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From Protest to Party? Pandemic-Related Mobilization, Democratic Skepticism, and Party Communication in Germany and Austria

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1. Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic did not only confront European states with a public health emergency. It also confronted liberal democracies with a political stress test. The crisis quickly spread across policy domains and affected core democratic institutions, shifting power toward executives, weakening the visible role of parliaments, and temporarily restricting rights of assembly and protest. COVID-19 therefore posed a dual challenge to liberal democracy: it called into question both democratic principles and democratic performance (Goetz & Martinsen, 2021, 1f.).

What made this conflict especially striking was that democratic language itself became part of the struggle. Terms such as freedom, civil rights, democracy, and the rule of law were invoked with unusual intensity, yet often not to defend democratic institutions in an affirmative sense, but to question their legitimacy. In Germany, anti-lockdown protests repeatedly framed restrictions as threats to civil liberties and drew large, highly heterogeneous crowds (Oswald, 2021). In Austria, mass protests against lockdowns and compulsory vaccination mobilized tens of thousands, while FPÖ leader Herbert Kickl declared in response to new restrictions that Austria has become a „dictatorship“ (Zeit Online, 2021). In other words, the pandemic did not simply produce conflict over health policy. It produced a conflict over who could plausibly claim to speak in the name of democracy and freedom.

This is where the political puzzle begins. During the pandemic, established right-wing populist parties such as the Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) and the Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs (FPÖ) were not the only actors claiming to defend ordinary citizens against overreaching elites and institutions. New protest-born parties also entered this field. In Germany, the basisdemokratische Partei Deutschland (Die Basis) emerged out of protest against COVID-19 measures and presented itself as a vehicle of grassroots democracy (Teidelbaum 2022). In Austria, MFG (Menschen, Freiheit, Grundrechte) rose from opposition to lockdowns, masks, and vaccination rules and quickly won seats in a provincial parliament (Gaigg, 2021).

At the same time, the AfD openly recast itself as an anti-lockdown party (Volmer 2020), while the FPÖ positioned itself at the center of anti-restriction mobilization (Zeit Online 2021). The pandemic therefore did not only divide governments and their critics. It also opened up competition within the opposition itself over who could most credibly embody freedom, democracy, and the people.

That competition makes the pandemic politically revealing far beyond the immediate crisis. It shows how one and the same crisis could be politicized in very different ways and how democratic

and rights based claims could be used by different actors to position themselves as the legitimate defenders of freedom, democracy, and the “real” people.

2. Literature Review

The COVID-19 pandemic has generated a substantial body of research that treats the crisis not only as a public health emergency, but also as a political conflict over freedom, legitimacy, expertise, and democratic representation. A first strand of scholarship examines how the pandemic created favourable conditions for populist and anti-establishment narratives. Vieten (2020, 11) describes the emergence of “pandemic populism” as a configuration in which appeals to freedom, anti-elite rhetoric, and opposition to state intervention could be combined with far-right mobilization. In a similar vein, Mellacher (2023, 137) shows for Austria that the pandemic provided fertile ground for what he terms “corona populism,” especially once party competition became aligned with pandemic-related grievances. Eberl et al. (2021, 280) further demonstrate that populist attitudes are associated with a greater propensity to endorse COVID-19 conspiracy beliefs. Taken together, these studies suggest that pandemic politics became a particularly suitable arena for anti-elite framing, distrust in institutions, and democratic skepticism.

A second strand of literature focuses on the protests of pandemic skeptics in Germany and Austria. Daniel et al. (2023, 2f.) describe these protests as a politically significant and highly heterogeneous mobilization field that brought together libertarian, esoteric, conservative, and far-right actors under a shared opposition to pandemic measures and an increasingly strong discourse of authoritarian state overreach. They emphasize that the protest milieu was marked by narratives of repression, a perceived erosion of civil liberties, and distrust in representative institutions. Neuber (2023, 119) similarly argues that the COVID-19 street protests in Germany were characterized by an ideologically ambiguous populism that enabled forms of mainstreaming for the radical right. For Austria, Knasmüller et al. (2024, 14f.) interpret the Corona protests as the aftereffects of an “authoritarian revolt,” thereby stressing that these mobilizations should not be understood as short-lived reactions to public health measures alone, but as politically consequential conflicts with broader implications for democratic culture and institutional legitimacy. This makes the Austrian protest field particularly relevant for analysing how protest-related democratic skepticism may also be translated into party communication.

A third body of research examines how established populist or radical-right parties responded to the pandemic. For Germany, Rensmann and de Zee (2022, 90) show that the AfD made COVID-19 a central issue in the 2021 federal election campaign and increasingly framed public health policy through anti-elite, anti-scientific, and conspiratorial narratives. They argue that the party's campaign mirrored its radicalization into what they describe as an anti-system movement party, one that appealed not only to electoral constituencies but also to a broader corona-skeptical milieu. Lewandowsky et al. (2022, 24f.) similarly emphasize that the AfD repositioned itself during the pandemic by presenting itself as a defender of freedom and by portraying state intervention as authoritarian. Coenen et al. (2022) reach a related conclusion in their discourse analysis, showing that the AfD translated the pandemic into a broader narrative of political distortion and opposition to the established order. For Austria, Mellacher (2023, 136f.) demonstrates that the FPÖ's policy U-turn during the pandemic had important electoral and attitudinal consequences, as the party increasingly aligned itself with corona-skeptical positions and attracted voters on that basis. In comparative perspective, Miklin et al. (2024, 32f.) classify the AfD and FPÖ as closely related right-wing populist parties, even if their organizational histories and ideological emphases differ. Overall, the existing literature has already mapped quite extensively how established parties such as AfD and FPÖ politicized the pandemic through anti-elite rhetoric, freedom-centred claims, and critiques of state intervention.

Research on digital communication adds an important contextual dimension. Thiele (2022), although focusing on Facebook user comments rather than party communication itself, shows that COVID-19 triggered populist discourse in online debates in both Germany and Austria. Navarrete and Eder (2024, 113) further demonstrate for Germany that social media use and susceptibility to misinformation during the pandemic are associated with attitudes toward democracy, democratic legitimacy, and support for liberal-democratic principles. These studies do not examine party posts directly, but they underline the importance of social media as a communicative arena in which anti-elite narratives, democratic distrust, and crisis-related polarization can circulate and gain traction.

More recent research has also begun to address protest-born anti-COVID parties more directly. In their analysis of Die Basis, Thomeczek et al. (2026, 16) argue that the party relied heavily on populist rhetoric during the pandemic, roughly as frequently as the AfD, but unlike the AfD did not adhere to a coherent ideology. Instead, they describe Die Basis as ideologically thin, programmatically inconsistent, and able to attract support across different ideological camps precisely because of this lack of coherence. This is an important contribution because it shows that

protest-born anti-COVID parties cannot simply be treated as ideological equivalents of established right-wing populist actors, even where both rely strongly on populist communication.

This is where a clear research gap remains. Existing scholarship has shown, first, that the pandemic created an especially favourable environment for populist, anti-elite, and conspiratorial interpretations; second, that pandemic-sceptical protests in Germany and Austria formed a politically relevant and partly far-right-inflected protest milieu; and third, that established parties such as AfD and FPÖ strategically integrated the pandemic into their anti-elite and freedom-centred communication. More recent work has also begun to examine Die Basis more directly. However, we still know comparatively little about how protest-born parties compare to established populist parties in their social media communication, especially in a cross-national perspective and with regard to democratic framing, anti-elitism, protest mobilization, protest linkages, and the centrality of COVID-19. This applies in particular to the comparison between established actors and protest-born actors across Germany and Austria, and especially to the case of MFG. It is precisely this gap that the present study addresses.

3. Research Question

From the literature reviewed above, a clear research Question emerges: How do established and protest-born parties differ in their Facebook communication on democratic framing, anti-elitism, and protest during the COVID-19 pandemic?

Based on the theoretical framework, two hypotheses are derived. First, protest-born parties are expected to display more movement-oriented communication than established parties, particularly through stronger protest mobilization, more explicit protest linkages, and a closer connection between COVID-19 policies and democratic skepticism.

Second, all four parties are expected to intensify democratic and anti-elite framing during COVID-related crisis periods and election periods; however, protest-born parties are expected to connect COVID-19 more strongly to protest narratives, protest mobilization, and democratic delegitimation than established parties.

4. Theoretical Framework

This study draws on two theoretical perspectives. The first is the literature on party movement relations and movement parties, especially della Porta et al. (2017), complemented by Hutter et al. (2019). The second is Cas Mudde's ideational approach to populism. Together, these approaches help to analyze two central dimensions of party communication during the COVID-19 pandemic: the relationship between parties and protest arenas, and the way political conflict is framed through references to democracy, "the people," and "the elite."

4.1 Social Movements, Political Parties, and Movement Parties

A useful starting point is the distinction between social movements and political parties. Drawing on della Porta and Diani, social movements can be defined as "networks of groups and individuals, endowed with some collective identification, that pursue goals of social transformation mainly through unconventional forms of participation" (della Porta et al. 2017, 3). Political parties, by contrast, primarily seek institutional power through electoral competition. (ibid. after Max Weber 1922)

At the same time, this distinction should not be understood too rigidly. As Heaney argues, "The co-evolution of parties and groups is fostered by both competition and cooperation. Parties and groups compete with one another because they are alternative ways to represent interests" (Heaney 2010, 571). Parties and movements can therefore act as competing channels of representation, while also developing stable forms of cooperation.

