfD calls for a strengthening of the police (Brandenburg 2014, Saxony-Anhalt 2016).

For the FPÖ, this category is just as central (20 posters), and the demand for more security is particularly high. For instance, Austria (Presidential Election 2016) or Vienna (Vienna 2020) explicitly need more security. The current level of security would be endangered by "Schwarz-Grün" ("black-green", Nationalratswahl 2019) or "falscher Toleranz" ("false tolerance", Salzburg 2013). Much more significant is the demand for better border protection and border controls, the police is likewise depicted on posters (Vienna 2020, Salzburg 2013, Nationalratswahl 2019).

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Poster 60

2.3.3.5. Other policy fields

In addition, different policy areas are pointed out. One category is education policy, only the AfD refers to it in regional elections (9 posters), which can be explained by the fact that education policy in Germany is regional policy. On the posters, other parties are referred to in connection with failures in education policy, with the phrase "Freitags wieder Schule!" ("Back to school on Fridays!", Hamburg 2020) obviously alluding to the Fridays for Future movement, which the AfD rejects, trying to present it on the poster in such a way that it would be about supposed educational policy reasons. It is striking that some posters advertise with deliberate spelling mistakes (NRW 2017, Brandenburg 2014). This is primarily to generate attention, the posters polarise and are

intended to point out the failed education policy of the established parties. Furthermore, another group is that of environmental and agricultural policy: the AfD is pointing out that slaughtering should be banned (Bavaria 2018, Saxony 2019). For the FPÖ, this policy field occupies a similarly small group, primarily regional environmental problems are addressed (Tyrol 2018). Thus, an attempt is made to highlight local problems, the FPÖ offers a solution and thereby tries to mobilise. On the few election posters of the AfD with reference to transport policy, it is apparent that mainly regional elections in federal states that have many inhabitants, or large cities, advertise with this. For instance, the infrastructure is to be improved (Hamburg 2020, NRW 2017). Likewise, the FPÖ only promotes transport policy issues to a small extent, criticising the high price of petrol (Salzburg 2013). Only the AfD addresses issues of energy policy with the alleged failure in the energy transition (Baden-Württemberg 2016) or the Renewable Energy Sources Act (Bayern 2018).

Poster 61

Poster 62

Although pluralism is not a policy field per se, it nevertheless dominates some of the AfD's election posters. It is an important social issue that plays into different fields. Posters answering the questions "Bunte Vielfalt?" ("colourful diversity?") or "Neue Deutsche?" ("New Germans?", Bundestag 2017) state through the answers that Germany already has a pluralistic society. What is not stated there, but suggested, is that

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Germany does not need more "colourful diversity" or "new Germans". Further, the supposed pluralism is illustrated by a poster of the Schleswig-Holstein 2017 regional election: "Familie statt Genderwahn!" ("Family instead of gender mania!") clearly states that the traditional family image is considered more important than "gender mania". None of the FPÖ's posters show such a tendency.

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Poster 64

Both of the following visualisations (Code-Matrix-Browser) illustrate which categories the policy fields are primarily represented with. For this table, the co-occurrence of categories is not represented as squares, but in numbers, in order to show the results even more sharply.

Insightful is the common occurrence of the category "collectivisation" as a feature of the representation of the "we" with labour and social policy. This suggests an understanding of the concerns of the voters, and the proximity to an electorate that votes for the AfD / FPÖ out of social need is constructed. In this context, the category "patriotism" occurs together with individual policy areas like domestic, economic or labour and social policy. These policy areas take a leading position, with each policy area intending to illustrate the link to a common homeland.

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An examination of the category "enemy images" and policy fields reveals that the enemy image of the EU is particularly often associated with economic policy. This reinforces the assumption already formulated that the EU is primarily seen as an economic policy construct and that the existence of the Euro is criticised. Furthermore, the topic of immigration is depicted together with different policy areas (domestic policy, economic policy, labour and social policy). This reveals that negative consequences of immigration by pointing out political shortcomings to a certain extent only serve to see political messages as a communicative cover for the actually populist conviction, the separation of society. Political opponents are mapped with different policy fields criticising the political status quo.

Codesystem	We	Woman	Traditional family	Values	Freedom	Justice	Reliability	Culture	Truth	Courage	Collectivisation	Patriotism
⌄ Content of populist communication												
⌄ Policy fields												
Domestic Policy		2	1			1	3	1		3	10	19
Economic policy		1	1		2	5	3	2	6	10	16	25
Education policy		1	2		1	2		1	1	5	1	5
Energy policy					1			1	2	2	1	3
Environmental and agricultural policy		1			1			1		3		4
Labour and social policy			4			6	8	1		6	15	26
Pluralism		2	2							3	2	1
Transport policy										2	3	4

Figure 9: Code-Relations-Browser: "Policy fields" and "We".

Source: own, H. M.

Codesystem	The others	Enemies	Immigrants	Intolerance	Islam	Abuse of the right to immigration	Crime	Political enemies	SPÖ / ÖVP	CDU /CSU / Grüne	Economic elites	EU and Euro	Creation of fear
⌄ Policy fields													
Domestic Policy				1	1	9	4		3	1		1	5
Economic policy						6			5	2	7	10	4
Education policy					2					2			
Energy policy										3	1		1
Environmental and agricultural policy					1					1		1	1
Labour and social policy						8			3	3	2		3
Pluralism										1			1
Transport policy										1	1		

Figure 10: Code-Relations-Browser: "Policy fields" and "The others".

Source: own, H. M.

2.3. Construction of populist communication

After examining the representation as well as the content of populist communication, the last aspect, the question of rhetorical construction, is now addressed.

2.3.1. What is typical?

By analysing the construction of populist communication on election posters, three categories emerged:

1. The use of exclamation marks is central (109 posters): Exclamation marks make the political message appear more drastic and have a calling character. Question marks are only used on posters of the AfD (17 posters), a dialogue situation is created, the poster becomes dynamic. Using inverted commas pursues two different strategies. On the one hand, and this is primarily used by the AfD, a certain abstraction and distance is constructed as part of "the others". On the other hand, inverted commas are used by the FPÖ to reproduce literal speech.

2. Verbs underline the message of the election poster. Verbs of voting are particularly key for AfD (27 posters) and FPÖ (16 posters). Equally important is advertising with paternalistic verbs; AfD (16 posters) and FPÖ (19 posters) try to suggest that the party protects citizens from danger and fights for them. With verbs of improving, AfD (12 posters) and FPÖ (10 posters) attempt to demonstrate that they know how the status quo can be improved. Imperatives (33 posters) have a clear call character and underline the statement.

3. With regard to the parties' choice of words, it is noticeable that colloquial expressions are used: AfD (19 posters) and FPÖ (18 posters) seek to establish a certain closeness. It can be seen that such expressions polarise and mobilise. Negated expressions clarify to a degree the reference to the construction of an enemy group. Some posters advertise in a second language and thus try to mobilise voters with other mother tongues (Polish,

Russian). In addition, a reference is made to striking historical events in order to polarise and mobilise, terms are reinterpreted.

2.3.2. Punctuation

In a first step, the punctuation of the election posters is examined. The text type of the election poster has certain patterns that can also be found here. Common linguistic features specific to the type of text, like tricola, antitheses, ellipses and parallelisations, are not presented separately, but only elements that occur frequently apart from these typical poster features. In this context, punctuation is more or less a visual device.

2.3.2.1. Exclamation mark

The AfD uses exclamation marks on the majority of its posters (80 posters with 133 exclamation marks). Mostly in connection with short statements like "Frauen schützen!" ("Protect women!", Baden-Württemberg 2021), "Brauchen Grenzen!" ("Need borders!", Bundestag 2017), or "Weltoffen!" ("Open-minded!", Hamburg 2020). It is in the nature of the exclamation mark that a certain urgency or call resonates. Especially with verbs in the imperative form, a clear command is expressed.

There are fewer exclamation marks used by the FPÖ (29 posters with 45 exclamation marks). Central election campaign slogans like "Damit Heimat Zukunft hat!" ("So that home has a future!", Salzburg 2013) or "Heimvorteil nur mit uns!" ("Home advantage only with us!", Burgenland 2015), whose message is reinforced by the exclamation mark. Furthermore, exclamation marks are used in connection with short exclamations such as "Unser Wien!" ("Our Vienna!", Vienna 2020).

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2.3.2.2. Question mark

Question marks are used in question sentences, only the AfD advertises with them (17 posters). By asking questions, a dialogue situation is created in which the viewer of the election poster and the AfD communicate. In the context of the 2017 Bundestagswahl, the AfD asks for terms like "Islam?" or "Burkas?", which are clearly linked to certain associations and are terms of current social discourse. However, the fact that the questions do not always have to be answered is shown by rhetorical questions such as "Wer soll das bezahlen?" ("Who is going to pay for this?", Hamburg 2020), which remain unanswered and thus express a certain perplexity or threat. Especially this last question creates a closeness to the viewer of the poster, the AfD presents itself as being understanding and identifies with a question that many voters are asking themselves. By using question marks, a simplification is achieved, facts are reduced to individual terms.

Poster 67

2.3.2.3. Inverted commas

Inverted commas form another category on AfD posters (14 posters). It is revealing that the respective questions in the context of the question-answer game in the 2017 Bundestagswahl are always marked with inverted commas. On the one hand, these inverted commas reinforce the feeling of a dialogue situation, on the other hand, they create a distance to the term being asked. Terms like "Burkas?", "Islam?" or "Neue Deutsche?" ("New Germans?") are meant to seem distant and foreign. As already stated above, creating a community or a common enemy is a typical feature of election posters. This strategy can be observed again reinforced by the use of inverted commas. Likewise, terms such as "Euro-Rettung?" ("Euro rescue?") or "In Seenot?" ("In trouble at sea?") appear to the viewer of the poster as if these are terms of current discourse, which the AfD takes up and answers accordingly, solving the problem. This shows a simplification of a complex problem and clarifies the feeling, following the narrative of the AfD, that "we" have answers to "your" questions. Moreover, this assumption is reinforced by a poster of the AfD Saxony 2019 with "Schutzsuchende" ("protection seekers"), meaning for instance immigrants or refugees, which are portrayed as an abstract group and even more, it seems almost ironised and an originally positive term is used pejoratively. In the inverted commas, one reads "allegedly" or "so-called" – as if the term is not taken entirely seriously.

However, the FPÖ hardly employs inverted commas. In the context of the 2016 federal presidential election, for instance, this stylistic device receives particular attention, but here the inverted commas have a different role with symbolising a literal speech ("Deine Heimat braucht Dich jetzt", "Your homeland needs you now"; "So wahr mir Gott helfe", "So help me god").

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2.3.3. Use of verbal representations

In the following, central verb categories are shown. Since election posters offer only limited space for political messages in text form, the choice of words is pointed and serves a certain mobilisation strategy.

2.3.3.1. Verbal representations of political activity

To a certain extent, it is obvious that "verbs of voting" play a key role on election posters. In the case of the AfD, such voting (27 posters) is part of the central campaign slogan "Mut zu Deutschland – AfD wählen" ("Courage for Germany – vote AfD", EU 2014). Less centrally, the addition to slogan and political message in the context of the 2013 Bundestagswahl is likewise. This pattern can be seen on various posters (Baden-Württemberg 2016, Brandenburg 2014, Saarland 2017). Expressions of voting intend the desire to be elected and even more the call to the viewer of the poster to vote AfD. It is the direct encouragement to an activity, not just the avowal, that speaks of "courage". In addition, there is another component, the verb "abwählen" ("to vote out") is similar,

but has a different meaning: It becomes obvious that a reference to other political actors is created (NRW 2017, Saxony-Anhalt 2016), the separation from other parties is emphasised by verbs.

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Poster 71

For the FPÖ, "verbs of voting" are also central (16 posters). The slogan "Wählen wirkt" ("voting works", EU 2019) conveys the feeling that voters have the opportunity to change something by voting FPÖ. Similarly, election posters use those verbs to suggest the feeling that the viewer of the election poster can indeed change something (Vienna 2015). Furthermore, the verb "vote" is given an additional component: a central phrase is "Wer das nicht will, wählt FPÖ" ("If you don't want that, vote FPÖ", Vienna 2020). Here it appears that reference is made to other parties and their party policies, that whoever wants to change the status quo must vote FPÖ. Simplification is made, although the goal is obvious – voting FPÖ.

