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Nostalgic for a better democracy? How German right-wing social media commentators (mis)remember the past

Miira Hill · Cornelius Puschmann

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Abstract This study examines how German social media commentators express their views on democratic values and nostalgically construct the past in public Facebook (FB) comments. Using a mixed-methods approach that combines qualitative content analysis with Large Language Model (LLM)-driven data interviews, we analyze a diverse set of comments posted between April 2010 and November 2019 in German-language FB groups. The study aims to provide insights into how right-wing commentators articulate their beliefs about democratic values and history, highlighting their political aspirations. Our analyses highlight the significant role of nostalgia in these discourses, with the past portrayed as a more unified and less complicated time, often linked to nativist ideologies. In these narratives, the past is constructed as morally superior to a corrupt and irresponsible present, with significant historical events such as World War II and the "refugee crisis" serving as markers of Germany's alleged decline. By drawing on Hannah Arendt's theories of the public sphere, we explore how these discourses challenge pluralism and democratic principles. Additionally, we introduce an innovative methodological approach by combining LLM with qualitative analysis to better understand political discourse on social media.

Keywords Social media · Democracy · Nostalgia · Content analysis · Computational methods · Right-wing politics

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Nostalgie für eine bessere Demokratie? Wie rechte deutsche Social-Media-Kommentatoren die Vergangenheit (falsch) erinnern

Zusammenfassung Diese Studie untersucht, wie deutsche Social-Media-Kommentatoren im rechten Spektrum ihre Ansichten über demokratische Werte auf Facebook (FB) äußern und welche Rolle die Vergangenheit dabei spielt. Mithilfe eines mixed-methods Methodenansatzes, der qualitative Inhaltsanalyse mit LLM-gesteuerten Dateninterviews kombiniert, analysieren wir eine Vielzahl von Kommentaren, die zwischen April 2010 und November 2019 in deutschsprachigen FB-Gruppen gepostet wurden. Die Studie zielt darauf ab, Einblicke in die Art und Weise zu geben, wie rechtsgerichtete Kommentatoren ihre Überzeugungen über demokratische Werte und historische Narrative artikulieren und ihre politischen Bestrebungen formulieren. Unsere Analysen verdeutlichen die wichtige Stellung, die Nostalgie in diesen Diskursen einnimmt. Die Vergangenheit wird hierbei als eine einheitliche und weniger komplizierte Zeit konstruiert und mit nativistischen Vorstellungen verbunden. In diesen Erzählungen wird das vergangene als moralisch überlegen gegenüber einer korrupten und unverantwortlichen Gegenwart konstruiert. Historische Ereignisse wie der Zweite Weltkrieg und die sogenannte „Flüchtlingskrise“ werden als Marker für den angeblichen Niedergang Deutschlands gesehen. Unter Rückgriff auf Hannah Arendts Theorien der Öffentlichkeit untersuchen wir, wie diese Diskurse das Politische verhindern. Darüber hinaus führen wir einen innovativen methodischen Ansatz ein, indem wir LLM mit qualitativer Analyse kombinieren, um den Diskurs in Sozialen Medien besser zu verstehen.

Schlüsselwörter Soziale Medien · Nostalgie · Inhaltsanalyse · Computergestützte Methoden · Rechte Politik

1 Introduction

Social media have been instrumental to the organization, mobilization and establishment of discursive visibility for groups and movements that form around a variety of political causes in recent decades (Jungherr et al. 2020; Kaun and Uldam 2018; Theocharis et al. 2022; Treré 2018). The affordances of social media platforms have made them attractive in particular to political outsiders in need of a cheap and flexible infrastructure through which they are able to rally supporters, reach sympathizers and communicate with the public at large, while lacking privileged access to the mainstream media (Boulianne et al. 2020). From *connective action* (Bennett and Segerberg 2012) to *refracted publics* (Abidin 2021) and *dark participation* (Quandt 2018), different theoretical concepts have been enlisted by media and communication scholars to capture how both left-wing and right-wing political groups globally have relied on social media to advance their causes and benefit from its strategic use. However, right-wing causes and initiatives in particular have profited from their adoption of social media, from the Brexit campaign in the UK to Pegida in Germany and the Identitarian Movement across Europe (Bastos and Mercea 2017; Puschmann et al. 2020). While antecedent research has investigated

the strategic use of social media, it is overall less studied how sympathizers and supporters of an insurgent movement articulate their beliefs—particularly those beliefs that are related to democratic values and imaginaries of the past, both of which are instrumental to form an understanding of the ideals they pursue (Menke and Wulf 2021).