Della Porta et al. similarly stress that movements have often developed "special links with a political party or party family." These ties may take the form of overlapping membership, movement activists on party lists, or party members who themselves "engage in social movement activities" (della Porta et al. 2017, 7). The boundary between protest politics and institutional politics is therefore more porous than ideal type distinctions suggest.

Hutter et al. add a more dynamic perspective to this relationship. They argue that social movements can politicize issues, attract public attention, and thereby "strengthen[ing] the hand of their allies, particularly political parties within the parliamentary arena" (Hutter et al. 2019, 325). From this perspective, "the challenger's outside mobilization may be a welcome support for the party's long-term agenda" (ibid.). Hutter et al. explicitly link this logic to the rise of the populist right, which has "given voice to this new structural conflict by successfully mobilizing the cultural anxieties of those

social strata that feel threatened by increasing economic, cultural, and political globalization” (ibid., 325).

Within this broader perspective, the concept of movement parties is especially useful. Della Porta et al. describe movement parties as a hybrid form between social movements and political parties: “Movement parties emerge as a sort of hybrid between the two, when organizational and environmental linkages are very close: to different degrees, they have overlapping membership, co-organize various forms of collective action, fund each other, address similar concerns” (della Porta et al. 2017, 7).

What matters here is not only whether a party emerged from a protest context. More important is whether it continues to maintain close organizational, symbolic, or communicative ties to protest arenas. This is why the concept is useful for the present study. It makes it possible to distinguish between parties that merely refer to protest and parties that present themselves as its extension, institutional voice, or organizational crystallization.

This hybrid logic is also reflected in the literature cited by della Porta et al. Tarrow argues that movement based parties are often shaped more strongly by ideological militancy than by pragmatic electoral considerations (Tarrow 2015, 95, quoted in della Porta et al. 2017, 7). Kitschelt similarly emphasizes that they pursue “a dual track” that combines “activities within the arena of formal democratic competition with extra-institutional mobilization” (Kitschelt 2006, 281, quoted in della Porta et al. 2017, 7).

For the present study, this perspective is particularly useful for the analysis of Die Basis and MFG. Both parties can be examined as protest born parties with potential movement party characteristics. At the same time, the framework also helps to analyze how established parties such as the AfD and FPÖ selectively build or exploit ties to protest milieus.

4.2 Populism as a Thin Centered Ideology

The second pillar of the theoretical framework is Cas Mudde’s ideational approach to populism. Mudde defines populism as “an ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, ‘the pure people’ versus ‘the corrupt elite’, and which argues that politics should be an expression of the *volonté générale* (general will) of the people” (Mudde 2004, 543). This definition contains four core concepts, “ideology, the people, the elite, and general will” (Mudde 2017, 29).

A central feature of this approach is that populism is understood as a thin centered ideology. It does not provide a comprehensive worldview in the way that liberalism or socialism do. Instead, it revolves around a moral distinction between “the pure people” and “the corrupt elite” and the claim that politics should express the general will of the people (ibid., 30).

This is analytically useful for the present study because it allows similar populist patterns to be identified across parties that are otherwise not ideologically identical. AfD, FPÖ, Die Basis, and MFG differ in important respects. At the same time, they may still share similar people centered and anti elite framings.

The key concept in Mudde’s framework is “the people.” As he notes, “the key concept of populism is, obviously, ‘the people’” (ibid., 31). In populist discourse, the people are imagined as morally pure, authentic, and internally homogeneous (ibid., 32). Their counterpart is the elite, which is constructed as corrupt, detached, and acting against the people’s interests.

The fourth core concept is the general will. It links the moral distinction between people and elite to a specific understanding of politics. Populists claim that politics should follow the will of the people rather than the special interests of elites (ibid., 33f.). This is especially relevant in the context of pandemic related communication, where parties may present themselves as defenders of democracy, freedom, or rights against governments, institutions, experts, or the media.

His framework is therefore useful because it helps distinguish ordinary policy criticism from a more moralized opposition between the people and the elite. This is particularly important for the analysis of party communication during the pandemic. References to democracy, freedom, and popular sovereignty do not necessarily function in an affirmative democratic sense. They may also serve to delegitimize institutions and portray them as corrupt, authoritarian, or fundamentally opposed to the people.

Taken together, the two theoretical approaches complement each other. The party movement perspective helps to analyze how parties relate to protest fields and whether they operate between institutional and contentious politics. Mudde’s ideational approach helps to analyze how parties construct political conflict through the moral opposition between people and elite. Combined, these perspectives provide the basis for comparing established and protest born parties in a systematic way.

5. Methodology

5.1 Qualitative Content Analysis according to Mayring

The present study is methodologically guided by qualitative content analysis according to Philipp Mayring (Mayring 2015; Mayring/Fenzl 2019). More specifically, it applies a structuring qualitative content analysis with predominantly deductive category application. This approach is particularly suitable for the present project because it allows for a systematic and rule guided analysis of political communication while remaining open to interpretive patterns, latent meanings, and multimodal forms of expression (Mayring/Fenzl 2019, 633f.)

The authors stress that qualitative content analysis should not be understood as a free form of interpretation, but as a systematic and theory guided procedure (ibid., 633). Its basic logic consists in assigning categories to text passages and then analyzing the occurrence, distribution, and combination of these categories in the material (ibid., 634). This is especially useful for the present study, since the aim is not merely to describe individual posts, but to compare communicative patterns across parties and across different political contexts.

A central feature of Mayring's approach is its category guided logic. Categories may be developed inductively from the material or deductively from theory (ibid., 634). In the present study, the category system was developed predominantly deductively from the theoretical framework. At the same time, it was tested and refined in a pilot phase before being fixed for the main coding process, in line with Mayring's emphasis on category revision prior to the final analysis (ibid., 636 f.).

Another important principle is the prior definition of the units of analysis. It distinguishes between the coding unit, the context unit, and the unit of analysis (ibid., 636). This prior specification is important for transparency and traceability, especially in a study dealing with multimodal social media communication.

5.2 Research Design and Case Selection

The study follows a qualitative comparative design. It examines the Facebook communication of four parties: the Alternative für Deutschland, the Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs, the German protest born party Die Basis, and the Austrian protest born party MFG. This case selection allows for two comparisons at once. First, it makes it possible to compare established and protest born parties. Second, it allows for a cross national comparison between Germany and Austria. On this

basis, the study asks whether and how party type and national context shape democratic framing, anti elite discourse, protest mobilization, protest linkages, and the centrality of COVID-19.

5.3 Data Material, Period of Analysis, and Sampling

The empirical material consists of Facebook posts published by the four parties under study. Facebook was selected because it served as a central platform of party communication during the COVID-19 pandemic and because it captures not only issue positions, but also symbolic, mobilizing, and visual forms of communication. Posts were therefore treated as multimodal units. The analysis includes written captions, embedded text in images, sharepics, graphics, and videos. Videos without sufficient accompanying text were transcribed before coding.

The analysis covers four politically relevant periods in 2021: a neutral phase from 1 July to 14 July, the 2G debate in Germany from 23 August to 5 September, the election period in Germany and Upper Austria from 12 September to 26 September, and the Austrian debate on compulsory vaccination from 15 November to 28 November. These periods were selected in order to capture both lower conflict phases and moments of intensified political contestation.

Sampling is time based and case based. Within the selected time windows, all Facebook posts published by the four parties were included in the corpus. In total, the dataset comprises 600 posts, all of which were fully coded and analyzed. At the same time, the distribution of posts across parties and periods is uneven. This is particularly relevant for the neutral period, in which MFG published only a single post. As a result, this phase is of only limited analytical value for assessing MFG's communication under low conflict conditions, and comparisons across time windows are therefore not equally robust for all four parties. The distribution of posts by party and event window is reported separately in Table 1.

Figure 1. Distribution of coded Facebook posts by party and aggregated event window.

Party	Neutral	2G/Vaccination Debatte	Election Periods	Total
AfD	49	63	87	199
FPÖ	31	51	45	127
DieBasis	15	40	60	115
MFG	1	76	82	159
Total	96	230	274	600

Source: Own illustration based on the codebook.

5.4 Units of Analysis

Following Mayring, the analytical units were defined before the main coding process. The unit of analysis is the individual Facebook post, understood as a self contained communicative unit. The coding unit is the smallest meaningful statement within a post, for example a phrase, sentence, embedded text sequence, or semantically coherent statement within a video. The context unit is the post as a whole, since individual statements often require the broader context of the full contribution in order to be interpreted adequately (Mayring/Fenzl 2019, 636). This is particularly important in the analysis of social media posts, where meaning often emerges from the interaction of text, image, and situational framing.

5.5 Category Development and Operationalization

The category system was developed predominantly deductively from the theoretical framework. It draws, on the one hand, on the literature on party movement relations and movement parties and, on the other hand, on Mudde's ideational approach to populism. In line with Mayring, the categories were defined in advance, specified in a coding guide, and then tested against the material in a pilot phase (Mayring/Fenzl 2019, 638).

During the pilot coding phase, it became clear that a substantial share of posts had little or no COVID related content. To capture this variation systematically, the category K4, COVID Centrality, was added after the pilot phase and then applied consistently in the main coding process. This corresponds to a circular logic of refinement during the pilot stage before the final category system is fixed (ibid., 636ff.).

The final category system consists of four dimensions.