Poster 72

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2.3.3.2. Verbal representations of a paternalistic relationship

"Paternalistic verbs" include verbs establishing a protective relationship between the party and the viewer of the election poster. The AfD (16 posters) does this primarily with verbs like "schützen" ("protect", Baden-Württemberg 2021, Brandenburg 2014, Saxony-Anhalt 2016). In addition, verbs like "bewahren" ("preserve", Baden-Württemberg 2016, Bavaria 2018) or "erhalten" ("receive", Bavaria 2018) are used. What is also particularly interesting is the object of the respective sentence to which the verb refers – for instance, "Bürger" ("citizens", Saxony-Anhalt 2016), "Kulturraum" ("cultural space", Bavaria 2018) or "Grenzen" ("borders", Bavaria 2018) are to be protected. Clearly, these are terms that can be assigned to the category of "we". This is to a certain extent self-evident, since paternalistic verbs have a protective function and – following the AfD's mobilisation strategy – seek to protect the own group, the "we".

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The FPÖ uses "paternalistic verbs" to create a similar relationship between the party and the viewer of the election posters (19 posters). Different verbs can be classified in the group of paternalistic verbs: "schützen" ("protect", Tyrol 2018, Nationalratswahl 2019, Salzburg 2018), "helfen" ("help", Nationalratswahl 2013), "stützen" ("support", Tyrol 2018) or "vertrauen" ("trust", Salzburg 2013) are used strikingly frequently. It is of central importance which nouns these verbs refer to: Terms like "Euch" ("you", Tyrol

2018), "eigenes Land" ("own country", Nationalratswahl 2013) or "Grenzen" ("borders", Nationalratswahl 2019).

Poster 75

2.3.3.3. Verbal representations of termination

"Verbs of termination" clarify the demand for change. The AfD (15 posters) advertises with verbs like "stoppen" ("stop", Baden-Württemberg 2021, Saxony-Anhalt 2016), while "Extremisten" ("extremists") or "Asylchaos" ("asylum chaos") are to be stopped, fear is created. Further, "Asylmissbrauch" ("asylum abuse", Hamburg 2020), "TTIP" (Baden-Württemberg 2016, Saxony-Anhalt 2016), or "Pflegenotstand" ("nursing crisis", Bavaria 2018) shall be stopped / prevented. These verbs make it clear that negative scenarios are to be ended, and in doing so, the voter is supposed to realise that the AfD is the right party for this.

The FPÖ uses different "verbs of termination" (9 posters), especially the verb "stoppen" ("to stop"), is often referred to. Thus, for instance, "Asylchaos" ("asylum chaos", Tyrol 2018) or "Islam" are to be stopped (Nationalratswahl 2017). It can be seen that these are terms that belong to the group "the others". In order to change the status quo, the FPÖ must be voted for. Likewise, "verbs of voting out" take up part of this category (Burgenland 2015). Additionally, it should be noted that posters sometimes advertise without any real content, but address dissatisfaction with the other parties.

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Poster 77

2.3.3.4. Verbal representations of improving

"Verbs of improving" include verbs that have a positive connotation and intend a form of change. The AfD (12 posters) advertises with the demand to strengthen the police (Saxony-Anhalt 2016) or the stronger promotion of small businesses (Brandenburg 2014) – the verbs "stärken" ("strengthen") and "fördern" ("promote") intend a positive value and convey the feeling that something will be improved if the AfD is elected. Another verb is "aufwerten" ("upgrade"), for instance, the AfD calls for an upgrading of nursing professions (Bayern 2018) or infrastructure (Hamburg 2020). Furthermore, the verb "vollenden" ("complete", Thuringia 2019) is prominent, it is part of the central campaign slogan "Vollende die Wende!" ("Complete the turnaround!") and rhymes with it, it is an imperative and even more so, it contains a historical allusion. Thus, it can be stated that "verbs of improving" all call for a change of the status quo and can be combined with different policy areas like domestic policy (police), transport policy (infrastructure) or social policy (care professions), but without showing real solutions.

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Poster 79

"Verbs of improving" are likewise used by the FPÖ (10 posters). The verb "stärken" ("strengthen") is employed in various combinations, rural areas (Tyrol 2018) or families (Salzburg 2013) are to be strengthened. The verb "fördern" ("promote") has a similar meaning, families (Upper Austria 2015) or single parents (Lower Austria 2018) are to be promoted. In 2015, the FPÖ Vienna advertised with "Wien tauscht Häupl gegen HC Strache" ("Vienna swaps Häupl for HC Strache"), the verb "swap" has the intention of bringing about an improvement. Moreover, the impression is created that the FPÖ knows what is needed to improve the status quo. Thereby, the focus is on special recipients, such as families or senior citizens.

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2.3.3.5. Imperative mode

The AfD advertises with imperatives (23 posters), a large part of which is taken up by election posters from the 2017 Bundestagswahl with the central campaign slogan "Trau Dich, Deutschland!" ("Dare, Germany!"). Further, statements like "Wehren Sie sich!" ("Fight back!", Baden-Württemberg 2016) or "Vollende die Wende!" ("Complete the turnaround!", Thuringia 2019), indicate a clear call character through the use of the imperative. With this last example, the voter is called upon to complete the political turnaround of 1989, to break down differences between East and West.

Furthermore, the posters of the FPÖ show imperatives (10 posters). Primarily, central campaign slogans such as "Steh auf für Österreich" ("Stand up for Austria", EU 2019) or "Wirf Deine Stimme nicht weg!" ("Don't throw away your vote!", Burgenland 2015), call on people to vote. In addition, statements like "Nutz Herz und Verstand" ("Use your heart and mind", Salzburg 2018) are used for advertising.

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2.3.4. Choice of language

Some linguistic peculiarities that increase the readability, acceptance and attractiveness of the posters are discussed exemplarily.

2.3.4.1. Colloquial expressions

The AfD uses colloquial expressions (19 posters) especially on election posters for the Bundestagswahl 2017, terms like "steh'n" ("like") or "gefällt's" ("love") illustrate the attempt to establish a certain closeness to the viewer. The slogan "Geht's noch Brüssel?" ("Are you serious, Brussels?", EU 2019) demonstrates the AfD's scepticism towards EU politics. In contrast, whole sentences like "Machen wir selber" ("Let's do it ourselves") or "Haben wir schon" ("We already have") sound casual, close to the citizen and day-to-day, not, as is perhaps usually the case for political parties. Moreover, regional linguistic peculiarities, like the greeting formula "MOIN" ("hello", Hamburg 2020) or the expression "KEIN SCHNACK" ("no talking", Hamburg 2020), testify to the fact that the AfD deliberately chooses the language of the North. The message conveyed is that the AfD speaks the language of its voters, is familiar with their world and breaks down linguistic barriers.

Poster 83

Furthermore, the FPÖ uses colloquial expressions (18 posters). This is evident in the central election campaign slogan "Denkzettel für EU & Rot-Schwarz" ("A lesson for EU & red-black", EU 2014). Moreover, phrases like "Er nennt die Dinge beim Namen" ("He calls a spade a spade") or "Mehr G'fühl für unsere Leut'" ("More feeling for our people", Salzburg 2018), use everyday language and establish a closeness to the viewer of the poster. Expressions such as "Er sagt, was Sache ist" ("He says what's going on", Vorarlberg 2019) or "Auf ihn kann Österreich immer zählen" ("Austria can always count on him", Nationalratswahl 2017) show that these examples of colloquial language expressions highlight positive qualities of party politicians. The basic aim of this use of colloquial language can be stated that FPÖ politicians try to be approachable, natural and to place themselves as "one of them".

Poster 84

2.3.4.2. Negated expressions

The character of negated expressions already indicates that such phrases point to a rejectionist attitude. The AfD advertises with various negations (12 posters), for example that Islam does not belong to Germany (Berlin 2016) and does not fit with "unserer Küche" ("our cuisine", Bundestag 2017). Furthermore, the AfD portrays itself as open-minded, but "nicht für Bunden und Clans" ("not for gangs and clans", Hamburg 2020). The verb "need" is also negated, according to which a peaceful Europe would not need a Euro (Bundestag 2013). Expressions of negation serve as a means of distancing oneself from something and follow the already observed pattern of splitting and separating.

Election posters of the FPÖ hardly ever advertise with negated expressions, only that Salzburg is "kein Casino" ("not a casino") and that "Leben kein Luxus" ("life is not luxury", Salzburg 2013), the words "casino" and "luxury" emphasise that these are things that not everyone can afford.

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2.3.4.3. Choice of words

The AfD employs a different language in its campaign for the 2016 Berlin regional elections: one entire poster is in Polish and another with the central campaign slogan in Russian. Obviously, this seeks to mobilise voters with a different mother tongue. Berlin is particularly suitable for this in two respects as it is the capital of Germany and, moreover, both languages are closely linked to Berlin's historical experience. Other posters show the inscription "No-Go-Area" (NRW 2017) or "Vote FPÖ" (EU 2019) in English. Here, the choice of language has the function of appearing as young as possible. Much more revealing is which languages are not used for advertising: Turkish, Arabic, yet many eligible voters in Berlin, for instance, speak one of these two languages. However, the members of this linguistic minority are not a target group.

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Linguistic aspects stand out, like the use of terms with historical allusions or the reinterpretation of certain terms, which increase the conspicuousness and expressiveness of the posters. Both parties refer to historical events and do so, for instance, with "Blockparteien" ("bloc parties", Thuringia 2019) and "Wende" ("turnaround", Thuringia 2019) in allusion to the political status quo in the GDR and precisely this change in 1989, with "Oktoberrevolution" ("October revolution", Vienna 2015) in reference to the violent seizure of power by the communist Bolsheviks in Russia in 1917, or with "Salzburger Frühling" (Salzburg spring", Salzburg 2013) in reference to the Prague Spring in 1968, including the reform efforts of the Communist Party. All these terms exemplify the AfD and FPÖ's reference to polarising events in the past, they reinterpret and functionalise these historical terms. Moreover, both parties appeal to a "collective memory" by alluding to significant historical events that have been decisive for a regional as well as national identity.[62]

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62 See: Hutton, Patrick H. (1988): Collective Memory and Collective Mentalities: The Halbwachs-Ariés Connection. In: *Réflexions Historiques*, 15:2, p. 311-322.

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Poster 90

With the Code-Relations-Browser, it can be demonstrated that the use of exclamation marks is strongly related to the emphasis on patriotism and collectivisation. Moreover, the use of "paternalistic verbs" or "verbs of voting" is recognisably linked to these subcategories of "we" through this analysis. If the relationship between the category "construction of populist communication" and the category "the others" is analysed in this way (see figure 18 in the annex), the central result is that the use of exclamation marks can be found especially on posters coded with the subcategories "creation of fear", "immigrants" and "political enemies", which illustrates the urgency of these topics. Furthermore, "verbs of ending" and the category "immigrants" appear strikingly often together on posters, thereby reinforcing the intended message.
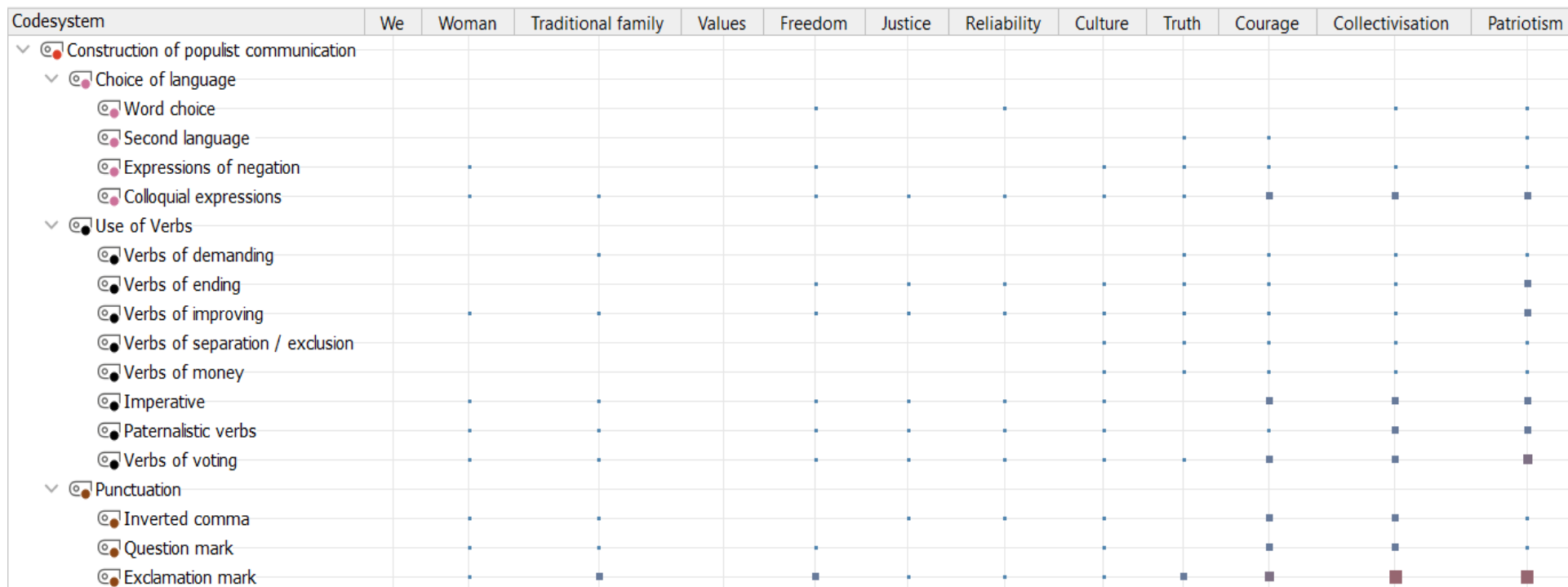
Codesystem	We	Woman	Traditional family	Values	Freedom	Justice	Reliability	Culture	Truth	Courage	Collectivisation	Patriotism
⌄ Construction of populist communication												
⌄ Choice of language												
Word choice					·		·				·	·
Second language							·	·				·
Expressions of negation	·				·		·			·	·	·
Colloquial expressions	·		·	·	·	·	·				■	■
⌄ Use of Verbs												
Verbs of demanding			·									·
Verbs of ending	·											■
Verbs of improving	·		·									■
Verbs of separation / exclusion	·											·
Verbs of money	·											·
Imperative	·									■	■	·
Paternalistic verbs	·		·							■	■	·
Verbs of voting	·		·							■	■	■
⌄ Punctuation												
Inverted comma	·		·		·					■	■	·
Question mark	·		·		·					■	■	·
Exclamation mark	·	■		■	·	·			■	■	■	■