This study approaches the issue of how supporters of right-wing movements articulate their beliefs regarding democratic values and what imaginaries of the past they draw upon in public social media comments (Krämer et al. 2021). In order to assess the full range of concepts and beliefs that social media users enlist, we study a large and diverse corpus of Facebook comments, relying on a novel mixed-methods approach that blends qualitative content analysis with the use of artificial intelligence (AI). Our goal is threefold. First, we advance the study of right-wing populist ideology and particularly of the connection of liberal values and right-wing nostalgia through the analysis of a large body of German-language Facebook comments, focusing on how imaginaries of a politically less complex and culturally more coherent past are intertwined with nativist ideology. In doing so, we map the inherent ideological contradictions within the discourse surrounding right-wing movements on social media, a variety of voices and viewpoints tied together mainly by its antagonism towards a perceived dominance of liberal and progressive norms. Second, we contribute to the theoretical discussion on the status of right-wing movements as counterpublics, rejecting the term in favour of a more nuanced description of such groups (Venema 2024). Third, we introduce the use of generative artificial intelligence and specifically of a large language model (LLM) in combination with *retrieval augmented generation* (RAG; Lewis et al. 2020) as a novel non-human informant for research methods in media and communication studies. In detail, we conduct semi-structured data interviews with *Command-R*, a multilingual model developed by Cohere AI, and subsequently conduct open thematic coding of the LLM-based qualitative data exploration, in combination with the source material. LLMs are increasingly at the center of attention in media and communication research for their potential to advance content analysis (Alizadeh et al. 2024; Ziems et al. 2024).

The analysis of democratic values and nostalgia in Facebook comments is highly relevant, as social media platforms today play a pivotal role in shaping political opinions. The comments we examine reveal nostalgic idealization of past democratic periods, offering valuable insights into contemporary political attitudes and potential deficits in democratization. Through this analysis, it becomes evident how such nostalgic notions of a supposedly better past permeate current political discourses. These discourses are not merely individual expressions but contribute to the construction of collective spaces, which in turn shape public opinion and influence political action.

In the following, we first discuss aspects of online publics relevant to our study. We then detail our relatively experimental methodology, which relies on a combination of qualitative manual coding and LLM-supported qualitative data analysis, and describe our dataset. After a detailed presentation of the multifaceted findings, we draw conclusions related to the broader question of how social media serve as a site where shared experience coalesces into a shared political outlook that may be capitalized upon by political actors. After in-depth reflection of the limitations

inherent in our approach, we argue that methodological innovation and our research objective are closely linked, as our proposed approach makes it possible to combine computational techniques in sampling and synthesis with the distinct strengths of thematic analysis. Finally, we also point to some of the ethical challenges raised by our approach.