K1: Democratic Framing and Elite or State Critique

This category captures whether and how political elites, governments, institutions, or democratic procedures are criticized, challenged, or delegitimized. It is primarily informed by Mudde's understanding of populism as a moral opposition between the people and the elite. A score of 0 is assigned when no relevant elite or state critique is present. A score of 1 indicates clear but still policy oriented criticism of governments, measures, or institutions without broader delegitimization. A score of 2 is assigned when posts contain strongly moralized, anti elite, or system critical framing, for example when governments, media, or institutions are portrayed as oppressive, corrupt, anti democratic, or fundamentally acting against the people.

K2: Mobilization

K2 captures whether and to what extent posts attempt to activate followers politically. Mobilization is understood broadly and includes both extra parliamentary and institutional forms of activation. A score of 0 means that no mobilizing element is present. A score of 1 captures indirect or weak mobilization, including symbolic encouragement, positive references to protest, or electoral mobilization such as calls to vote. In this study, electoral mobilization was coded as 1 because it constitutes political activation, but not the same level of direct protest oriented mobilization as explicit calls to attend demonstrations or engage in collective contentious action. A score of 2 is assigned when a post contains a direct and explicit call to collective political action, especially to demonstrations, rallies, protests, or similar forms of contentious mobilization.

K3: Protest Linkages

K3 captures organizational, personal, or symbolic connections between the party and protest milieus. The focus is not on whether a post mobilizes, but on whether it makes protest related linkages visible. A score of 0 indicates that no such linkage is visible. A score of 1 refers to indirect or loose connections, such as positive references to protest groups, alternative media, legal support networks, or other actors associated with the protest milieu. A score of 2 is assigned when clear organizational or personal linkages are visible, such as joint events, party officials speaking at demonstrations, party organized rallies, or explicitly named cooperation with protest actors. The distinction between K2 and K3 is central: K2 captures whether mobilization occurs, whereas K3 captures whether and how that communication is embedded in visible protest relationships.

K4: COVID Centrality

K4 measures the thematic centrality of COVID-19 or pandemic related politics within a post. A score of 0 is assigned when no relevant reference to COVID-19, vaccination, testing, lockdowns, or related issues is present. A score of 1 indicates that COVID-19 is mentioned but does not form the substantive core of the post. A score of 2 is assigned when pandemic related politics clearly structure the post and form the central object of the message. This category serves as a contextual dimension that helps situate the findings of the other categories more precisely.

All four categories are coded on an ordinal 0 to 2 scale. This makes it possible to capture not only whether a category is present, but also its degree or intensity. The categories were specified in a coding guide containing definitions, coding rules, and anchor examples, as suggested by Mayring for structuring content analysis (Mayring/Fenzl 2019, 638).

5.6 Coding Procedure and Quality Criteria

Coding was conducted in several stages. First, a theory based category system was developed and tested in a pilot phase on part of the material. This phase served to sharpen category definitions, specify boundaries between categories, and refine the coding guide. After the pilot phase, the coding rules were fixed and applied consistently to the full corpus, as recommended by Mayring for rule guided qualitative content analysis (ibid., 636, 638).

Each post was read or viewed as a multimodal whole and then coded along the four categories. Coding was not based on isolated keywords, but on the semantic structure of the post as a whole. This follows the understanding that categories are not assigned mechanically, but through a rule guided interpretive procedure (ibid. 633 to 634).

Transparency and traceability were secured through the prior definition of the units of analysis, a documented coding guide, the pilot phase, and the written justification of coding decisions in ambiguous cases. Mayring and Fenzl also name intracoder and intercoder agreement as possible quality criteria of qualitative content analysis (ibid., 636f.). In the present study, methodological transparency is ensured primarily through the explicit coding rules and the documentation of the analytical procedure.

6. Main Section

6.1 Parties

6.1.1 AfD

The Alternative for Germany (AfD) was founded in 2013 in the context of the euro and financial crisis. In its early phase, it was primarily liberal conservative and Eurosceptic (Decker, 2022). After internal power shifts and the departure of more moderate actors, however, the party moved increasingly toward right-wing populist and national conservative positions. Its political profile became strongly centered on migration, asylum, and anti-establishment opposition, and it is commonly classified as a populist radical right party combining nativism, authoritarianism, and populism (Hafeneger et al., 2018, 12; Mudde & Rovira Kaltwasser, 2019). During the pandemic, the AfD's position was initially ambivalent, but from 2021 onward it increasingly presented itself as a defender of freedom and fundamental rights against what it portrayed as authoritarian pandemic governance (Lewandowsky et al., 2022, 240–241). This makes the AfD a particularly relevant case

for analysing how an established right-wing populist party integrated pandemic politics into its broader anti-elite communication.

6.1.2 FPÖ

The Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ), founded in 1956, is a long established actor in Austrian party politics. Its profile changed fundamentally under Jörg Haider, when the party shifted decisively toward right-wing populism and became a major force on socio-cultural and migration-related issues (Miklin et al., 2024, 7f.). During the COVID-19 pandemic, the FPÖ underwent a marked policy reversal. As Mellacher (2023, 114f.) shows, it initially supported strict state intervention, including a lockdown in March 2020, but soon repositioned itself as a sharp opponent of pandemic measures.

6.1.3 Die Basis

The Basisdemokratische Partei Deutschland (Die Basis) emerged in 2020 from mobilization against governmental COVID-19 restrictions. Founded in July 2020, it developed out of the earlier initiative Widerstand2020 and drew support from a politically heterogeneous protest milieu united mainly by opposition to pandemic policy (Bräuninger & Debus, 2026). According to Bräuninger and Debus (2026), the party is difficult to place within the traditional left-right spectrum. Its selfdescription centers on four guiding principles, freedom, checks on power, mindfulness, and swarm intelligence, and it emphasizes direct democratic participation as well as criticism of the political handling of the pandemic (ibid.).

In sum, dieBasis is best described not primarily as a conventional programmatic party, but rather as a political organization rooted in protest. Its identity was shaped above all by resistance to pandemic governance and by a more general mistrust of established political institutions.

6.1.4 MFG (Menschen – Freiheit – Grundrechte)

Mit freundlichen Grüßen emerged directly from the Austrian protests against COVID-19 measures and became the most prominent new party formed in this context. Daniel et al. (2023, 6) describe it as part of the institutionalization of the pandemic-sceptical protest milieu, while Knasmüller et al. (2024) identify it as one of the most important new actors produced by the Austrian Corona protests. Its political profile combines demands for direct democracy, constitutional rights, and a

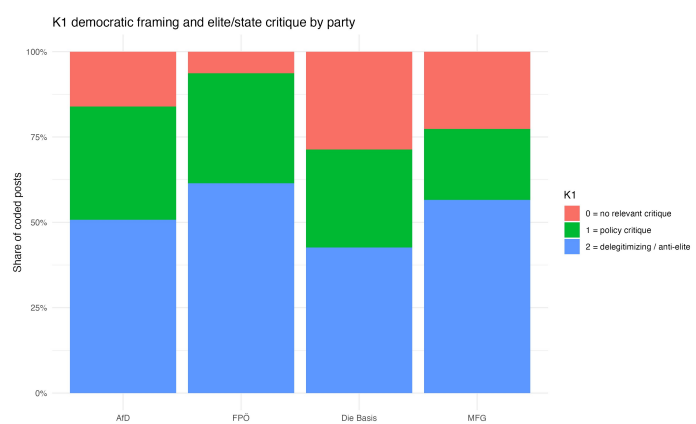
depoliticized judiciary with strong criticism of established institutions and pandemic governance (MFG n.d.). MFG's electoral success in the 2021 Upper Austrian regional election further demonstrated that protest against COVID-19 measures had entered the electoral arena. This combination of direct-democratic claims, rights-based language, and a strong anti-establishment appeal fits its emergence from the protest milieu and helps explain why MFG can be understood not simply as another small party, but as a party-political crystallization of pandemic-related protest.

6.2 Analysis

6.2.1 K1 – Democratic Framing, Elite Critique, and State Critique

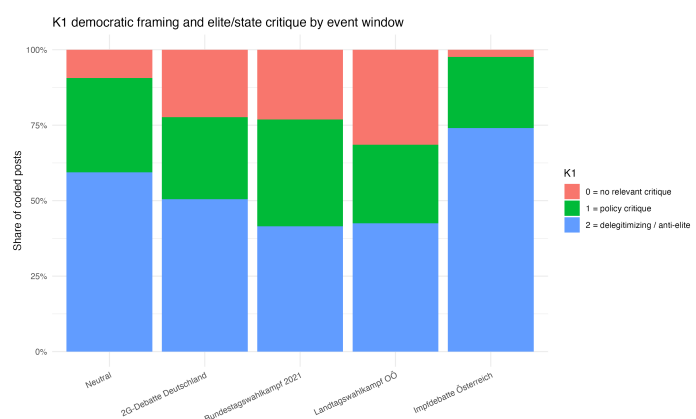
As Figures 2 and 3 show, K1 is strongly present across all four parties, but with clear differences in intensity. Figure 1 indicates that the highest shares of K1 = 2 occur in the communication of FPÖ and MFG, while the AfD also shows a considerable number of strongly delegitimizing posts. Die Basis scores somewhat lower overall, but still regularly employs intensified state critical and democracy skeptical framing. Figure 2 adds a temporal perspective. It shows that the strongest escalation appears during the Austrian debate on compulsory vaccination, whereas the German federal election campaign remains somewhat more moderate. Taken together, the figures suggest that democratic and anti elite critique is widespread across the material, but reaches its sharpest form in periods of intensified crisis.