Figure 11: Code-Relations-Browser: "Construction of populist communication" and "We".

Source: own, H. M.

2.4. Target of populist communication

Finally, the target of populist communication of the election posters is examined. Five categories are central: 1. representatives of Germany / Austria first; 2. people who are anti-immigrants; 3. social groups; 4. dissatisfied people; 5. other groups.

2.4.1. What is typical?

When analysing the recipients of populist communication, five categories emerged:

1. Voters who desire a strong Germany / Austria are supposed to feel addressed. AfD (18 posters) and FPÖ (37 posters) try to convey this image of a strong or, if desired, even stronger nation state, with the focus on regional / national affiliation. The common homeland is emphasised, voters feel addressed.

2. People having a negative attitude towards immigrants are appealed to. The posters of the AfD (29 posters) and the FPÖ (23 posters) point out cultural differences and indicate that Islam is not compatible with German / Austrian tradition and culture. Moreover, negative consequences such as insecurity due to immigrants are portrayed.

3. Social groups are directly addressed. AfD (21 posters) and FPÖ (22 posters) emphasise the group of the "socially weak" and show how expensive everyday life is, economic differences are pointed out. In addition, the group of families is appealed to, traditional family values are articulated with which voters are supposed to identify.

4. Dissatisfied people are another target group for AfD (20 posters) and FPÖ (16 posters). The aim is to attract people who are dissatisfied with the status quo – the reasons for this being of various kinds. Importantly, voters are to be persuaded by their displeasure with the current situation.

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5. Other groups are primarily "frightened people" (14 posters). Fear is created and threats such as terror and violence are circumscribed, people's fear is to be functionalised as mobilisation.
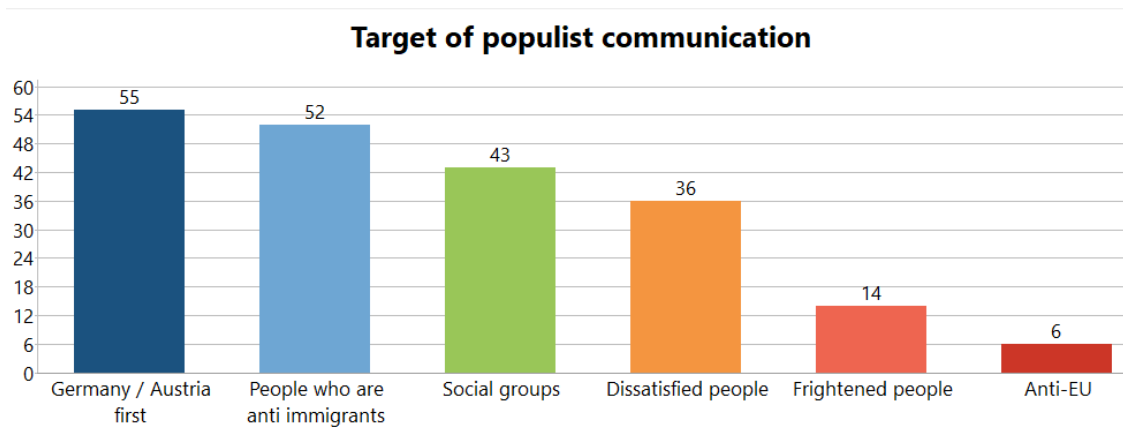
Target of populist communication

Figure 12: Bar chart for the code "Target of populist communication".

Source: own, H. M.

2.4.2. Representatives of Germany / Austria first

This category includes people who support a strong Germany / Austria. Election posters of the AfD (18 posters) convey a positive image of a powerful nation state, demand "weniger Brüssel" ("less Brussels", EU 2014) and want to mobilise voters with terms like "Souveränität" ("sovereignty", Saxony-Anhalt 2016) or the reference to the common living space such as Berlin (Berlin 2016) or East Germany (Thuringia 2019). It is striking to note that recipients of this group are often addressed on posters during regional elections in Eastern Germany.

Also the FPÖ conveys the image of a strong nation state (37 posters), terms like "Österreich" ("Austria") are used to appeal to voters (Nationalratswahl 2017, EU 2019). In addition, regional references like "Salzburger Frühling" ("Salzburg spring", Salzburg 2018) or "Wiener zuerst" ("Viennese first", Vienna 2020) are included. However, posters with "das Land" ("the country", Upper Austria 2015) or "Heimat" ("homeland", Lower Austria 2018) illustrate that the common homeland does not have to be named directly. These posters appeal to a strong national or regional affiliation, a common homeland is emphasised. Accordingly, the recipients are people who support this vision.

Poster 91

Poster 92

2.4.3. People who are anti-immigrants

This second category illustrates advertising with a negative attitude towards immigrants to attract voters. Almost in all the elections examined, the AfD tries to reach voters with such an image (29 posters). Emphasising that immigration would have negative consequences is a way to create this feeling. By pointing out cultural differences, Islam is directly named and cultural aspects like the wearing of burkas and headscarves (Bavaria 2018) or the rejection of pork (Saarland 2017, Bundestag 2017) characterise the foreign, not compatible with the "typical German". Further, a sense is being constructed that there would be ongoing chaos due to immigration, the AfD therefore demands strict rules (Bundestag 2013, EU 2014, Baden-Württemberg 2016) and safer borders (EU 2019, Saxony-Anhalt 2016). People who are afraid of the supposedly foreign are central recipients of this mobilisation strategy, which becomes particularly clear in regional elections in border regions.

The FPÖ constructs the fear of foreigners in a similar way (23 posters), conveying the image of an uncontrollable situation that has arisen due to immigration. Primarily, terms like "Asylchaos" ("asylum chaos", Tyrol 2018, EU 2019, Nationalratswahl 2013) are used to illustrate that immigration has made Austria unsafe. A central message is that the borders must be protected more strongly (Nationalratswahl 2019, Burgenland 2015).

Furthermore, the FPÖ demands Islamisation to be stopped (Nationalratswahl 2017), ties housing to the ability to speak German (Upper Austria 2015) or advertises to get back "unser Wien" ("our Vienna", Vienna 2020).

Poster 93

Poster 94

2.4.4. Social groups

The AfD targets different social groups (21 posters), especially the group of "socially weak" or "families" stands out. In order to attract socially disadvantaged people, the AfD advertises with posters on which it argues that housing is too expensive (Hamburg 2020), energy costs are too high (Baden-Württemberg 2016) or crafts are too poorly paid (Saxony 2019). Those posters show that there are things that are too expensive for some people – the AfD appeals hereby to the frustration, the helplessness of people who are paid less. The group "families" is understood as a traditional family and consists of mother, father and child (Baden-Württemberg 2016, Bavaria 2018, Bundestag 2017). It is appealed that whoever shares such an understanding of a family should vote AfD.

The FPÖ also addresses different social groups (22 posters), often appealing to the "socially weak". Election posters address high rents (Lower Austria 2018), complain about too few jobs (Burgenland 2015) or call for a fair social system (Nationalratswahl 2017). They point out that life is "kein Luxus" ("not a luxury", Salzburg 2013). Other

groups addressed are "families" (Tyrol 2018, Burgenland 2015) – here, again, the traditional family is emphasised – as well as "youth", in this case with the demand for secure jobs (Upper Austria 2015).

Poster 95

Poster 96

2.4.5. Dissatisfied people

A final category consists of "dissatisfied people". Here, the AfD appeals to the dissatisfaction of the viewers of the posters (20 posters), whereby this dissatisfaction can be of different nature. This dissatisfaction is caused by a poor infrastructure (Hamburg 2020, NRW 2017) or an unfair education system (Brandenburg 2014, Baden-Württemberg 2021, Saxony 2019). Political dissatisfaction with the status quo is also included (Thuringia 2019). It is clear that the AfD's election posters aim to mobilise people who are dissatisfied with the current situation.

The FPÖ likewise addresses "dissatisfied people" (16 posters) and does so by emphasising a negative status quo. Primarily, a political status quo is referred to and the FPÖ presents itself as a party that would change something – accordingly, it would stand up for the citizens (Nationalratswahl 2019, Upper Austria 2015) or have the courage to tell the truth (Vorarlberg 2019, Nationalratswahl 2017). It is about ensuring more justice (Tyrol 2018). In doing so, the FPÖ emphasises the maturity of citizens and

even more that citizens are the ones having the power in the midst of a democratic process (Federal Presidential Election 2016, Vienna 2015).

Poster 97

Poster 98

2.4.6. Other groups

The group "frightened people" (14 posters) is constituted through the construction of a feeling of fear and threat, terms like "Sicherheit" ("security", Saxony-Anhalt 2016, Salzburg 2013), or "Gewalt" ("violence", Baden-Württemberg 2016, Lower Austria 2015) are used. Likewise, visual elements portraying mainly women in the role of victims indicate that crime exists (Saxony 2019, Vienna 2020).