2 Conflicting theories of (counter)publics and right-wing movements

Interpretations of what constitutes a countering force to *the* (mainstream/dominant/hegemonic) public have been contested in the academic literature since their introduction by Jürgen Habermas and subsequent debate among public sphere theorists (Calhoun 1992). Recently, Jackson and Kreiss (2023) have critiqued the growing use of the term counterpublics by media and communication scholars in the context of right-wing movements (Kaiser and Rauchfleisch 2019; Puschmann et al. 2020; Toepfl and Piwoni 2018), arguing that it represents a mischaracterization of right-wing groups and their values. Jackson and Kreiss contend that scholars relying on quantitative and computational approaches often insufficiently explore the structural prerequisites of counterpublics and rely on a false symmetry between progressive and illiberal movements, with the latter essentially aiming to restore hegemonic cultural values to normality. By contrast, the authors redefine such publics as forces opposing societal mainstreams, centers, and traditional hegemonic structures, aligning specifically with entrenched social inequalities. Rather than endorsing the usage of counterpublics for right-wing movements, they propose the term *defensive publics* as an alternative concept. While valuable, this perspective raises its own set of challenges. For example, the authors enumerate a set of extremely diverse characteristics for a justification of the *counter-* prefix, arguing that future research should focus more on "history, stratification, group relations, institutional relations, resources, and access" (cf. Jackson and Kreiss 2023, p. 108 ff.). Accordingly, the question of what constitutes a *defensive* public seems itself to be both highly context-dependent and quite normatively charged (cf. Venema 2024).

In our interpretation, the question of why Nancy Fraser's notion of counterpublics cannot be applied to right-wing groups hinges on the fundamental orientation and goals of these groups. Fraser's (1992) concept of counterpublic refers to spaces where marginalized groups can engage in their own discourses to challenge dominant social narratives and fight for more equitable social conditions. Subaltern counterpublics are "exemplary forms of parallel spaces" that act "as a bulwark against patriarchal hegemony" (Fraser 1992, p. 67).[1] So, the idea of counterpublics is closely tied to progressive, emancipatory goals that aim at social justice and the inclusion of previously marginalized voices. Fraser's concept is deeply rooted in the

[1] "Public spheres are not only arenas for the formation of discursive opinion; in addition, they are arenas for the formation and enactment of social identities. This means that participation is not simply a matter of being able to state propositional contents that are neutral with respect to form of expression. Rather participation means being able to speak in one's own voice, and thereby simultaneously to construct and express one's own cultural identity through idiom and style" (Fraser 1992, p. 166).

Critical Theory of the Frankfurt School (Adorno, Horkheimer, Habermas) and normative considerations of justice and equality (Marx). Her concept of social justice is closely linked to the principles of redistribution, recognition and representation (Fraser 2009).[2] Right-wing groups, on the other hand, often promote agendas focused on exclusion, authoritarianism, or the preservation of traditional power structures. Applying this notion to groups that actively undermine or oppose these principles would contradict the purpose of her theory. This does not mean that right-wing groups do not form their own publics or subcultures; however, their character and goals significantly differ from what Fraser understands by a counterpublic. Consequently, we agree with Jackson and Kreiss' criticism that right-wing groups cannot be easily subsumed under the theoretical concept of counterpublics, partly because their status as truly marginalized by the societal mainstream appears questionable (also in terms of social positioning). In this context, we suggest the use of a different concept. To understand the prevailing sense of deprivation in our society, Bauman (2017) draws on a concept introduced by Robert K. Merton, Walter Runciman, and Barrington Moore Jr.—the notion of "relative deprivation" (Bauman 2017, p. 118). This concept captures the feeling of disadvantage that individuals experience when they perceive their own suffering or deprivation as unjust in comparison to those around them. It is not rooted in an abstract concept of justice (as conceived by philosophers) (Bauman 2017, p. 120). Rather, it focuses on the perception of inequalities relative to one's "reference group", meaning those with whom individuals compare themselves. The concept underscores that deprivation is based on relative comparisons and shaped by social norms, which vary across time and context.

Furthermore, we argue for a repositioning of right-wing groups in relation to the idea of the public sphere based on the political theory of Hannah Arendt. With Arendt, we argue that in their general view of history, these groups are apolitical and violent. Our perspective in the article is rooted in Arendt's broader political philosophy, which draws significant inspiration from the ideal of the Polis, the Greek city-states. Hannah Arendt was deeply influenced by the public life and political structures of the Polis, which she explored extensively in her work "The Human Condition" (1958). In this work, Arendt adopts the ancient Polis as a model for public space and political action, emphasizing the importance of a vibrant public sphere where diverse voices can be heard and political agency can be exercised. She admired three aspects of the ancient Polis: Firstly, the central importance of action and speech, which allowed citizens to become visible and politically effective through individual actions and the exchange of opinions. Secondly, she highlighted the plurality at the core of political life, where the diversity of individuals created a space for broad discourse and political development. Thirdly, Arendt emphasized the clear distinction between the private realm of necessities and the public realm of freedom, which enabled citizens to engage in public life free from private interests (cf. Arendt 1960). This separation facilitated free political participation and supported a vibrant political field. Arendt considered these elements fundamental to a functioning and just political community. According to her agonistic public