Figure 2: K1 by Party



Source: Own illustration based on the codebook

Figure 3: K1 by Event



Source: Own illustration based on the codebook

In the case of the AfD, criticism of Corona measures is often combined with moralized elite and state critique. This becomes visible in formulations such as “useless harassment of citizens,” “the insane Corona policy of the old parties,” and “personal responsibility and freedom instead of scaremongering” (AfD 13.09.2021). A post from late August 2021 speaks of an “unbelievable attack on the rule of law” (ibid. 27.08.2021), while a repost by Tino Chrupalla refers to the “encirclement and harassment of healthy citizens” and denounces a “self righteous political caste” (AfD 28.08.2021). Here, the conflict is framed not simply as disagreement over public health policy, but as a moral opposition between ordinary citizens and political elites. At the same time, some AfD posts remain closer to policy criticism, for example when the party states that there is “no longer any justification for the excessive measures” and calls for a return to normality (ibid. 03.07.2021a), or when it argues that vaccination should remain an individual decision (ibid. 10.07.2021).

The FPÖ formulates this critique even more sharply. Especially during the Austrian vaccination conflict, state action is portrayed as repressive and fundamentally illegitimate. One striking example is the term “vaccination terror” (FPÖ 16.09.2021a). In a post from 19 November 2021, the federal government is accused of “throwing the constitution overboard” and of “coldly leading the country into a dictatorship.” The same post speaks of a “government of liars and failures,” while the accompanying image declares: “As of today, Austria is a dictatorship” (ibid. 19.11.2021). Other posts add a profiteering narrative by accusing actors close to government of enriching themselves through pandemic policy (ibid. 16.09.2021b). FPÖ therefore uses democratic and constitutional language not simply to criticize individual measures, but to portray the state as coercive, dishonest, and morally discredited.

In the case of Die Basis, democratic language is often turned directly against the institutional order itself. In one post, politics is described as a “self service shop,” while under the pretext of protecting health, “everything that previously applied is being thrown overboard” (dieBasis 12.09.2021). Another post states that “only a totalitarian state” knows only one truth (ibid. 16.09.2021). In these cases, the critique goes beyond specific pandemic measures and questions the legitimacy of institutional authority more broadly. A similar pattern already appears in the neutral phase, when representative democracy is portrayed as insufficient and stronger participation “at the grassroots” and among “the people” is demanded (ibid. 01.07.2021). Although Die Basis shows fewer K1 relevant posts overall, its democratic critique often takes a distinctly system oppositional form.

At MFG, democratic and rights based language is also used in a strongly delegitimizing way, but often with a particularly concrete focus on everyday institutions. In one post, schools are accused of acting unlawfully by demanding new mask exemption certificates and using “fake news” and

“pressure tactics” (MFG 15.09.2021 a). In another, an ORF report is attacked as “lies,” while the broadcaster and political decision makers are accused of deliberate deception (ibid. 20.09.2021). This logic continues in later posts. MFG dismisses reports about hospital pressure as “lies” and “fearmongering,” while presenting itself as the “only resistance” (ibid. 18.11.2021). Another post frames compulsory vaccination for health care workers as “coercion in violation of the constitution and human rights” (ibid. 19.11.2021). MFG thus combines democratic and rights based language with a pronounced distrust of public institutions and state authority.

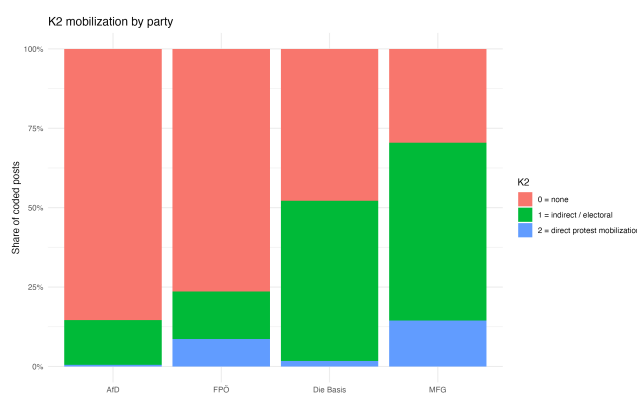
Overall, the main difference between the parties lies less in whether democratic and anti elite framing occurs at all than in how it is articulated. The figures show that K1 is widespread across the material, but especially strong among FPÖ and MFG and especially intense during the Austrian vaccination conflict. The close reading of posts adds that AfD and FPÖ more often frame this conflict through familiar oppositions between citizens and the political class, whereas Die Basis and MFG connect democratic and rights based language more directly to distrust in institutions, representative procedures, and state authority. Democratic language in the material is therefore rarely affirmative. More often, it serves to delegitimize state action and to construct a moral opposition between the population and those in power.

6.2.2 K2 – Mobilization

As Figures 4 and 5 show, mobilization is distributed more unevenly across the four parties than democratic and anti elite framing. Figure 3 indicates that MFG has the strongest overall mobilizing profile, combining frequent indirect activation with repeated direct calls for demonstrations and rallies. FPÖ also shows a clear mobilizing pattern, especially in the Austrian vaccination conflict. Die Basis relies substantially on mobilizing rhetoric as well,

although much of it remains indirect or election related. By contrast, the AfD mobilizes more selectively and mainly through electoral appeals. Figure 4 adds a temporal perspective. It shows that direct mobilization is concentrated most strongly in the Austrian debate on compulsory vaccination, whereas the German federal election campaign is dominated more by indirect and electoral forms of

Figure 4: K2 by Party



Source: Own illustration based on the codebook

activation. Taken together, the figures suggest that mobilization varies not only by party type, but also by political context.

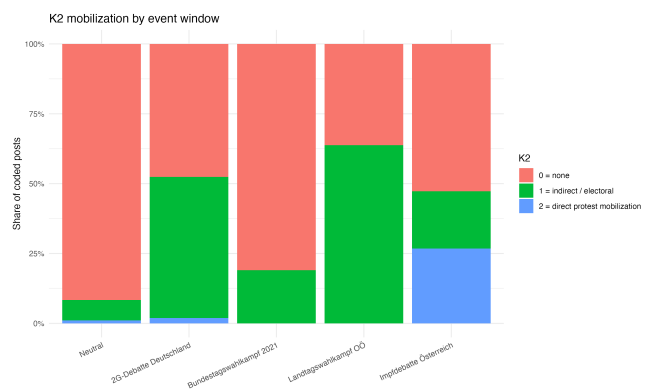
In the case of the AfD, mobilization occurs above all through electoral appeals. This is especially visible in election day posts using imperative language such as “Today, YOUR vote counts” and “Go vote!” while framing the ballot as a contribution to making Germany “a

normal Germany again” (AfD 26.09.2021). In such cases, the party clearly seeks to activate supporters, but it does so within the electoral arena rather than through direct protest coordination. At the same time, the coded material contains one clear example of direct protest mobilization, although notably not in relation to Covid protest. In a post from the neutral phase, the party explicitly calls for participation in a demonstration in Wiesbaden against the alleged “self empowerment of the EU,” framing it as a protest for national sovereignty and the protection of the Basic Law (ibid. 03.07.2021b). The AfD is therefore an interesting case. While it was politically close to the broader pandemic skeptical milieu, its official Facebook communication contains only very limited direct protest mobilization.

The FPÖ displays a broader mobilization repertoire. In less escalated phases, activation often remains indirect and campaign oriented. One example is the promotion of a “petition for vaccine freedom,” which is linked to the announcement of “massive resistance” against an alleged vaccination mandate (FPÖ 16.09.2021 c). Here, the language is clearly mobilizing, but not yet tied to a concrete protest event. In the Austrian vaccination conflict, however, the pattern changes. The FPÖ explicitly calls for participation in a “freedom demonstration” in Vienna and frames this as resistance against confinement and social division (ibid. 17.11.2021). This becomes even clearer when the party promotes a “demo calendar” as an infrastructure for protest and for the “regaining of our freedom” (ibid. 24.11.2021). FPÖ thus moves beyond electoral activation and openly enters the protest arena in periods of heightened conflict.

The pattern is more ambivalent in the case of Die Basis. Given the party’s origins in the pandemic skeptical protest milieu, one might expect consistently strong direct protest mobilization. The material, however, shows a more differentiated picture. Many posts clearly seek to activate supporters, but often in an indirect or election centered way. This can be seen in a post linking the demand for “real democracy” to an explicit call to vote for Die Basis and the promise that voters

Figure 5: K2 by Event



Source: Own illustration based on the codebook

will “keep their own voice” (Die Basis 23.08.2021). A similar logic appears in the neutral phase, when representative democracy is portrayed as insufficient and stronger participation “at the grassroots” and among “the people” is demanded (ibid. 01.07.2021). At the same time, Die Basis also moves into stronger forms of mobilization in some cases. One post documents a party rally in Berlin, criticizes the threatened police dissolution of the event, and explicitly continues mobilization for the following day while linking this to opposition to Corona measures and the claim to carry “the will of the people” into institutions (ibid. 29.08.2021). Even so, the sample suggests that Die Basis did not consistently translate its protest origins into repeated direct protest calls.