Poster 99

The Code-Relations-Browser illustrates the result that the category "representatives of Germany / Austria first" are particularly often depicted with the category "we". Especially, this is created by appealing to a common homeland or shared values. In contrast, the category "people who are anti-immigrants" is often represented with the category "the others", showing the existence of external enemies. Linguistically, these two categories of recipients are linked with "paternalistic" verbs, with the parties portraying themselves as the defender of "the people". In this context, exclamation marks supplement the clarification of the urgency of the respective statement.
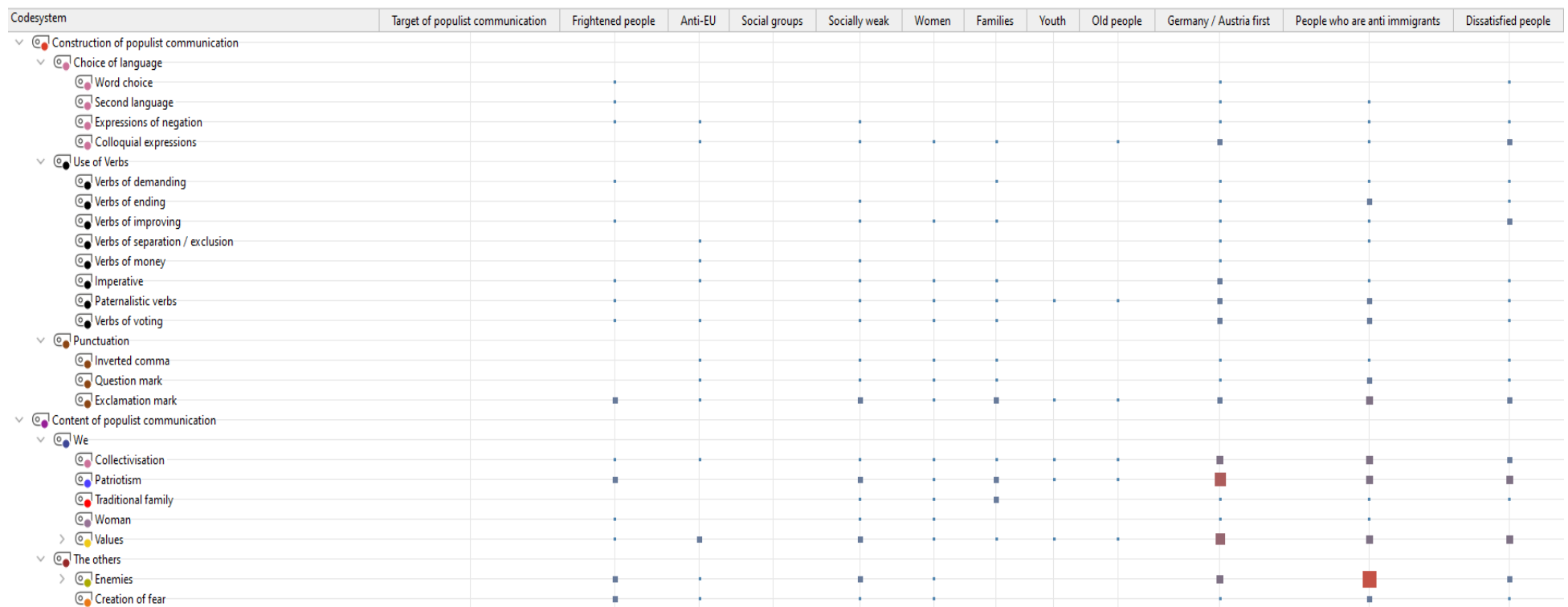
Figure 13: Code-Relations-Browser: "Construction" / "Content of populist communication" and "Target of populist communication".

Source: own, H. M.

2.5. Discussion of results

In this step, the results of the analysis are discussed. A cross table taken from MAXQDA offers a possibility to compare the categories of election posters. Here, the document groups "AfD" and "FPÖ" are shown as well as central categories and subcategories. It is striking that apart from a few subcategories, a very similar pattern emerges. Additionally, this justifies the assumption that in a next step a model of populist communication can be developed on the basis of these commonalities. These similarities can be exemplified by the category "we" and "the others": Both parties create these groups in almost equal proportions. Likewise, a similar number of verbs are used, which verbs these were, has already been shown above.

	AfD	FPÖ
Construction of populist communication		
Choice of language	34	25
Use of Verbs	76	56
Punctuation	83	35
Content of populist communication		
We	91	92
The others	58	51
Policy fields	57	50
Representation of populist communicatio		
Central motive	101	102
Signs and symbols	74	94
Target of populist communication		
Frightened people	8	6
Anti-EU	6	
Social groups	21	22
Germany / Austria first	18	37
People who are anti immigrants	29	23
Dissatisfied people	20	16

Figure 14: Cross table AfD / FPÖ and central categories.

Source: own, H. M.

An additional tool that supports the discussion of the results is the two-case model in MAXQDA. It enables visualisation of the extent to which categories appear on the election posters of the AfD and / or FPÖ. This contrasting comparison is helpful in that it shows that both parties (apart from several specific quantitative differences) do indeed

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share the central iterative elements, like the reference to the homeland or the propagation of a strong nation state. By contrast, national differences, such as the reference to political parties, are evident. In addition, the AfD specifically relates to education policy and uses a question-and-answer game, whereas the FPÖ specifically addresses young people as a target group. Fundamentally, and this is the central conclusion, both parties share the typical elements that have been elaborated in this thesis. In this context, it must be noted that the ten categories in the middle of this model are the categories that were coded most frequently. For reasons of clarity, not all categories have been incorporated.
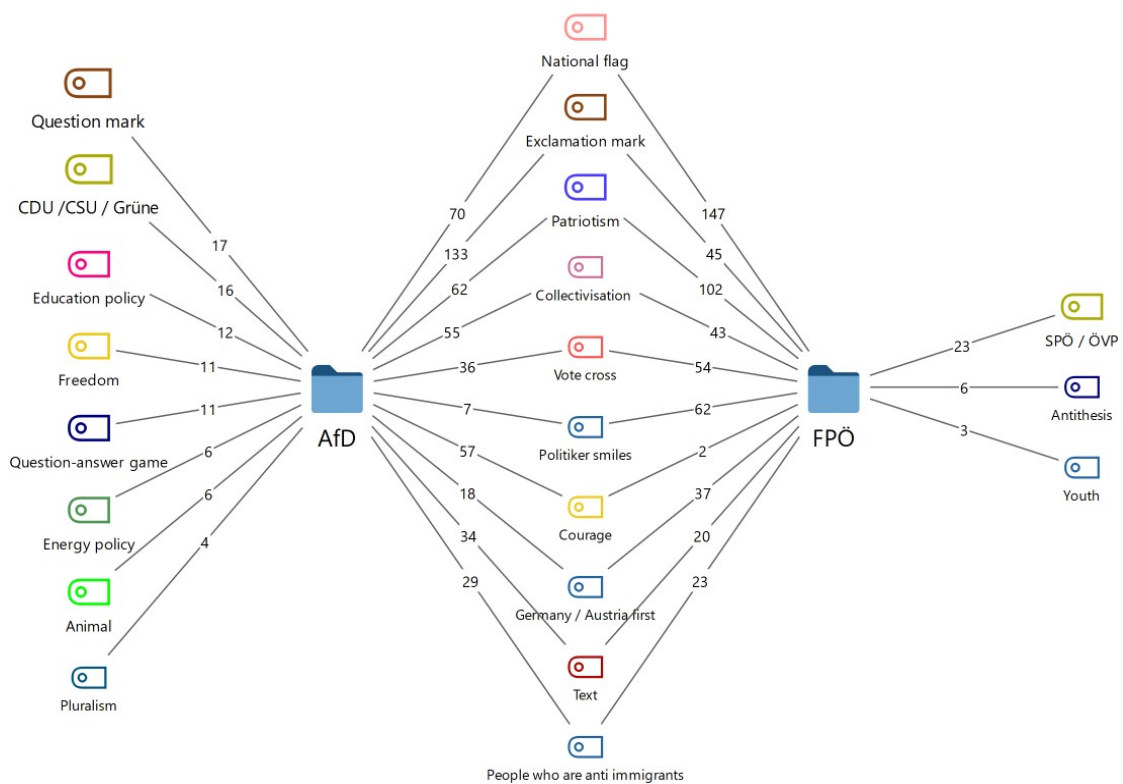
Figure 15: Two-case-model: AfD / FPÖ and central categories.

Source: own, H. M.

Central categories that were elaborated during the coding process clarify the communicative reference to a common group and point to a shared external enemy. What has also be worked out at different points is the importance of creating a paternalistic relationship between the AfD / FPÖ and the viewer of the poster. It is about

presenting oneself as a defender in order to protect "you", meaning the "real people", from "the others". However, the relevance of this aspect is not yet a central subject of research in established literature on populist communication.

Nevertheless, the reference to a homogenous group, and even more so the appeal to a common homeland, is an aspect that other works also underline. Wodak describes this with the term "homeland" or Taggart with "heartland".[63] Therefore, it is a matter of communicatively highlighting the "real people". This thesis has shown how this group of "real people" is constituted on election posters. By appealing to specific values ("courage" or "justice"), populist communication takes on a moral dimension. Jan-Werner Müller also comes to this conclusion.[64] Beyond that, the emphasis on tradition, on one's own culture, is a typical feature of populist posters. Wodak also elaborates this aspect and refers to "cultural and family values" as a component of populist discourses.[65] This work shows what authors like Wirth et al. call "stressing virtues of the people" and "stating a monolithic people": Certain values of the viewers of the posters are appealed to and, based on this, a unified and closed group is communicatively constructed.[66]

Naming an enemy, similar to Bos et al.'s notion of "out-group hostility", is a central result of this thesis.[67] In this thesis, the creation of fear on election posters through visual or textual elements was demonstrated; this aspect of the "Politics of Fear" is equally emphasised by Wodak.[68] In other words, the aim is to generate a feeling of threat and to stress the existence of an external or internal enemy. This enemy could be further differentiated into distinct groups, with the aspect of immigrants being central. Cas Mudde also recognises this when he talks about a "broader immigration issue" of

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63 Wodak, R. (2021): The Politics of Fear, p. 34. And: Taggart, Paul (2006): Populism and representative politics in contemporary Europe. In: *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 9:3, p. 269-288.

64 Müller, Jan-Werner (2016): What is Populism?, p. 19. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press.

65 Wodak, R. (2021): The Politics of Fear, p. 71

66 Wirth, W. et al. (2016): The appeal of populist ideas, strategies and styles, p. 52.

67 Bos, L. et al. (2019): The effects of populism as a social identity frame on persuasion and mobilisation, p. 6.

68 Wodak, R. (2021): The Politics of Fear, p. 12.

populist parties.[69] An almost nativist tendency of populist communication on election posters is done by naming Islam as an enemy group, Wodak captures this as "Occident versus Orient – Christianity versus Islam and Judaism".[70] However, the fact that the EU, or Brussels by proxy, is portrayed as another external enemy is analysed in this thesis. Studies that specifically examine Eurosceptic populism in more detail show a similar consideration: By stigmatising the distant EU as an enemy image, populist parties manage to strengthen the feeling of being at home and, even more, to convey the image of an unfair EU.[71] In addition to this external enemy, there are also internal enemies like other political parties. This aspect of creating "negative feelings towards the political competitor" is likewise noted by Holtz-Bacha and Johansson.[72] However, what is clearly emphasised to a greater extent in the literature is highlighting economic elites within society as an enemy image. Unlike what is shown in other publications for different media, the image of "self-serving elites" is not advertised prominently on the election posters examined.[73]

Beyond the division into "we" versus "the others" stands the consideration which Wodak calls "saying the unsayable".[74] By breaking taboos and polarising political and social issues, populist parties say the supposedly unsayable. This "unsayable" may be of different nature and refer either to the creation of a common group, a proud and strong nation, or to the explicit naming of specific groups within or outside a society that are not part of the "real people".

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69 Mudde, Cas (2012): Three decades of populist radical right parties in Western Europe: So what? In: *European Journal of Political Research*, 52:1, p. 1-19.

70 Wodak, R. (2021): The Politics of Fear, p. 71.

71 Ruzza, Carlo (2017): Populism and euroscepticism: Towards uncivil society? In: *Politics and Society, 28:1*, p. 87-98. And: Krouwel, André / Koen Abts (2007): Varieties of Euroscepticism and Populist Mobilization: Transforming Attitudes from Mild Euroscepticism to Harsh Eurocynicim. In: *Acta Politica*, 42:2, p. 252-270. And: Arzheimer, Kai (2015): The AfD: Finally a Successful Right-Wing Populist Eurosceptic Party for Germany? In: *West European Politics*, 38:3, p. 535-556.

72 Holtz-Bacha, C. / B. Johansson (2017): Posters: From Announcements to Campaign Instruments, p. 9.

73 de Vreese, C. et al. (2018): Populism as an Expression of Political Communication Content and Style, p. 428.

74 Wodak, R. (2021): The Politics of Fear, p. 25.

III. Populist communication as a modular tool: A model to apply

3.1. Model of populist communication

Finally, within the framework of the Grounded Theory approach, the formation of a model shall result. This empirical thesis examines typical elements of the political communication of populist parties in Germany and Austria on election posters.

A first result is that the basic assumption that populism divides society communicatively into "we" versus "the others" can be extended for the analysed election posters by an element: We *for you* versus the other. This is illustrated by the populist parties postering paternalistic verbs or creating certain emotions (like fear) – the role of the parties, as the self-image indicates, is to protect the "real people" from foreign influences. They aim to present themselves as a saviour and protector, which is also made clear by singling out central groups of recipients. Furthermore, this assumption is apparent through the naming of different policy areas, in that the parties would specifically stand up for the people who are treated unfairly.

The "we" includes two different aspects: The parties present themselves as a defender of the "real people". They stylise themselves as defenders of the national, traditional, the "right" values of the "real people" and propagate a strong nation state, the own nation is revalued according to the motto Germany / Austria first. By appealing to moral, desirable virtues like "courage" or "justice", the impression is conveyed that the only right thing to do is to vote for the respective party. However, the aspect of "we" also includes the construction of a direct proximity of the parties to the voters, it is about conveying the image of a homogeneous society, about collectivising. The party sees itself as part of the "real people", commonalities are to be shown. This is done visually as well as textually – by showing the national flag and by using personal and possessive pronouns, this collectivisation takes place. Colloquial expressions are central, the idea being to communicate that the parties and their voters speak the same language.