[2] Frasers approach to social justice extends traditional concepts, which focus mainly on economic redistribution, by emphasizing the importance of cultural recognition and political representation.

theory, political action is narratively constructed, involving interactive and public storytelling acts that generate meaning (Arendt 1960; cf. Hofmann 2018; cf. Hill 2022).[3] Within these public narrative acts, emphasis is placed on the polyphony of society and the plurality of narratives. This conceptualization of the public sphere is highlighting the competition and strife among society members seeking recognition (cf. Benhabib 1991, 1997).

As individuals in modern societies navigate increasingly complex social landscapes, they often experience profound feelings of alienation and worldlessness, a theme explored by Arendt in "The Human Condition". In modern sociology, nostalgia is conceptualized as a discursive category that signals a loss of community, spirit, or freedom (Petrov 2020). Zygmunt Bauman, in Retrotopia (2017), argues that, amid uncertainty and disillusionment, people turn to an idealized past as a way of coping with present challenges and future anxieties. He describes this "nostalgic turn" as a response to societal fears, where a utopian vision of the past becomes a form of resistance to change and diversity, often exploited by populist leaders for political gain. Similarly, Colin Crouch, in Post-Democracy After the Crises (2020), introduces the concept of "pessimistic nostalgia", where right-wing populists contrast a bleak future with an idealized past to stoke fear and resentment, particularly against minorities. In our work, we build on Chauliac's (2023, p. 2) definition of nostalgia, which initially referred to a potentially fatal form of homesickness but has since evolved to describe a longing for something past or lost. This notion of nostalgia now encompasses not only physical places but also temporal dimensions, evoking imagined spaces tied to one's origins or an elsewhere that no longer exists. Crucially, nostalgia presupposes a rupture with the past and an awareness of that rupture.

Arendt also explored the decline of the public sphere in modern times. In her book about the origins of Totalitarianism (Arendt 2017), she examines how media and propaganda played critical roles in the rise of totalitarian regimes, focusing on the Nazis' strategic use of media to manipulate societal narratives and control public opinion. This strategy included intensive ideological dissemination, rigorous control and censorship, construction of enemy images, staging of mass events, and manipulation of public opinion to embed Nazi ideology, suppress dissent, and foster a unified national identity against perceived threats. Whereas Arendt's analysis highlights the use of mass media to direct public opinion under totalitarian regimes, the contemporary digital media environment, particularly in Western democracies, is characterized by far greater heterogeneity and personalization, making thorough state control much more difficult to achieve (Chadwick 2017; Jungherr et al. 2020;

[3] Sharpe (2022) raises several criticisms of applying Hannah Arendt's political philosophy to social media. He specifically highlights the problematic nature of the "social" in social media, arguing that discourse on these platforms tends to prioritize conformity, with communication aimed at gaining approval rather than expressing truths or fostering genuine debate. This, Sharpe contends, directly opposes Arendt's notion of agonism—constructive conflict necessary to preserve the plurality of opinions in the public sphere. Additionally, he points out that social media reduces plurality by standardizing language into easily agreeable and shareable phrases, which stifles critical discussion and independent thought. Lastly, Sharpe critiques social media for elevating behaviors like liking, sharing, and commenting over actual political action (Sharpe 2022, p. 108).