The strongest protest oriented mobilization appears at MFG. Already during the election period, the party combines criticism of vaccination pressure with electoral activation, presenting itself as the “missing force” for democracy, fundamental rights, and free scientific discourse and directly linking this to a call to vote (MFG 13.09.2021). In the vaccination conflict of November 2021, however, this mobilization becomes much more openly protest based. MFG explicitly mobilizes for the demonstration “For our basic and freedom rights” in Vienna, names allied groups, calls on followers to share the post, and even gives practical advice for protecting one’s identity while participating (ibid. 15.11.2021). Similar posts advertise an MFG rally against the lockdown in Vienna and highlight party officials as speakers (ibid. 17.11.2021). Another post features Manuel Krautgartner calling for a political rally in Linz and urging immediate action in response to lockdown and compulsory vaccination (ibid. 19.11.2021b). MFG therefore appears not merely as a party commenting on protest, but as an actor actively organizing and channeling collective action.

Overall, the figures and the close reading point in the same direction. Election periods tend to favor broader and more electorally adaptable forms of activation, whereas highly conflictual crisis periods facilitate more explicit protest mobilization. The AfD mobilizes mainly through electoral appeals and only rarely through direct protest calls. FPÖ combines electoral and protest oriented mobilization more flexibly and intensifies direct protest activation in crisis phases. Die Basis occupies an intermediate position between movement style participation appeals and election centered activation. MFG, by contrast, most clearly articulates mobilization as collective action beyond the electoral arena. The category therefore shows that protest proximity does not automatically translate into permanent direct protest mobilization. Instead, mobilizing strategies vary strongly with political context.

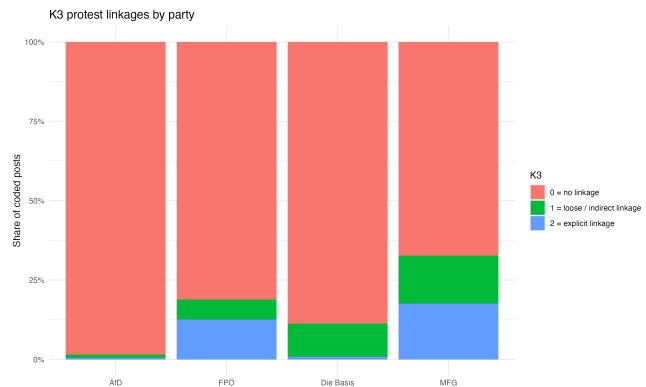
6.2.3 K3 – Protest Linkages

As Figure 6 shows, protest linkages are distributed unevenly across the four parties. They are most clearly articulated by MFG and, to a lesser extent, Die Basis. FPÖ also makes such linkages visible, especially in more conflict intense phases, while the AfD communicates protest proximity far more selectively. The figure therefore suggests that the main difference between the parties lies not simply in whether they refer to protest, but in how openly they present themselves as connected to protest milieus. The qualitative material further indicates that these linkages become particularly visible when protest itself turns into a central arena of political conflict.

In the case of the AfD, explicit protest linkages remain limited in the coded Facebook sample. This makes the few existing cases analytically important. Rather than openly and repeatedly linking itself to the pandemic skeptical protest field, the party more often communicates such proximity indirectly. One example is a post referring to the Covid critical influencer Stefan Homburg in the context of 2G rules, harassment of citizens, and the Corona policy of the old parties (AfD 13.09.2021a). Another is the official greeting by the federal party executive to the “March for Life” in Berlin, which signals a connection to an external mobilizing actor outside the Covid context (ibid. 16.09.2021). A third example is the call to participate in a demonstration in Wiesbaden against the alleged self empowerment of the EU (ibid. 03.07.2021b). Taken together, these cases suggest that the AfD remained comparatively cautious in making protest proximity fully visible in its official Facebook communication.

The FPÖ communicates protest linkages more openly, especially once the Austrian conflict around compulsory vaccination intensifies. This becomes visible in its reference to cooperation with “various citizens’ movements” in the context of a freedom demonstration in Vienna (FPÖ 17.11.2021). A similar logic appears in a post in which Herbert Kickl coordinates the protest day in Vienna and asks participants to send visual material to the party (ibid. 20.11.2021). Particularly telling is also the post thanking supporters for solidarity protests in London, which symbolically extends the protest field beyond Austria and frames resistance to pandemic policy as receiving

Figure 6: K3 by Party



Source: Own illustration based on the codebook

international backing (ibid. 21.11.2021). These examples show that the FPÖ does not merely comment on protest from the outside, but visibly situates itself within a broader protest milieu.

In the case of Die Basis, protest proximity is sometimes communicated quite explicitly. One particularly strong example is the post that frames the ban of a Die Basis campaign event in Berlin as a democratic violation and situates this conflict in the wider context of Querdenken related protest politics (Die Basis 27.08.2021). Another telling example is a post that presents Die Basis as a party that emerged “in the course of the protest movement against the Corona measures” (ibid.

18.09.2021). In such cases, the party does not merely use movement related language, but directly grounds its political self presentation in the pandemic skeptical protest field. At the same time, these linkages appear less consistently than in the case of MFG.

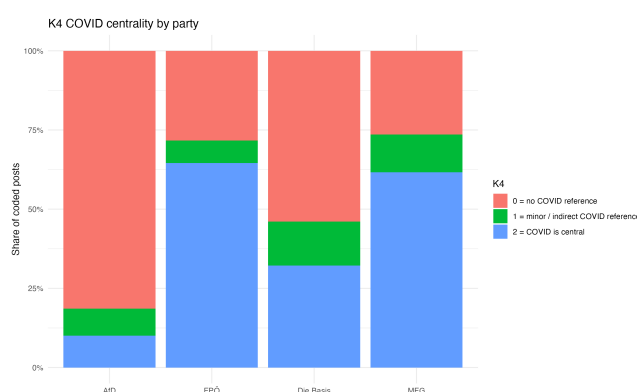
The clearest and most consistent protest linkages can be found in the communication of MFG. One particularly strong example is the post reporting on a demonstration in Salzburg that took place in cooperation with “Salzburg wacht auf,” making the organizational connection between party and protest actors directly visible (MFG 28.11.2021). Another is the post promoting an interview with MFG Secretary General Gerold Bener, which links opposition to compulsory vaccination to the “founding of the employee representation FAN” and the “building of structure and organization” (ibid. 26.11.2021). Protest linkages are therefore not occasional additions in MFG’s communication, but a central element of how the party presents its political role.

Overall, K3 highlights an important difference between the parties. The AfD remains comparatively cautious in communicating protest proximity. FPÖ signals such proximity much more openly in phases of high conflict. Die Basis reflects a more diffuse overlap between party identity and protest context. MFG, by contrast, most clearly presents itself as part of an ongoing protest network. The category therefore shows that protest linkages are not merely a side element of party communication, but a key point of difference between established and protest born parties.

6.2.4 K4 – Covid Centrality

As Figures 7 and 8 show, the thematic centrality of COVID-19 varies strongly across both parties and periods. Figure 7 indicates that COVID-19 is much more central in the communication of the Austrian parties than in that of the German parties. The highest shares

Figure 7: K4 by Party



Source: Own illustration based on the codebook

of $K4 = 2$ appear in FPÖ and MFG, whereas the AfD addresses the pandemic far less consistently as a central issue. Die Basis occupies an intermediate position. Figure 8 adds a temporal perspective and shows that COVID-19 becomes most dominant during the Austrian debate on compulsory vaccination. By contrast, the German periods are less saturated by pandemic related communication. Taken together, the figures suggest that COVID-19 was politicized much more consistently as a central conflict in Austria than in Germany.

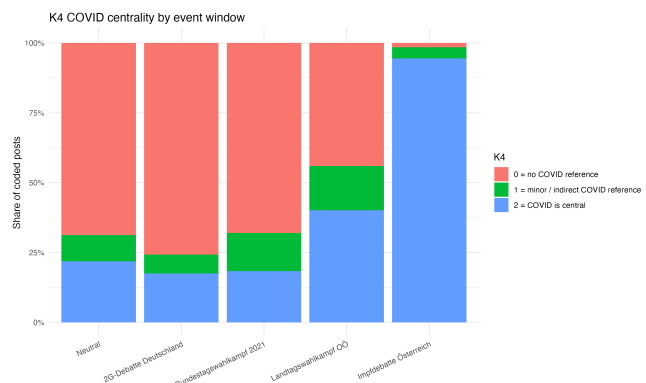
This difference is especially visible in the case of the AfD. Although the party repeatedly addresses Corona measures, much of its

communication revolves around more established issue areas such as migration, anti Green attacks, media criticism, anti EU positions, and candidate centered campaigning. Migration and asylum remain particularly salient, for instance in posts demanding deportations and criticizing asylum policy (AfD 13.09.2021b; *ibid.* 13.09.2021c). Other posts attack the Greens as a “party of prohibition” (*ibid.* 14.09.2021), criticize energy and climate policy as state overreach (*ibid.* 15.09.2021), or target public broadcasting and alleged media manipulation (*ibid.* 17.09.2021). The AfD therefore does not ignore COVID-19, but often embeds it within a broader oppositional agenda or shifts attention to its more established themes.

A different but related pattern appears in the case of Die Basis. Although the party emerged directly from protest against Corona measures, its communication is not exclusively centered on the pandemic either. Alongside pandemic related posts, Die Basis frequently presents itself through broader themes such as direct democracy, participation, and political renewal. This becomes visible, for example, in a post promoting direct democracy and stronger political participation at the local level, framed around the idea that political problems are best understood “on the ground” (Die Basis 22.09.2021a). A similar attempt to broaden the party’s profile appears in posts linking environmental and energy concerns to support for Die Basis and to a wider critique of established politics (*ibid.* 22.09.2021b). Die Basis therefore attempts to present itself not only as a pandemic skeptical actor, but as a broader democratic and system critical project.