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This already describes the content of the element *for you*. The *you*, the voters or viewers of the election posters, are addressed directly. Communicatively, this call can be made through imperatives, but even more so, central target groups are directly targeted through specific political messages. Appealing to values also plays into this aspect. Viewers of election posters are supposed to feel obliged to vote for the party. Paternalistic verbs make it clear that the parties fight *for you*, stand up *for you* and want the very best *for you*. By depicting politicians with different people, the body language also illustrates a certain closeness.

Against whom is fought is illustrated by "the others" – the formation of enemy groups. Enemy groups are those groups that do not fit into the traditional image of a homogeneous nation. Obviously, immigrants in particular are singled out, cultural differences are described as wrong and dangerous. In order to underline this, fear is created, a feeling of insecurity and chaos is advertised. This is contrasted with the staging of AfD / FPÖ as protectors and advocates of justice and fairness. Enemy groups like the EU, other political parties or economic elites show above all that injustice prevails, it is a strong criticism of the status quo.

Moreover, it is evident that supposedly political content on election posters merely serves to package the ideology in a simplified communicative way. The populist parties are rarely interested in constructively criticising the political status quo or presenting own solutions. It may be argued that opposition parties, and even more so populist parties, are fundamentally protest parties, but this thesis illustrates that those political messages are primarily aimed at suggesting a division of society or an external threat. It can therefore be inferred that issues are simplified, reinterpreted and functionalised.

The moral element of populism is visible on the posters. Emotions are deliberately generated and the feeling of fear and threat mobilises strongly. This moral dimension of populist mobilisation is based on appealing to voters' virtues, almost creating a sense of obligation to vote for the party.

A tabular overview incorporating the typical elements of election posters illustrates the transfer to build a model of populist communication on election posters:

Table 6: From typical elements on election posters to a model of populist communication

		Election poster	Populist Communication
We	We (the people)	• Patriotism: use of national flags; emphasising common homeland • Shared values: e. g. justice, truth, culture • Collectivisation: use of possessive / personal pronouns	• Patriotism • Moral aspect • Collectivisation
	We (the party)	• Pointing out positive values of the "real people": courage for the truth • Advertising with politicians as representing the "real people" • Highlighting external / internal threats and the need for security	• Valorizing, representing, and defending the "real people"
for you	The "real people"	• Use of paternalist verbs • Stressing the existence of the "real people" (traditional family image; national culture in distinction to foreign culture) with shared values	• Paternalist phrases • Demonstrating closeness
versus the other	Immigrants	• Pointing out religious and cultural otherness (e. g. burka) • Consequence of immigration is chaos, crime and Islamisation (creation of fear, nativism)	• Stressing cultural differences • Creating negative emotions • Nativist elements
	Elites	• Mentioning political elites in a negative sense, they are unfair, political status quo needs to change • "Little man" is emphasised, banks and economic elites are bad • Elites are not part of the "real people"	• Discrediting the political elites • Elites are not part of the "real people"

Source: own, H. M.

These findings and dynamics can be graphically expressed in the following way:
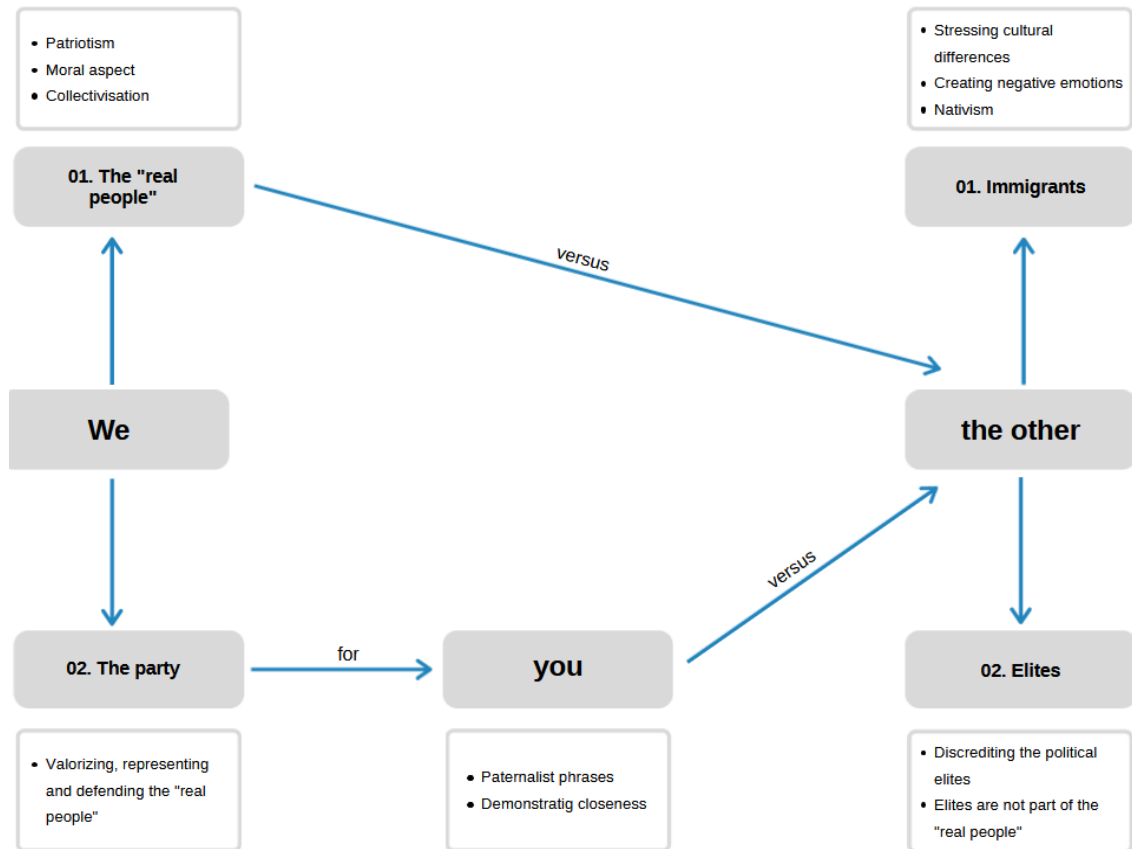

Figure 16: Concept map: Model of populist communication.
Source: own, H. M.

A further way of visualising the results of this thesis and showing which typical elements of populist communication are found on election posters is to create a code cloud using MAXQDA, which reveals the 35 most significant codes in the code system. The larger the word, the more often that word was coded.

Figure 17: Code Cloud: 35 most significant codes.

Source: own, H. M.

Representing the message in this way helps to understand the typical elements of populist communication: National flags are deliberately used to show a common homeland or certain values are appealed to ("courage" as an election appeal, "truth" to show the legitimacy of the communicated issues) as to collectivise or create a paternalistic relationship between the parties and the viewers of the posters.

3.2. An outlook on the analysis of populist communication

This thesis has tried to identify the typical characteristics of populist communication on election posters with the aim of developing a model of such communication. Thus, this model provides a basis for further research in different directions. Although the medium of the election poster is a central component of political advertising, in view of the greater influence of social media, the aspect of online communication is just as revealing. It would be productive to analyse typical elements of populist online communication – is there a stronger polarisation online, are taboos broken even more explicitly? Does the creation of specific emotions become increasingly evident? There

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is no doubt that the central motto of populist communication, *we for you versus the other*, will be present. At the same time, the framework conditions must be taken into account through the possibility of quickly sharing content and the consideration of the influence of targeted advertising through algorithms.

Further research is also possible by integrating other posters of populist parties from other countries, focusing on the extent to which populist parties from Northern or Eastern Europe show a similar pattern. In this context, it is important to consider that other countries have experienced recent crises differently, or share other historical experiences. This also results in a broader framework of populist communication, like the influence of the church and, more generally, the issue of religion in Eastern European countries – to what extent is it plausible to refer to religious populism? Equally interesting is the aspect of examining election posters of mainstream parties to find out to what extent this communicative pattern (*we for you versus the other*) is populist, or whether other parties propagate a similar cleavage of society. Exemplarily, the identity politics of left-wing parties is geared towards making a similar division of society into heterogeneous, disadvantaged citizens and homogeneous, privileged elites. Based on this, the question then arises to what extent election posters of left parties do show a similar communicative pattern and address a division of society.

Furthermore, it is insightful to analyse the extent to which specific crises as framework conditions shape the content of populist communication and, even more, to what extent the communication of these topics is a guarantee for political success. This thesis was able to demonstrate, among other things, that a shift from a critique of the EU with economic aspects to an anti-immigrant stance has taken place, which was particularly noticeable for the AfD. The influence of the refugee crisis on the content of populist communication is obvious – in view of the Covid-19 pandemic, it is therefore interesting to examine the role of this health policy problem on election posters. In Germany, the next Bundestagswahl is taking place in 2021 and the AfD's central campaign slogan has been communicated with "Deutschland. Aber normal."

("Germany. But normal.").[75] It will be exciting to examine the role of the pandemic on the AfD's election posters in the upcoming months – is a new enemy group being constructed or an old enemy group being redefined?

Poster 100

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75 AfD Kompakt (2021): AfD-Kampagnenfilm 2021: Deutschland. Aber normal.

Annex

Figure 18: Code-Relations-Browser: "Construction of populist communication" and "The others".

Source: own, H. M.

List of posters

Poster 1: Bundestag 2017

AfD Kreisverband Rhein-Sieg (2017): Trau Dich, Deutschland! Link: https://www.afdrheinsieg.de/trau-dich-deutschland-0.

Text: "Two top candidates?" Twice as good! Dare, Germany!

Poster 2: EU 2019

FPÖ (2019): FPÖ startet in den EU-Wahlkampf. Link: https://www.fpoe.at/artikel/fpoe-startet-in-den-eu-wahlkampf/.

Text: Voting works. Protecting what we love: Austria. Stand up for our homeland.

Poster 3: Upper Austria 2015

FPÖ Landesverband Oberösterreich (2015): Wahlplakate zur Landtagswahl 2015. Provided by FPÖ Landesverband Oberösterreich.

Text: The people. The country. My vocation.

Poster 4: Bavaria 2018

AfD Landesverband Bayern (2018): Themenplakate. Link: https://www.afdbayern.de/wahlen-2018/themenplakate/.

Text: Our country, our rules! Burkas? We prefer bikinis!

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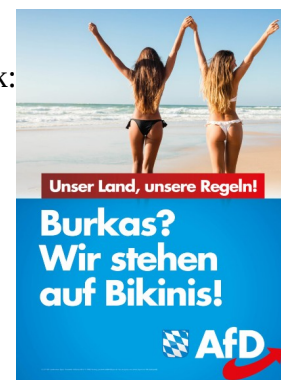
Poster 5: Baden-Württemberg 2021

AfD Kreisverband Breisgau Hochschwarzwald (2021): Landtagswahl 2021. Link: https://brsg-hschw.afd-bw.de/Landtagswahlen%202021/Die%20Wahlplakate.

Text: For justice and freedom. Stop extremists!

Poster 6: Salzburg 2013

FPÖ Landesverband Salzburg (2013): Wahlplakate zur Landtagswahl 2013. Provided by FPÖ Landesverband Salzburg.

Text: For our youth. WE understand YOU, guaranteed.

Poster 7: Brandenburg 2014

AfD Kreisverband Cottbus (2014): Plakate zur Landtagswahl 2014. Link: https://www.afd-cottbus.de/wahlen/landtagswahl-2014/plakate-zur-landtagswahl-2014/.

Text: Courage for Brandenburg. Prosperity comes from the middle class. Promote small & medium-sized enterprises: Reduce bureaucracy now!

Poster 8: Burgenland 2015

FPÖ Landesverband Burgenland (2015): Wahlplakate zur Landtagswahl 2015. Provided by FPÖ Landesverband Burgenland.

Text: Eradicate poverty. Act now: Vote out red-black! Home advantage. Only with us!

Poster 9: Bavaria 2018

AfD Landesverband Bayern (2018): Themenplakate. Link: https://www.afdbayern.de/wahlen-2018/themenplakate/.

Text: Mandatory cross for Bavaria. Both votes for the AfD.

Poster 10: EU 2019

FPÖ (2019): FPÖ startet in den EU-Wahlkampf. Link: https://www.fpoe.at/artikel/fpoe-startet-in-den-eu-wahlkampf/.

Text: FPÖ vote against asylum chaos. Stand up for Austria.

Poster 11: Thuringia 2019

AfD Landesverband Thüringen (2019): Wahlkampfmittel zur Landtagswahl. Link: https://www.afd-thueringen.de/landtagswahl-2019/wahlkampfmittel-zur-landtagswahl/.

Text: Wende_2.0. Then and now: Freedom of expression! The peaceful revolution on the ballot paper.

Poster 12: Saxony 2019

Rafael, Simone (2019): AfD-Wahl-Narrative. Link: https://www.belltower.news/afd-wahl-narrative-in-sachsen-gibt-sich-die-afd-jetzt-natuerlich-voelkisch-89287/. Last accessed 29.03.2021.

Text: For my future, of course... AfD. Dare Saxony.

Poster 13: Nationalratswahl 2019

Vienna.AT (2019): Nationalratswahl. Link: https://www.vienna.at/neue-fpoe-wahlplakate-warnen-vor-gefahren/6350203.

Text: Herbert Kickl: Black-Green endangers YOUR security. Stop illegals – protect borders.

Poster 14: Bundestag 2017

Rentz, Ingo (2017): Bundestagswahl 2017. Mit diesen Plakaten gehen die großen Parteien ins Rennen. In: *Horizont.* Link:

https://www.horizont.net/marketing/nachrichten/

Bundestagswahl-2017-Mit-diesen-Plakaten-gehen-die-grossen-Parteien-ins-Rennen-160225.

Text: "And what is your reason for fighting for Germany?" Dare, Germany!

Poster 15: Schleswig-Holstein 2017

Breitbach, Isabelle (2017): Was sagen die Slogans der Parteien aus? In: *Kieler Nachrichten.* Link:

https://www.kn-online.de/Nachrichten/Politik/ersteWahl-in-Schleswig-Holstein-Slogans-der-Wahlplakate-in-der-Analyse.

Text: Courage between the seas. Order instead of red-green chaos!

Poster 16: EU 2019

FPÖ (2019): Jetzt erst recht FPÖ! Wahlaufruf zur EU-Wahl. Link: https://www.fpoe.at/artikel/jetzt-erst-recht-fpoe-wahlaufruf-zur-eu-wahl/.

Text: Austria needs you. Now more than ever. Only voting works.

Poster 17: EU 2014

Schaffrinna, Achim (2014): Die Plakate zur Europawahl 2014. Link: https://www.designtagebuch.de/die-plakate-zur-europawahl-2014-teil-2/.

Text: Courage for Germany – Vote AfD. Switzerland is in favour of direct referendums. We too.

Poster 18: Bundestag 2017

Rentz, Ingo (2017): Bundestagswahl 2017. Mit diesen Plakaten gehen die großen Parteien ins Rennen. In: *Horizont.* Link: https://www.horizont.net/marketing/nachrichten/Bundestagswahl-2017-Mit-diesen-Plakaten-gehen-die-grossen-Parteien-ins-Rennen-160225.
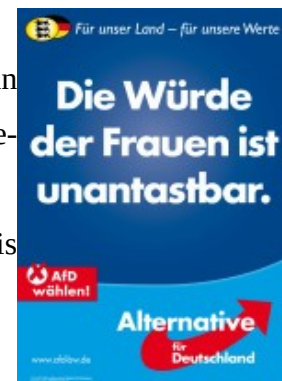
Text: "Welfare state?" Needs borders! Dare, Germany!
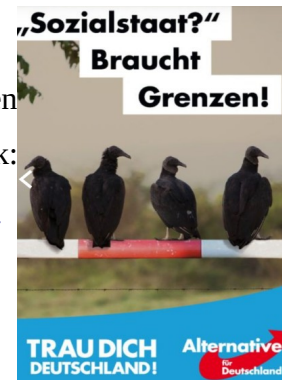
Poster 19: Baden-Württemberg 2016

Schaffrinna, Achim (2021): Die Plakate zur Landtagswahl 2016 in Baden-Württemberg. Link: https://www.designtagebuch.de/die-plakate-zur-landtagswahl-2016-in-baden-wuerttemberg/2/.

Text: For our country – for our values. The dignity of women is inviolable. Vote AfD!

Poster 20: Nationalratswahl 2017

FPÖ (2017): "Österreicher verdienen Fairness" – FPÖ startet Wahlkampagne. Link:
https://www.fpoe.at/artikel/oesterreicher-verdienen-fairness-fpoe-startet-wahlkampagne/.

Text: Austrians deserve FAIRNESS. The red-black fat must go.

Poster 21: Saxony 2019

Rafael, Simone (2019): AfD-Wahl-Narrative. Link: https://www.belltower.news/afd-wahl-narrative-in-sachsen-gibt-sich-die-afd-jetzt-natuerlich-voelkisch-89287/. Last accessed 29.03.2021.

Text: For our commitment, of course... AfD. Dare Saxony.

Poster 22: Salzburg 2013

FPÖ Landesverband Salzburg (2013): Wahlplakate zur Landtagswahl 2013. Provided by FPÖ Landesverband Salzburg.

Text: Now FAST: Respect for all generations. Because we trust him! So that home has a future!

Poster 23: Bundestag 2013

Lebendiges Museum Online (2013): Wahlplakat der AfD zur Bundestagswahl 2013. Link: https://www.hdg.de/lemo/bestand/objekt/plakat-afd-bundestagswahl-2013.html.

Text: Courage for the truth. The euro divides Europe. Vote AfD on 22 September!

Poster 24: NRW 2017

AfD Landesverband NRW (2017): Die Plakat-Kampagne der AfD NRW im Landtags-Wahlkampf 2017. Link: https://afd.nrw/aktuelles/2017/03/die-plakat-kampagne-der-afd-nrw-im-landtags-wahlkampf-2017/.

Text: At a snail's pace through NRW. Germany's No. 1 congestion state. Our programme is called reality.

Poster 25: Vorarlberg 2019

FPÖ Landesverband Vorarlberg (2019): Themenplakate zur Landtagswahl. Link:

https://www.vfreiheitliche.at/politik/programm/.

Text: Bitschi 2019. He says what's what. More for Vorarlberg again.

Poster 26: Bavaria 2018

AfD Landesverband Bayern (2018): Themenplakate. Link: https://www.afdbayern.de/wahlen-2018/themenplakate/.

Text: German main culture! Islam-free schools!

Poster 27: Bavaria 2018

AfD Landesverband Bayern (2018): Themenplakate. Link: https://www.afdbayern.de/wahlen-2018/themenplakate/.

Text: Preserve Christian values! Islam does not belong to Bavaria!

Poster 28: Nationalratswahl 2013

VOL.AT (2013): Wahlplakate 2013: Zwischen Heimatkitsch und Erlöserphantasien. Link: https://www.vol.at/wahlplakate-2013-zwischen-heimatkitsch-und-erloeserphantasien/3677533.

Text: Love your neighbours. For me, that are our AUSTRIANS. High time for charity.

Poster 29: Bavaria 2018

AfD Landesverband Bayern (2018): Themenplakate. Link:
https://www.afdbayern.de/wahlen-2018/themenplakate/.

Text: Fight crime! Security for our women and daughters!

Poster 30: Bundestag 2017

Rentz, Ingo (2017): Bundestagswahl 2017. Mit diesen Plakaten
gehen die großen Parteien ins Rennen. In: *Horizont.* Link:
https://www.horizont.net/marketing/nachrichten/Bundestagswahl-
2017-Mit-diesen-Plakaten-gehen-die-grossen-Parteien-ins-
Rennen-160225.

Text: "New Germans?" Let's do it ourselves. Dare, Germany!

Poster 31: Nationalratswahl 2017

FPÖ-Parlamentsklub (2017): FPÖ-Plakate als Kampfansage
gegen Islamisierung und rotes Bonzentum. Link:
https://www.fpoe-parlamentsklub.at/artikel/fpoe-plakate-als-
kampfansage-gegen-islamisierung-und-rotes-bonzentum/.

Text: SPÖ: Get YOU what YOU deserve. (Strache:) We give
back to YOU what THEY take from YOU. Austrians deserve fairness.

Poster 32: Vienna 2020

Austria Presse Agentur (2020): FPÖ-Wien präsentiert ihre
erste Plakatwelle für den Wien-Wahlkampf. Link:
https://www.ots.at/presseaussendung/
OTS_20200828_OTS0082/fpoe-wien-praesentiert-ihre-
erste-plakatwelle-fuer-den-wien-wahlkampf-anhang.

Text: (SPÖ) Michael Ludwig: His VIENNA! Dominik Nepp: OUR VIENNA!

Poster 33: Bundestag 2017

Rentz, Ingo (2017): Bundestagswahl 2017. Mit diesen Plakaten gehen die großen Parteien ins Rennen. In: *Horizont.* Link:

https://www.horizont.net/marketing/nachrichten/Bundestagswahl-2017-Mit-diesen-Plakaten-gehen-die-grossen-Parteien-ins-Rennen-160225.

Text: "Traditional?" We like it. Dare, Germany!

Poster 34: Bavaria 2017

AfD Landesverband Bayern (2018): Themenplakate. Link: https://www.afdbayern.de/wahlen-2018/themenplakate/.

Text: The future needs families! Father, mother, children.

Poster 35: Salzburg 2013

FPÖ Landesverband Salzburg (2013): Wahlplakate zur Landtagswahl 2013. Provided by FPÖ Landesverband Salzburg.

Text: FAST now: Strengthening families. Because we trust him! So that home has a future!

Poster 36: Bundestag 2017

Rentz, Ingo (2017): Bundestagswahl 2017. Mit diesen Plakaten gehen die großen Parteien ins Rennen. In: *Horizont.* Link: https://www.horizont.net/marketing/nachrichten/Bundestagswahl-2017-Mit-diesen-Plakaten-gehen-die-grossen-Parteien-ins-Rennen-160225.
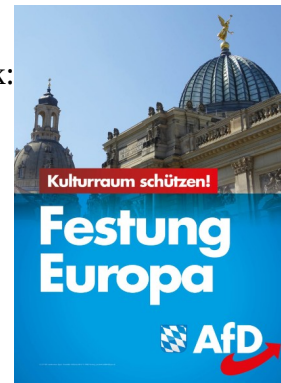
Text: "In trouble at sea?" More like the next crime wave! 52% more immigrant crime in 2017. Dare, Germany!

Poster 37: Bavaria 2018

AfD Landesverband Bayern (2018): Themenplakate. Link: https://www.afdbayern.de/wahlen-2018/themenplakate/.

Text: Protect cultural space! Fortress Europe.

Poster 38: Bundestag 2017

Rentz, Ingo (2017): Bundestagswahl 2017. Mit diesen Plakaten gehen die großen Parteien ins Rennen. In: *Horizont.* Link:

https://www.horizont.net/marketing/nachrichten/ Bundestagswahl-2017-Mit-diesen-Plakaten-gehen-die-grossen-Parteien-ins-Rennen-160225.

Text: "Burkas?" We like bikinis. Dare, Germany!

Poster 39: Saarland 2017

AfD Landesverband Saarland (2017): Plakate zur Landtagswahl am 26. März 2017. Link: https://afd.saarland/mediathek/grossplakate/.

Text: Vote AfD on 26 March! Time to change sides!

Poster 40: NRW 2017

AfD Landesverband NRW (2017): Die Plakat-Kampagne der AfD NRW im Landtags-Wahlkampf 2017. Link: https://afd.nrw/aktuelles/2017/03/die-plakat-kampagne-der-afd-nrw-im-landtags-wahlkampf-2017/.

Text: When you see this sign, it is too late. No-go area. Our programme is called reality.

Poster 41: Upper Austria 2015

FPÖ Landesverband Oberösterreich (2015): Wahlplakate zur Landtagswahl 2015. Provided by FPÖ Landesverband Oberösterreich.

Text: Let's get this straight. No housing without DEUTSCH. Manfred Haimbuchner. The people. The country. My vocation.

Poster 42: Nationalratswahl 2017

FPÖ-Parlamentsklub (2017): FPÖ-Plakate als Kampfansage gegen Islamisierung und rotes Bonzentum. Link: https://www.fpoe-parlamentsklub.at/artikel/fpoe-plakate-als-kampfansage-gegen-islamisierung-und-rotes-bonzentum/.

Text: ÖVP-Kurz 2015: Islam belongs to Austria. (Strache:) Islamisation must be stopped. Austria deserves fairness.