The Austrian parties show a different pattern. In the case of the FPÖ, COVID-19 is much more often a central topic, especially in the vaccination conflict. Where pandemic politics is not

Figure 8: K4 by Event



Source: Own illustration based on the codebook

dominant, however, the party tends to fall back on familiar right wing populist issues such as migration, security, and attacks on the governing parties. This becomes visible in posts reacting to the murder of Leonie, which are used to criticize asylum policy, immigration, and the government's alleged failure to protect the population (FPÖ 09.07.2021a). Other posts return to anti migration positions and symbolic culture war themes (ibid. 06.07.2021; ibid. 09.07.2021b). The FPÖ therefore did not replace its established political profile with pandemic politics, but layered a strong COVID centered agenda onto an already familiar oppositional repertoire.

A somewhat similar but narrower pattern can be observed in MFG. While the party is highly COVID centered overall, the posts without a direct pandemic focus are concentrated mainly in the Upper Austrian election campaign and revolve above all around campaign organization, candidate presentation, and rights based messaging. MFG presents itself as a force of “people, freedom, and fundamental rights“ (MFG 15.09.2021b) promotes campaign events and livestreams (ibid. 17.09.2021), and addresses issues such as support for small businesses (ibid. 12.09.2021) and media reform (ibid. 16.09.2021). In contrast to the AfD and FPÖ, MFG does not shift strongly toward migration or broader culture war themes when COVID-19 is absent. Instead, it uses non pandemic posts mainly to stabilize its profile as a new party of freedom, rights, and political change.

Overall, K4 shows more than whether COVID-19 is mentioned or not. The figures indicate that pandemic politics was far more central in Austria, especially during the conflict over compulsory vaccination. The close reading adds that parties used periods of lower COVID centrality in different ways. FPÖ and MFG remained more strongly focused on the pandemic, whereas the AfD and, to a lesser extent, Die Basis more often shifted attention to other issues or embedded pandemic politics in broader oppositional narratives. K4 is therefore important not only as a measure of issue salience, but also as an indicator of how parties structured political conflict during the pandemic.

7. Conclusion

This study examined how established and protest born parties differed in their Facebook communication on democratic framing, anti elitism, protest, and the centrality of COVID-19 during the pandemic. The findings show that the differences between the four parties cannot be reduced to a simple contrast between established and protest born actors. Party type matters, but national context and political timing are equally important for understanding variation in party communication.

The first hypothesis is supported, but only in a qualified sense. Protest born parties did display more movement oriented communication overall, especially in the case of MFG and, to a lesser extent, Die Basis. Both parties connected democratic and rights based language more directly to protest related identities, institutional distrust, and movement oriented forms of communication. This was most clearly visible in MFG, which repeatedly combined pandemic politics with direct protest mobilization, explicit protest linkages, and a highly COVID centered agenda. At the same time, the findings complicate a strict party type distinction. The FPÖ, although an established party, often communicated in a highly protest oriented and movement proximate way, especially during the Austrian conflict over compulsory vaccination. The AfD, by contrast, remained much more selective in both direct protest mobilization and explicit protest linkages.

The second hypothesis is also partially confirmed. Periods of intensified conflict, above all the Austrian debate on compulsory vaccination, were associated with stronger democratic and anti elite framing, more direct mobilization, more visible protest linkages, and a much higher centrality of COVID-19. In this sense, crisis periods did intensify the communicative patterns captured by the four categories. Election periods, however, did not simply produce the same patterns at a lower level. Rather, they often shifted communication into broader and more electorally adaptable forms. This was particularly visible in the German federal election campaign, where direct protest mobilization and explicit protest linkages remained relatively limited, even among parties that were politically close to the pandemic skeptical protest milieu.

Taken together, the findings answer the research question in a differentiated way. Established and protest born parties did differ in their Facebook communication during the COVID-19 pandemic, but these differences were not absolute. The most important distinction lies less in whether the parties used democratic language, anti elite framing, or protest references at all, and more in how they did so. AfD and FPÖ more often articulated these patterns through familiar right wing populist oppositions between the people and the elite and through claims to defend freedom against an overreaching state. Die Basis and MFG, by contrast, connected democratic and rights based language more directly to protest related identities, distrust in institutions, and movement oriented claims making. At the same time, the comparison also showed that the Austrian parties were much more COVID centered than the German parties. This suggests that national conflict structures shaped party communication at least as strongly as party type.

The study also has several limitations. First, it focuses exclusively on Facebook and therefore captures only one part of the parties' broader communicative practice. This is particularly relevant because other platforms, especially Telegram, became important channels for anti establishment

communication, protest coordination, and pandemic skeptical mobilization. Future research should therefore examine more systematically how party communication differs across platforms and whether protest proximity becomes more visible outside official Facebook pages. Second, the analysis is limited to selected time windows in 2021 and cannot capture longer term developments before or after these phases. Third, the distribution of posts across parties and periods is uneven. This is especially relevant in the neutral period, in which MFG published only a single post. As a result, this phase is of only limited analytical value for assessing MFG's communication under lower conflict conditions, and the comparison across time windows is therefore not equally robust for all four parties. Finally, the study examines official party communication, not audience reception, and can therefore say little about how these messages were interpreted or how effective they were.

Despite these limitations, the study shows that social media communication during the COVID-19 pandemic offers an important window into the changing relationship between parties, protest, and democratic legitimacy. It reveals that the pandemic did not produce one uniform form of anti establishment communication, but rather different ways of politicizing crisis. In this sense, the comparison between AfD, FPÖ, Die Basis, and MFG shows how pandemic related conflict could be translated into electoral opposition, protest solidarity, democratic skepticism, or movement oriented claims making, depending on party type, national context, and political context.

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LITERATURE POSTS

AfD

AfD (2021, 03.Juli a). +++ *Kassenarzt-Chef zerlegt die Delta-Panikmache!* +++ (Text + Bild) (Facebook) [https://www.facebook.com/alternativefuerde/posts/pfbid0zviZG5eQQmtYy49aEVQjHkGdkWGmH2Wu43X2KkwfU42FrQPnJRznKH6tPSPSbwhl?__cft__\[0\]=AZb1X4zmNJYe-avxidh8S6FXC6jeJ45uVVkJSzUyEGulRPX9-6LqqGXDm_Zx63us_N_V2qcpSRc5kEk8HQFkq-Y741ovy51-6n-Y75Jsig9rGdlQyyJaT3r-2kcBvq53PpmK_p6hhROVETP17VBpYcPTYxOlgn4b_VYUDyujemUloesPyV8yUBr_1PEyTjMHt8&__tn__=%2CO%2CP-R](https://www.facebook.com/alternativefuerde/posts/pfbid0zviZG5eQQmtYy49aEVQjHkGdkWGmH2Wu43X2KkwfU42FrQPnJRznKH6tPSPSbwhl?__cft__[0]=AZb1X4zmNJYe-avxidh8S6FXC6jeJ45uVVkJSzUyEGulRPX9-6LqqGXDm_Zx63us_N_V2qcpSRc5kEk8HQFkq-Y741ovy51-6n-Y75Jsig9rGdlQyyJaT3r-2kcBvq53PpmK_p6hhROVETP17VBpYcPTYxOlgn4b_VYUDyujemUloesPyV8yUBr_1PEyTjMHt8&__tn__=%2CO%2CP-R).

AfD (2021, 03.Juli b). *Das von der EU eingeleitete Vertragsverletzungsverfahren gegen Deutschland ist ein Angriff auf unsere nationale Souveränität. Es geht um...* (Text + Bild) (Facebook) [https://www.facebook.com/alternativefuerde/posts/pfbid02iMzghDywwxCbigAnpQEer6zGvd9Kd2KK79CbRjbNzHY6oxjnNETZnEnLZV6XCrK2l?__cft__\[0\]=AZax7ipHUHJLJvbG_bG5cjsGIylw9x6GxWd-pVy7ktNKR8X9qnLaLnlfllyjF24pXNAvdsWs6ZJ81-ALtpOjamLQMGWsMeGqGXU_7wmQCdyncx0ZBre_NfH_vOTtbLnUTBcW7lfACAamAM0owUeaA0guKNI-FCtAlhBamAIoTVFQ0Ojw4kHeRZszRv7PA Ae0gzic&__tn__=%2CO%2CP-R](https://www.facebook.com/alternativefuerde/posts/pfbid02iMzghDywwxCbigAnpQEer6zGvd9Kd2KK79CbRjbNzHY6oxjnNETZnEnLZV6XCrK2l?__cft__[0]=AZax7ipHUHJLJvbG_bG5cjsGIylw9x6GxWd-pVy7ktNKR8X9qnLaLnlfllyjF24pXNAvdsWs6ZJ81-ALtpOjamLQMGWsMeGqGXU_7wmQCdyncx0ZBre_NfH_vOTtbLnUTBcW7lfACAamAM0owUeaA0guKNI-FCtAlhBamAIoTVFQ0Ojw4kHeRZszRv7PA Ae0gzic&__tn__=%2CO%2CP-R).

AfD (2021, 10.Juli) *Der von der EU gewünschte digitale Impfpass setzt gesunde Menschen unter Druck, sich impfen zu lassen. Die dafür verwendeten Impfstoffe haben...* (Text + Video) (Facebook) [https://www.facebook.com/alternativefuerde/videos/529675991604615/?__cft__\[0\]=AZZvuarf6PNpzLH1S5osdQwfSg8KRsoAb1ZkuQa8Gk1YQWQGOq8Ut4V31QGpvoP1q8FFb-SqDG5x0iPCh_MYjB6SIhwNu7KXNPRwCXvadXTWALqlC-V7ifpepCrOm40rD3luxk5COYwHqnIqAKmXGN4hH9sIHbs3soeYY_SJzdrj8rdcm9GKtblUgVNF0ottQq9Jl4Qs_q19mYG3XX-Fd9fZ&__tn__=%2CO%2CP-R](https://www.facebook.com/alternativefuerde/videos/529675991604615/?__cft__[0]=AZZvuarf6PNpzLH1S5osdQwfSg8KRsoAb1ZkuQa8Gk1YQWQGOq8Ut4V31QGpvoP1q8FFb-SqDG5x0iPCh_MYjB6SIhwNu7KXNPRwCXvadXTWALqlC-V7ifpepCrOm40rD3luxk5COYwHqnIqAKmXGN4hH9sIHbs3soeYY_SJzdrj8rdcm9GKtblUgVNF0ottQq9Jl4Qs_q19mYG3XX-Fd9fZ&__tn__=%2CO%2CP-R).

AfD (2021, 27. August). *Journalisten sehen es als „das letzte Muskelspiel der Bundeskanzlerin vor der Wahl“: Angela Merkel zeigt einmal mehr ihre...* (Text + Bild) (Facebook) [https://www.facebook.com/alternativefuerde/posts/pfbid0HzP397bLZtknsnUuHX2sjXCeelFFBpdug33x85rRH22bhTmvCJoov7NSmGtACyXxl?__cft__\[0\]=AZbLIttfrgS7FjPwSx6_KMS0IXxYupA72fgyCgcy9RxBmaR87LS7Ii4Lxxs--z9yIQgywkm08z40TwkGuk4fABtZnzfWWEJD--ecpyFRON7Xmk9EGTmCIDoMQ9Hlv3lejs0VJ4U2PKDpqEkWJULxTLlRTbzuoN0_rJVXnti9BJmuGIQcz35SSIUAK92z3UGXgM&__tn__=%2CO%2CP-R](https://www.facebook.com/alternativefuerde/posts/pfbid0HzP397bLZtknsnUuHX2sjXCeelFFBpdug33x85rRH22bhTmvCJoov7NSmGtACyXxl?__cft__[0]=AZbLIttfrgS7FjPwSx6_KMS0IXxYupA72fgyCgcy9RxBmaR87LS7Ii4Lxxs--z9yIQgywkm08z40TwkGuk4fABtZnzfWWEJD--ecpyFRON7Xmk9EGTmCIDoMQ9Hlv3lejs0VJ4U2PKDpqEkWJULxTLlRTbzuoN0_rJVXnti9BJmuGIQcz35SSIUAK92z3UGXgM&__tn__=%2CO%2CP-R).

AfD (2021, 28. August) *Bundeskanzlerin Merkel will laut Berichten durchsetzen, dass nur noch Geimpfte, Genesene oder Getestete am Zugverkehr teilnehmen dürfen. Das Kanzleramt soll...* (Text + Bild) (Facebook) [https://www.facebook.com/alternativefuerde/posts/pfbid0FvuQvAGo68zoSCqdbdU9c7s9w8SyKNfhxFvuXm9LppJwdQcWu1Fqd5T6fXnRwiSql?__cft__\[0\]=AZbG-pkZHhdCG2glT7SHdcMA6ZrZcFZSJWLU0wCU8tkbPtnTxZJlt2LEAREQF_gmHcMaUALdKOYLRETVGsy15Q3GGSYUY80Y9rUcBS2zsdZQ78QUa0nxsCH69dUUIQLDgaGSiTIP5vrIN5vve2WanPXbB0ngw704-Amwb2TI3OpW6XKTs7zEqqBeD9jIqvff0IqKEk7tObjegTM1a_rHbLzuiOSBzarSiJ9chHo8gjMYioA&__tn__=%2CO%2CP-R](https://www.facebook.com/alternativefuerde/posts/pfbid0FvuQvAGo68zoSCqdbdU9c7s9w8SyKNfhxFvuXm9LppJwdQcWu1Fqd5T6fXnRwiSql?__cft__[0]=AZbG-pkZHhdCG2glT7SHdcMA6ZrZcFZSJWLU0wCU8tkbPtnTxZJlt2LEAREQF_gmHcMaUALdKOYLRETVGsy15Q3GGSYUY80Y9rUcBS2zsdZQ78QUa0nxsCH69dUUIQLDgaGSiTIP5vrIN5vve2WanPXbB0ngw704-Amwb2TI3OpW6XKTs7zEqqBeD9jIqvff0IqKEk7tObjegTM1a_rHbLzuiOSBzarSiJ9chHo8gjMYioA&__tn__=%2CO%2CP-R).

AfD (2021, 13. September a). ++ 44 positive Corona-Tests nach 2G-Party: Die 2G-Regel ist Quatsch! ++ (Text +Bild) (Facebook) [https://www.facebook.com/alternativefuerde/posts/pfbid022UNwyhvUSWNpG777XYG3VLTg4QnRJv9C1FANvsax8S4Y2WRi4skTWd2ezaJdinTql?__cft__\[0\]=AZYg9nzyQNc9mrJ1iEN7oHTvW5pK0FI4z87vVcBrj67Vh695jFRbihYRUSfp3HJuiQL_t_C_c_i_v_c_U_n_M_P_2_-S5wgpAOQdkMBiP5sxYHZ7MeEtX_PqYm73paX71jUrDakRT10GnAjldk2QNKvK_MzGqe6T-OF634SqoRb00zP-5TBCpDHfOw-niBxq6h4PYEG4E1R4m8&__tn__=%2CO%2CP-R](https://www.facebook.com/alternativefuerde/posts/pfbid022UNwyhvUSWNpG777XYG3VLTg4QnRJv9C1FANvsax8S4Y2WRi4skTWd2ezaJdinTql?__cft__[0]=AZYg9nzyQNc9mrJ1iEN7oHTvW5pK0FI4z87vVcBrj67Vh695jFRbihYRUSfp3HJuiQL_t_C_c_i_v_c_U_n_M_P_2_-S5wgpAOQdkMBiP5sxYHZ7MeEtX_PqYm73paX71jUrDakRT10GnAjldk2QNKvK_MzGqe6T-OF634SqoRb00zP-5TBCpDHfOw-niBxq6h4PYEG4E1R4m8&__tn__=%2CO%2CP-R).

AfD (2021, 13. September b). Was, bitteschön, haben 2.000 TERRORbereite Islamisten in unserem Land verloren? Warum sind sie noch nicht längst... (Text) (Facebook) [https://www.facebook.com/alternativefuerde/posts/pfbid0J8a5R5ZLMbARmiyhNL5xTvB2hERVjuipEX36ttTJg6igtFAjNp7gJ6KaliTVyfF3l?__cft__\[0\]=AZZ0Pv2K0BXTWKnusuN6mFem3EmmSVdJzlq9mRJ4qB6Ul_2JD2ZFnucDez9vEIDsdnPlixpFRGa19PLdnwNMHxLa4eOa-MgJEhNKJn434T2QlQPIQj2ck1wN18ePuWuYsOXSl2j4pO8UXRMGNkIO1Pm9VdcA_IixR9H7wT1dlIryaTfyOQ3jmGEFvhPVqwQ3-l-KC-vg8HzcqfOSFC4tWLBV9B&__tn__=%2CO%2CP-R](https://www.facebook.com/alternativefuerde/posts/pfbid0J8a5R5ZLMbARmiyhNL5xTvB2hERVjuipEX36ttTJg6igtFAjNp7gJ6KaliTVyfF3l?__cft__[0]=AZZ0Pv2K0BXTWKnusuN6mFem3EmmSVdJzlq9mRJ4qB6Ul_2JD2ZFnucDez9vEIDsdnPlixpFRGa19PLdnwNMHxLa4eOa-MgJEhNKJn434T2QlQPIQj2ck1wN18ePuWuYsOXSl2j4pO8UXRMGNkIO1Pm9VdcA_IixR9H7wT1dlIryaTfyOQ3jmGEFvhPVqwQ3-l-KC-vg8HzcqfOSFC4tWLBV9B&__tn__=%2CO%2CP-R).

AfD (2021, 13. September c). ++ Mutige Griechen greifen durch: Ministerpräsident will Schlepper-Banden „zerschlagen“! ++ (Text+Bild) (Facebook) [https://www.facebook.com/alternativefuerde/posts/pfbid025tVAPM1eW5X8ib6HTDZGiJZrE2QvJ8jR5nUuZEJmnzqk6TGZQzPoqHg4zXLk9hARl?__cft__\[0\]=AZZbldbimNQVx0I7VsCQWWUiOgXFfLEcFFhO1Szfg7F1_Dw0zdY2NOMZKmf1QeO2HUCqoW1E_CINHfjBLDZa3d-1x54qfo86d_KNqd-GcxLnq74Pw9-DXbSloXucdm_ofovtnH8_LU12haSFHmXWCm1QCWrB7SwMyDt1vMOEGCRWCHtv6ZmyH6wA0S_3qaiYRYc&__tn__=%2CO%2CP-R](https://www.facebook.com/alternativefuerde/posts/pfbid025tVAPM1eW5X8ib6HTDZGiJZrE2QvJ8jR5nUuZEJmnzqk6TGZQzPoqHg4zXLk9hARl?__cft__[0]=AZZbldbimNQVx0I7VsCQWWUiOgXFfLEcFFhO1Szfg7F1_Dw0zdY2NOMZKmf1QeO2HUCqoW1E_CINHfjBLDZa3d-1x54qfo86d_KNqd-GcxLnq74Pw9-DXbSloXucdm_ofovtnH8_LU12haSFHmXWCm1QCWrB7SwMyDt1vMOEGCRWCHtv6ZmyH6wA0S_3qaiYRYc&__tn__=%2CO%2CP-R).