Poster 43: Salzburg 2013

FPÖ Landesverband Salzburg (2013): Wahlplakate zur Landtagswahl 2013. Provided by FPÖ Landesverband Salzburg.

Text: Because we need security instead of false tolerance! Therefore on 5 May FPÖ.

Poster 44: Vienna 2015

FPÖ (2015): Zweite Plakatwelle gestartet: "Wir grenzen niemanden aus – schon gar nicht unsere Wiener. Link: https://www.fpoe-wien.at/en/news-detail/artikel/zweite-plakatwelle-gestartet-wir-grenzen-niemanden-aus-schon-gar-nicht-unsere-wiener-2/.

Text: We exclude no one. Especially not our Viennese. October revolution.

Poster 45: Baden-Württemberg 2021

AfD Kreisverband Breisgau Hochschwarzwald (2021): Landtagswahl 2021. Link: https://brsg-hschw.afd-bw.de/Landtagswahlen%202021/Die%20Wahlplakate.

Text: For justice and freedom. Kretschmann, sit down, six!

Poster 46: Schleswig-Holstein 2017

Breitbach, Isabelle (2017): Was sagen die Slogans der Parteien aus? In: *Kieler Nachrichten.* Link: https://www.kn-online.de/Nachrichten/Politik/ersteWahl-in-Schleswig-Holstein-Slogans-der-Wahlplakate-in-der-Analyse.

Text: Courage between the seas. Order instead of red-green chaos!

Poster 47: Nationalratswahl 2017

FPÖ-Parlamentsklub (2017): FPÖ-Plakate als Kampfansage gegen Islamisierung und rotes Bonzentum. Link: https://www.fpoe-parlamentsklub.at/artikel/fpoe-plakate-als-kampfansage-gegen-islamisierung-und-rotes-bonzentum/.

Text: SPÖ & ÖVP: The red-black coalition solves the big problems. (Strache:) The red-black coalition IS the biggest problem. Austrians deserve FAIRNESS.

Poster 48: EU 2014

Schaffrinna, Achim (2014): Die Plakate zur Europawahl 2014. Link: https://www.designtagebuch.de/die-plakate-zur-europawahl-2014-teil-2/.

Text: Courage for Germany – Vote AfD. More for citizens. Less Brussels.

Poster 49: Bundestag 2017

Rentz, Ingo (2017): Bundestagswahl 2017. Mit diesen Plakaten gehen die großen Parteien ins Rennen. In: *Horizont.* Link:

https://www.horizont.net/marketing/nachrichten/

Bundestagswahl-2017-Mit-diesen-Plakaten-gehen-die-grossen-Parteien-ins-Rennen-160225.

Text: "Euro rescue?" Not at any price! Dare, Germany!

Poster 50: EU 2014

Neue Freie Zeitung (24.04.2014): FPÖ plakatiert "Klartext" zur EU-Wahl 2014. *Neue Freie Zeitung*. Link: https://de.readkong.com/page/die-fp-prasentierte-ihre-erste-plakatwelle-fur-die-8878158.

Text: Austria is rethinking. Too much EU is stupid. A lesson for EU & red-black.

Poster 51: Bundestag 2013

Treiber, Anja (2013): Das Wahlplakat der AfD. In: *Stuttgarter Zeitung.* Link: https://www.stuttgarter-zeitung.de/inhalt.analyse-zur-bundestagswahl-nicht-alle-plakate-sind-gelungen-page6.f2e1e865-fb50-4f10-85bf-5bb5f8ee6e64.html.

Text: Courage for the truth. A peaceful Europe does not need a Euro! Vote AfD on 22 September!

Poster 52: EU 2014

Neue Freie Zeitung (24.04.2014): FPÖ plakatiert "Klartext" zur EU-Wahl 2014. *Neue Freie Zeitung*. Link: https://de.readkong.com/page/die-fp-prasentierte-ihre-erste-plakatwelle-fur-die-8878158.

Text: Banks in ranks. Better for Austria, better for Europe. A lesson for EU and red-black.

Poster 53: Baden-Württemberg 2021

AfD Kreisverband Breisgau Hochschwarzwald (2021): Landtagswahl 2021. Link: https://brsg-hschw.afd-bw.de/Landtagswahlen%202021/Die%20Wahlplakate.
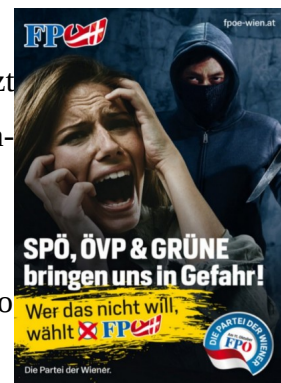
Text: For justice and freedom. Stop extremists!

Poster 54: Vienna 2020

OE24 (2020): Zweite Serie präsentiert. Wahl-Plakate: FPÖ setzt auf Sicherheit und Ausländer. Link: https://www.oe24.at/wien-wahl-2020/wahl-plakate-fpoe-setzt-auf-sicherheit-und-auslaender/445929398.

Text: SPÖ, ÖVP & GREENS are putting us in danger! Those who don't want that vote for the FPÖ. The party of the Viennese.

Poster 55: Hamburg 2020

AfD Landesverband Hamburg (2020): Vorstellung der AfD-Wahlplakate. Link: FPÖ (2019): FPÖ startet in den EU-Wahlkampf. Link: https://afd-hamburg.de/vorstellung-der-afd-wahlplakate-nockemann-hanseatisch-mutig-unbequem/.

Text: Rent: Gosh Hamburg, who's going to pay for that? Hanseatic. Courageous. Uncomfortable.

Poster 56: Vienna 2020

OE24 (2020): Zweite Serie präsentiert. Wahl-Plakate: FPÖ setzt auf Sicherheit und Ausländer. Link: https://www.oe24.at/wien-wahl-2020/wahl-plakate-fpoe-setzt-auf-sicherheit-und-auslaender/445929398.

Text: SPÖ, ÖVP & GREENS: Money gifts for foreigners. Those who don't want that vote for the FPÖ.

Poster 57: Bavaria 2018

AfD Landesverband Bayern (2018): Themenplakate. Link: https://www.afdbayern.de/wahlen-2018/themenplakate/.

Text: Protect social systems! Money for pensions instead of illegal migrants!

Poster 58: Upper Austria 2018

FPÖ Landesverband Oberösterreich (2015): Wahlplakate zur Landtagswahl 2015. Provided by FPÖ Landesverband Oberösterreich.

Text: Let's get this straight: No social benefits without GERMAN. Manfred Haimbuchner. The people. The country. My vocation.

Poster 59: Baden-Württemberg 2016

Schaffrinna, Achim (2021): Die Plakate zur Landtagswahl 2016 in Baden-Württemberg. Link: https://www.designtagebuch.de/die-plakate-zur-landtagswahl-2016-in-baden-wuerttemberg/2/.

Text: For our country – for our values. Stop the asylum chaos! Secure borders! Vote AfD!

Poster 60: Vienna 2020

OE24 (2020): Zweite Serie präsentiert. Wahl-Plakate: FPÖ setzt auf Sicherheit und Ausländer. Link: https://www.oe24.at/wien-wahl-2020/wahl-plakate-fpoe-setzt-auf-sicherheit-und-auslaender/445929398.

Text: Dominik Nepp. With him, Vienna will be SAFE again! If you want that, vote FPÖ! The party of the Viennese.
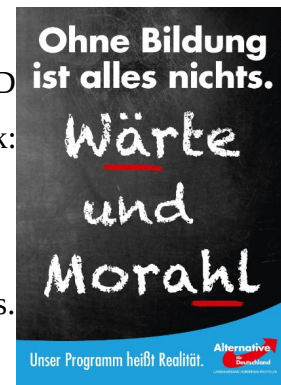
Poster 61: NRW 2017

AfD Landesverband NRW (2017): Die Plakat-Kampagne der AfD NRW im Landtags-Wahlkampf 2017. Link: https://afd.nrw/aktuelles/2017/03/die-plakat-kampagne-der-afd-nrw-im-landtags-wahlkampf-2017/.

Text: Without education, everything is nothing. Values and morals. Our programme is called reality.

Poster 62: Salzburg 2013

FPÖ Landesverband Salzburg (2013): Wahlplakate zur Landtagswahl 2013. Provided by FPÖ Landesverband Salzburg.

Text: Because life must not be a luxury. Therefore, on 5th May, FPÖ.

Poster 63: Bundestag 2017

Rentz, Ingo (2017): Bundestagswahl 2017. Mit diesen Plakaten gehen die großen Parteien ins Rennen. In: *Horizont.* Link:

https://www.horizont.net/marketing/nachrichten/Bundestagswahl-2017-Mit-diesen-Plakaten-gehen-die-grossen-Parteien-ins-Rennen-160225.

Text: "Colourful diversity?" We already have. Dare, Germany!

Poster 64: Bundestag 2017

Rentz, Ingo (2017): Bundestagswahl 2017. Mit diesen Plakaten gehen die großen Parteien ins Rennen. In: *Horizont.* Link: https://www.horizont.net/marketing/nachrichten/Bundestagswahl-2017-Mit-diesen-Plakaten-gehen-die-grossen-Parteien-ins-Rennen-160225.

Text: "New Germans?" Let's do it ourselves. Dare Germany!

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Poster 65: Hamburg 2020

AfD Landesverband Hamburg (2020): Vorstellung der AfD-Wahlplakate. Link: FPÖ (2019): FPÖ startet in den EU-Wahlkampf. Link: https://afd-hamburg.de/vorstellung-der-afd-wahlplakate-nockemann-hanseatisch-mutig-unbequem/.

Text: Open-minded! But not for gangs and clans! Hanseatic. Courageous. Uncomfortable.
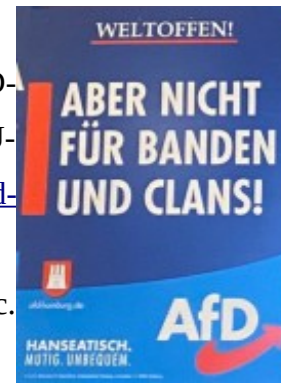
Poster 66: Burgenland 2015

FPÖ Landesverband Burgenland (2015): Wahlplakate zur Landtagswahl 2015. Provided by FPÖ Landesverband Burgenland.

Text: Border controls immediately! Vote out red-black! Only with us!

Poster 67: Bundestag 2017

Rentz, Ingo (2017): Bundestagswahl 2017. Mit diesen Plakaten gehen die großen Parteien ins Rennen. In: *Horizont.* Link: https://www.horizont.net/marketing/nachrichten/Bundestagswahl-2017-Mit-diesen-Plakaten-gehen-die-grossen-Parteien-ins-Rennen-160225.

Text: "Islam?" Doesn't fit with our cuisine. Dare, Germany!

Poster 68: Bundestag 2017

Rentz, Ingo (2017): Bundestagswahl 2017. Mit diesen Plakaten gehen die großen Parteien ins Rennen. In: *Horizont.* Link:

https://www.horizont.net/marketing/nachrichten/Bundestagswahl-2017-Mit-diesen-Plakaten-gehen-die-grossen-Parteien-ins-Rennen-160225.

Text: "Burkas?" We like bikinis. Dare, Germany!

Poster 69: Federal presidential election 2016

Vienna.AT (2016): BP-Wahl: "So wahr mir Gott helfe" auf Hofer-Plakaten. Link: https://www.vienna.at/bp-wahl-so-wahr-mir-gott-helfe-auf-hofer-plakaten/4975166.

Text: Decide in your favour. "So help me god". Norbert Hofer Federal President.

Poster 70: EU 2014

Schaffrinna, Achim (2014): Die Plakate zur Europawahl 2014. Link: https://www.designtagebuch.de/die-plakate-zur-europawahl-2014-teil-2/.

Text: Courage for Germany – Vote AfD. Switzerland is in favour of referendums. We too.

Poster 71: NRW 2017

AfD Landesverband NRW (2017): Die Plakat-Kampagne der AfD NRW im Landtags-Wahlkampf 2017. Link: https://afd.nrw/aktuelles/2017/03/die-plakat-kampagne-der-afd-nrw-im-landtags-wahlkampf-2017/.

Text: They don't see the light any more! Vote out the energy turnaround fools! Our programme is called reality.

Poster 72: EU 2019

FPÖ (2019): FPÖ startet in den EU-Wahlkampf. Link: https://www.fpoe.at/artikel/fpoe-startet-in-den-eu-wahlkampf/.

Text: Voting works. Protecting what we love: AUSTRIA. Stand up for our homeland.