AfD (2021, 14. September). Für Baerbock und ihre ökosozialistischen sog. „Grünen“ sind VERBOTE ein Innovationstreiber. Ausgerechnet Verbote!... (Text) (Facebook) [https://www.facebook.com/alternativefuerde/posts/pfbid02bgdKtMwM2K3ER3ZkkvVvZXLRWzUMQZXS3r6dKENQFSDK6Pz11n394yxtB1eMyHZl?__cft__\[0\]=AZbr69ioOoeI_8oC7hTCeKYIyBNX6f4-pIHRKJ1Gtkg1-M9pXN6B2I-I7glZ6mzEh_j8Q4NUXlgy8iwXolcIUrWq43m9uGPIIdZC_7IsCnsjWYVSVIHIQn8PMJ1hu2TM8gl_7-CALT_ZJNYIK2RCL8mImFVL8ulleUBGo2CeX6bJeXov2vqkzDd1OZ1zlAf8PGfpBVeUmWl4I_OjabQyWOGK8Ot&__tn__=%2CO%2CP-R](https://www.facebook.com/alternativefuerde/posts/pfbid02bgdKtMwM2K3ER3ZkkvVvZXLRWzUMQZXS3r6dKENQFSDK6Pz11n394yxtB1eMyHZl?__cft__[0]=AZbr69ioOoeI_8oC7hTCeKYIyBNX6f4-pIHRKJ1Gtkg1-M9pXN6B2I-I7glZ6mzEh_j8Q4NUXlgy8iwXolcIUrWq43m9uGPIIdZC_7IsCnsjWYVSVIHIQn8PMJ1hu2TM8gl_7-CALT_ZJNYIK2RCL8mImFVL8ulleUBGo2CeX6bJeXov2vqkzDd1OZ1zlAf8PGfpBVeUmWl4I_OjabQyWOGK8Ot&__tn__=%2CO%2CP-R).

AfD (2021, 15. September). Wie wollen die rot-grün-schwarzen Klimaretter den Bürgern erklären, dass bei einer Umstellung der Stromerzeugung auf „Windenergie“... (Text+Bild) (Facebook) [https://www.facebook.com/alternativefuerde/posts/pfbid07s3nRAdPnykLrDaA2dQsz8CWdKWmMG7iv9goCrCNaS1WxEWkAEzaqeyncwSL9kY3l?__cft__\[0\]=AZaKvvegPDA-TjDEc5CMfFbVAODkPWSRdr3IP_oWI6LMpzMxAmKz8loYG8QX0saSG3JgzpZ6tPB4YTYlrWRRpYmSu8HdgclhyydWFAEsJSuTqHu-ip20gYYoMWQ43s8nsQ6AR9QqXgYT7owXFTGm_64McUyMqgve4dAubBhMbulqZsTR54xm0ZfahtuqA5nrX7GpjzXCS1g91BSEhxtHOUFF6iKHsB-DxiOfZrw9yJk7IA&__tn__=%2CO%2CP-R](https://www.facebook.com/alternativefuerde/posts/pfbid07s3nRAdPnykLrDaA2dQsz8CWdKWmMG7iv9goCrCNaS1WxEWkAEzaqeyncwSL9kY3l?__cft__[0]=AZaKvvegPDA-TjDEc5CMfFbVAODkPWSRdr3IP_oWI6LMpzMxAmKz8loYG8QX0saSG3JgzpZ6tPB4YTYlrWRRpYmSu8HdgclhyydWFAEsJSuTqHu-ip20gYYoMWQ43s8nsQ6AR9QqXgYT7owXFTGm_64McUyMqgve4dAubBhMbulqZsTR54xm0ZfahtuqA5nrX7GpjzXCS1g91BSEhxtHOUFF6iKHsB-DxiOfZrw9yJk7IA&__tn__=%2CO%2CP-R).

AfD (2021, 16. September). ++ *Grußwort des AfD-Bundesvorstands zum „Marsch für das Leben“ 2021* ++ (Text+Bild) (Facebook) [https://www.facebook.com/alternativefuerde/posts/pfbid02oJEZbBW9NDnQi1GVFCoa1NGV9U5i5hZQivhKKjpY53ofYC4kkcNczctVSwzC4Zdf1?__cft__\[0\]=AZY_HKbF-Aabe0KzK1Sc_DGiZ979ZZZNklHaYS2Vxs6m8NJzxl2y3OWWgJpW5ooA8FyT2xmw3IOZ5178zG11xQlw48O5VPA9eWQv2UHFECumfDZUyK0e9vi3BUlPVj6XrWReS9sqDT98u2Tc9HkWs_NadGu3WSuYvG20TAsfkewsnpGAH2xFSq-kUyxptaXqbMA&__tn__=%2CO%2CP-R](https://www.facebook.com/alternativefuerde/posts/pfbid02oJEZbBW9NDnQi1GVFCoa1NGV9U5i5hZQivhKKjpY53ofYC4kkcNczctVSwzC4Zdf1?__cft__[0]=AZY_HKbF-Aabe0KzK1Sc_DGiZ979ZZZNklHaYS2Vxs6m8NJzxl2y3OWWgJpW5ooA8FyT2xmw3IOZ5178zG11xQlw48O5VPA9eWQv2UHFECumfDZUyK0e9vi3BUlPVj6XrWReS9sqDT98u2Tc9HkWs_NadGu3WSuYvG20TAsfkewsnpGAH2xFSq-kUyxptaXqbMA&__tn__=%2CO%2CP-R).

AfD (2021, 17. September). *Neuer Höhepunkt der GEZ-Gehirnwäsche: Bei der ARD-Wahlarena kamen zwei „Aktivistinnen“ zu Wort, die im Vorfeld von einer linksradikalen „Aktivistinnen-Agentur“...* (Text) (Facebook) [https://www.facebook.com/alternativefuerde/posts/pfbid08S2gb8vEKftSsjugBVTMGS6LVuiaLJMyqXR7jkgj1eb7BDe3ytC3hxSMFWu1myywl?__cft__\[0\]=AZaw2XSk94nXKegOu-yI3fOsGeeIyaucAO9w2UT5IHQ1j-vvj14ztC78ZnsTdg3t9LWxksBCHCazjgexPe7u9sWZ00netDxr4QwtpaDHAjxdhRTVPaerEWRMgSTP675wGoV6vgW0PqAb9Am7Ig_KfYQyxmV2l6cwbHfk43Pf4rLHS08l2dqUH0hwa8ebq9waEk64te4HnsYTAxM6StcMR&__tn__=%2CO%2CP-R](https://www.facebook.com/alternativefuerde/posts/pfbid08S2gb8vEKftSsjugBVTMGS6LVuiaLJMyqXR7jkgj1eb7BDe3ytC3hxSMFWu1myywl?__cft__[0]=AZaw2XSk94nXKegOu-yI3fOsGeeIyaucAO9w2UT5IHQ1j-vvj14ztC78ZnsTdg3t9LWxksBCHCazjgexPe7u9sWZ00netDxr4QwtpaDHAjxdhRTVPaerEWRMgSTP675wGoV6vgW0PqAb9Am7Ig_KfYQyxmV2l6cwbHfk43Pf4rLHS08l2dqUH0hwa8ebq9waEk64te4HnsYTAxM6StcMR&__tn__=%2CO%2CP-R).

AfD (2021, 26. September). ++ *Nur noch wenige Stunden: Jetzt zählt IHRE Stimme!* ++ (Text+Bild) (Facebook) [https://www.facebook.com/alternativefuerde/posts/pfbid0W1o9jML78i3VJQqydWbAjd3AiZGqfBhhkxXK1SemygGiKofQh5cekZC2DLs95udtl?__cft__\[0\]=AZZqN5pFpVsgBzvX7vmI-jI5-nB-T8a4QiwCcNXfNbs1Pey8WO2DwmqQ4UGzIfQyYF21qzrjAnH0Jgy_pCvf6ouFUIPvKDxhWZf-AVZrWQxbTFgXIf8jv9Gj0qFX2VpSeByWy4BbwW_Logo6JZoa9YCFqpEF-q3lbl8Syavml_1GlghgFRToIbpXuRdJdMGzb2w&__tn__=%2CO%2CP-R](https://www.facebook.com/alternativefuerde/posts/pfbid0W1o9jML78i3VJQqydWbAjd3AiZGqfBhhkxXK1SemygGiKofQh5cekZC2DLs95udtl?__cft__[0]=AZZqN5pFpVsgBzvX7vmI-jI5-nB-T8a4QiwCcNXfNbs1Pey8WO2DwmqQ4UGzIfQyYF21qzrjAnH0Jgy_pCvf6ouFUIPvKDxhWZf-AVZrWQxbTFgXIf8jv9Gj0qFX2VpSeByWy4BbwW_Logo6JZoa9YCFqpEF-q3lbl8Syavml_1GlghgFRToIbpXuRdJdMGzb2w&__tn__=%2CO%2CP-R).

dieBasis

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