Poster 73: Bavaria 2018

AfD Landesverband Bayern (2018): Themenplakate. Link: https://www.afdbayern.de/wahlen-2018/themenplakate/.
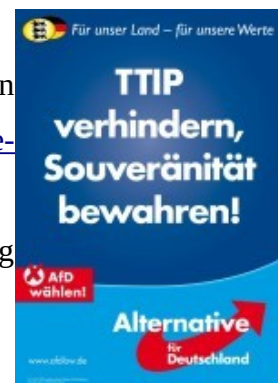
Text: Bavaria. But safe! Protect borders!

Poster 74: Baden-Württemberg 2016

Schaffrinna, Achim (2021): Die Plakate zur Landtagswahl 2016 in Baden-Württemberg. Link: https://www.designtagebuch.de/die-plakate-zur-landtagswahl-2016-in-baden-wuerttemberg/2/.

Text: For our country – for our values. Preventing TTIP, preserving sovereignty. Vote AfD!

Poster 75: Nationalratswahl 2019

FPÖ (2019): Nationalratswahl 2019 – Die Kampagne. Link: https://www.fpoe.at/blitzlicht/controller/album/767/.

Text: Herbert Kickl. One who protects our homeland.

Poster 76: Saxony-Anhalt 2016

Der Tagesspiegel (2016): Umfrage in Sachsen-Anhalt. Link: https://www.tagesspiegel.de/politik/umfrage-in-sachsen-anhalt-afd-schliesst-mit-17-prozent-zur-spd-auf/12974784.html.

Text: We for our homeland. Secure borders! Stop the asylum chaos. We are your voice!

Poster 77: Nationalratswahl 2017

FPÖ-Parlamentsklub (2017): FPÖ-Plakate als Kampfansage gegen Islamisierung und rotes Bonzentum. Link: https://www.fpoe-parlamentsklub.at/artikel/fpoe-plakate-als-kampfansage-gegen-islamisierung-und-rotes-bonzentum/.

Text: ÖVP-Kurz 2015: Islam belongs to Austria. (Strache:) Islamisation must be stopped. Austria deserves fairness.

Poster 78: Bavaria 2018

AfD Landesverband Bayern (2018): Themenplakate. Link: https://www.afdbayern.de/wahlen-2018/themenplakate/.

Text: End the nursing crisis! Upgrade the nursing professions!

Poster 79: Thuringia 2019

AfD Landesverband Thüringen (2019): Wahlkampfmittel zur Landtagswahl. Link: https://www.afd-thueringen.de/landtagswahl-2019/wahlkampfmittel-zur-landtagswahl/.

Text: Wende_2.0. then and now: freedom instead of socialism! Complete the turnaround!

Poster 80: Vienna 2015

FPÖ Landesverband Wien (2015): FPÖ-TV: Oktober "Revolution" – Erste Plakatwelle der FPÖ für die Wienwahl. Link: https://www.fpoe.at/en/artikel/fpoe-tv-oktober-revolution-erste-plakatwelle-der-fpoe-fuer-die-wien-wahl-2/.

Text: October "revolution". Vienna swaps Häupl for HC Strache and takes sweet revenge for REDGREEN.

Poster 81: Bundestag 2017

Rentz, Ingo (2017): Bundestagswahl 2017. Mit diesen Plakaten gehen die großen Parteien ins Rennen. In: *Horizont.* Link:

https://www.horizont.net/marketing/nachrichten/
Bundestagswahl-2017-Mit-diesen-Plakaten-gehen-die-grossen-Parteien-ins-Rennen-
160225.

Text: "People's voice?" Direct democracy like in Switzerland. Dare, Germany!

Poster 82: EU 2019

FPÖ (2019): FPÖ startet in den EU-Wahlkampf. Link:
https://www.fpoe.at/artikel/fpoe-startet-in-den-eu-
wahlkampf/.

Text: FPÖ vote against EU asylum chaos. Stand up for Austria.

Poster 83: Hamburg 2020

AfD Landesverband Hamburg (2020): Vorstellung der AfD-Wahlplakate. Link: https://afd-hamburg.de/vorstellung-der-afd-
wahlplakate-nockemann-hanseatisch-mutig-unbequem/.

Text: Moin Hamburg: Hummel, Hummel, traffic jam, traffic jam! Improve infrastructure. Hanseatic. Courageous. Uncomfortable.

Poster 84: Nationalratswahl 2017

FPÖ (2017): Auf HC Strache kann Österreich immer zählen. Link: https://www.fpoe.at/artikel/auf-hc-strache-
kann-oesterreich-immer-zaehlen/.

Text: Austria can always count on him ... while others only

seem to get wiser shortly before elections. FPÖ. Otherwise nothing will ever change.

Poster 85: Berlin 2016

AfD Landesverband Berlin (2016): Plakate für die Wahl zum Abgeordnetenhaus 2016. Link: https://afd.berlin/wahlplakate-2016/.

Text: Islam does not belong to Germany. The Alternative for Germany is committed to the German main culture.

Poster 86: Salzburg 2013

FPÖ Landesverband Salzburg (2013): Wahlplakate zur Landtagswahl 2013. Provided by FPÖ Landesverband Salzburg.

Text: Because Salzburg is not a casino!

Poster 87: Berlin 2016

AfD Landesverband Berlin (2016): Plakate für die Wahl zum Abgeordnetenhaus 2016. Link: https://afd.berlin/wahlplakate-2016/.

Text: AfD – Uncomfortable. Real. Brave. Berlin needs blue.

Poster 88: Berlin 2016

AfD Landesverband Berlin (2016): Plakate für die Wahl zum Abgeordnetenhaus 2016. Link: https://afd.berlin/wahlplakate-2016/.

Text: AfD – Uncomfortable. Real. Brave. Berlin needs blue.

Poster 89: Thuringia 2019

AfD Landesverband Thüringen (2019): Wahlkampfmittel zur Landtagswahl. Link: https://www.afd-thueringen.de/landtagswahl-2019/wahlkampfmittel-zur-landtagswahl/.

Text: Wende_2.0. No more bloc parties! Complete the turnaround!

Poster 90: Vienna 2015

FPÖ Landesverband Wien (2015): FPÖ-TV: Oktober "Revolution" – Erste Plakatwelle der FPÖ für die Wienwahl. Link: https://www.fpoe.at/en/artikel/fpoe-tv-oktober-revolution-erste-plakatwelle-der-fpoe-fuer-die-wien-wahl-2/.

Text: October "revolution". Vienna swaps Häupl for HC Strache and takes sweet revenge for REDGREEN.

Poster 91: Thuringia 2019

AfD Landesverband Thüringen (2019): Wahlkampfmittel zur Landtagswahl. Link: https://www.afd-thueringen.de/landtagswahl-2019/wahlkampfmittel-zur-landtagswahl/.

Text: The East is rising: Brandenburg. Saxony. Thuringia. The "peaceful revolution" with the ballot paper.

Poster 92: Vienna 2020

OE24 (2020): Zweite Serie präsentiert. Wahl-Plakate: FPÖ setzt auf Sicherheit und Ausländer. Link: https://www.oe24.at/wien-wahl-2020/wahl-plakate-fpoe-setzt-auf-sicherheit-und-auslaender/445929398.

Text: Dominik Nepp. For him: VIENNESE first! Whoever wants that, votes FPÖ! The party of the Viennese.

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Poster 93: Bavaria 2018

AfD Landesverband Bayern (2018): Themenplakate. Link: https://www.afdbayern.de/wahlen-2018/themenplakate/.

Text: Protect women's rights! Headscarf-free schools!

Poster 94: Burgenland 2015

FPÖ Landesverband Burgenland (2015): Wahlplakate zur Landtagswahl 2015. Provided by FPÖ Landesverband Burgenland.

Text: Home-grown experts instead of East dumping-labourers! Work for our people! Tschürtz. Only with us!

Poster 95: Baden-Württemberg 2016

Schaffrinna, Achim (2021): Die Plakate zur Landtagswahl 2016 in Baden-Württemberg. Link: https://www.designtagebuch.de/die-plakate-zur-landtagswahl-2016-in-baden-wuerttemberg/2/.

Text: For our country – for our values. Success in the energy transition: see electricity bill!

Poster 96: Salzburg 2013

FPÖ Landesverband Salzburg (2013): Wahlplakate zur Landtagswahl 2013. Provided by FPÖ Landesverband Salzburg.

Text: Because life must not be a luxury. Therefore, on 5th May, FPÖ.

Poster 97: Berlin 2016

AfD Landesverband Berlin (2016): Plakate für die Wahl zum Abgeordnetenhaus 2016. Link: https://afd.berlin/wahlplakate-2016/.

Text: AfD – Uncomfortable. Real. Courageous. Berlin needs first-class education. So that Berlin doesn't get left behind.

Poster 98: Nationalratswahl 2019

FPÖ (2019): Nationalratswahl 2019 – Die Kampagne. Link: https://www.fpoe.at/blitzlicht/controller/album/767/.
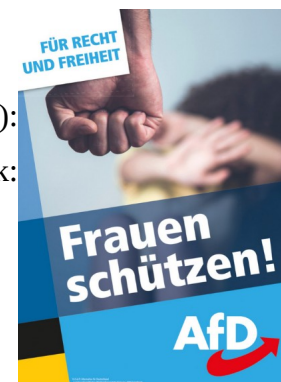
Text: Norbert Hofer and Herbert Kickl. Two who stand by you.

Poster 99: Baden-Württemberg 2021

AfD Kreisverband Breisgau Hochschwarzwald (2021): Landtagswahl 2021. Link: https://brsg-hschw.afd-bw.de/Landtagswahlen%202021/Die%20Wahlplakate.

Text: For justice and freedom. Protect women!

Poster 100: Bundestag 2021

AfD (2021): Plakate zur Bundestagswahl 2021. Link: https://www.afd.de/plakatmotive/. Last accessed 10.06.2021.

Text: Why did my father come to Germany back then? For German main culture. Our country. Our values. Germany. But normal.

List of additional political resources

AfD (2021): Plakate zur Bundestagswahl 2021. Link: https://www.afd.de/plakatmotive/. Last accessed 10.06.2021.

AfD Kreisverband Breisgau Hochschwarzwald (2021): Landtagswahl 2021. Link: https://brsg-hschw.afd-bw.de/Landtagswahlen%202021/Die%20Wahlplakate.

AfD Kreisverband Cottbus (2014): Plakate zur Landtagswahl 2014. Link: https://www.afd-cottbus.de/wahlen/landtagswahl-2014/plakate-zur-landtagswahl-2014/. Last accessed 29.03.2021.

AfD Kreisverband Rhein-Sieg (2017): Trau Dich, Deutschland! Link: https://www.afdrheinsieg.de/trau-dich-deutschland-0. Last accessed 29.03.2021.

AfD Landesverband Bayern (2018): Themenplakate. Link: https://www.afdbayern.de/wahlen-2018/themenplakate/. Last accessed 29.03.2021.

AfD Landesverband Berlin (2016): Plakate für die Wahl zum Abgeordnetenhaus 2016. Link: https://afd.berlin/wahlplakate-2016/. Last accessed 29.03.2021.

AfD Landesverband Hamburg (2020): Vorstellung der AfD-Wahlplakate. Link: FPÖ (2019): FPÖ startet in den EU-Wahlkampf. Link: https://www.fpoe.at/artikel/fpoe-startet-in-den-eu-wahlkampf/. Last accessed 29.03.2021.

AfD Landesverband NRW (2017): Die Plakat-Kampagne der AfD NRW im Landtags-Wahlkampf 2017. Link: https://afd.nrw/aktuelles/2017/03/die-plakat-kampagne-der-afd-nrw-im-landtags-wahlkampf-2017/. Last accessed 29.03.2021.

AfD Landesverband Saarland (2017): Plakate zur Landtagswahl am 26. März 2017. Link: https://afd.saarland/mediathek/grossplakate/. Last accessed 29.03.2021.

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FPÖ (2017): Auf HC Strache kann Österreich immer zählen. Link: https://www.fpoe.at/artikel/auf-hc-strache-kann-oesterreich-immer-zaehlen/. Last accessed 29.03.2021.

FPÖ (2019): Nationalratswahl 2019 – Die Kampagne. Link: https://www.fpoe.at/blitzlicht/controller/album/767/. Last accessed 29.03.2021.

FPÖ (2019): FPÖ startet in den EU-Wahlkampf. Link: https://www.fpoe.at/artikel/fpoe-startet-in-den-eu-wahlkampf/. Last accessed 29.03.2021.

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