Schroeder 2019). Digitalization is reshaping social spaces, as conflicts increasingly transcend geographic and state boundaries, giving rise to new digital arenas of interaction that add complexity to the public sphere (Knoblauch and Löw 2024). In this context, public issues are discursively constructed and contested. These discourses serve as mechanisms of power, shaping social realities by determining which interpretations become dominant (Keller 2024). However, the connection between the articulation of grievances by right-wing sympathizers and the exploitation of these grievances by strategic political actors remains crucial for understanding their appeal and ability to influence public discourse.

Accordingly contemporary research in communication and media studies, notably by Toepfl and Piwoni (2018), Campion (2019), and Frischlich et al. (2023), implicitly echoes Arendt's analysis by highlighting how persuasive media and public opinion manipulation are still vital in the political strategies of right-wing groups, including the Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) in Germany. Toepfl and Piwoni (2018) show, using the example of the AfD, that media comments often reflect the framing of dominant media coverage, even when they are strongly opposed on an argumentative level.[4] Additionally, Mayerhöffer's (2021) study of Danish right-wing alternative media reveals that although these outlets structurally oppose the mainstream, they appear only moderately antagonistic and anti-hegemonic at the article level (Mayerhöffer 2021). Moreover, current research emphasizes the use of nostalgia by populist parties, which aligns with Arendt's insights into the manipulation of public opinion and the construction of a unified national identity against imagined adversaries. In her studies, Campion (2019) showed how right-wing populist discourses strive for a return to a nostalgically imagined past, emphasizing white identity, reinforcing threat narratives, and romanticizing an idealized past. Frischlich et al. (2023) examined the use of nostalgia in Facebook posts by German political parties. Their study found that populist parties (especially right-wing populist parties) use nostalgia more frequently than non-populist parties. Nostalgic social media posts differed between parties and were associated with increased user engagement. Only for the AfD were nostalgic posts more frequent than non-nostalgic posts, indicating a strong association between populism and nostalgia. Nostalgic posts that were classified as nostalgic with a high probability (>0.70) received more likes, love emojis, comments, and shares than non-nostalgic posts. This strategic use of nostalgia has been shown to feature notably in right-wing political content, suggesting the enduring effectiveness of such tactics in shaping politics (Menke and Wulf 2021).

Research on digital memory cultures and right-wing mobilization tactics is particularly relevant in understanding how far-right movements operate today. Recent studies underscore the strategic use of digital platforms to promote far-right ideologies. In "Post-Digital Cultures of the Far Right", Fielitz and Thurston (2018) explain how these groups in Europe and the US blend online and offline methods to build transnational networks. Similarly, Ekman (2014) examines how Swedish extremists

[4] Mayerhöffer and Heft (2021) analyzed referencing practices in right-wing alternative media, finding that these outlets largely adhere to journalistic norms but show limited originality in their sources. Despite their anti-mainstream stance, they frequently cite mainstream media without significantly discrediting or reinterpreting the content.

utilize YouTube as a tool to shape socio-political identities and mobilize supporters through emotionally charged video content. Ganesh (2020) adds to this by showing how alt-right groups exploit emotions like rage and victimhood in digital spaces to strengthen their networks and amplify their political messages. These studies reveal how central digital media have become in mobilizing and sustaining far-right movements.

The similarities between Arendt's analysis and contemporary findings lie in the recognition of strategies to manipulate societal narratives and enemy images to mobilize support, and the control of public discourse to gain political power. Both Arendt's classical work and recent research underscore the dangers of media manipulation and the critical role of information control in the dynamics of power and resistance in the public sphere. The ongoing relevance of Arendt's ideas in contemporary digital media research highlights the importance of vigilance and critical engagement with media as fundamental to the health of democratic societies and the safeguarding of pluralistic public discourse.

In parallel with the ongoing debate over the theoretical foundations of empirical research on counterpublics in a changing media landscape, methodological innovation has significantly impacted the field. At the same time, advancements in big data analysis and machine learning have not always been accompanied by corresponding theoretical development, a concern raised by Jackson and Kreiss. Waldherr et al. (2021) also criticize Computational Communication Science (CCS) for its limited engagement with broader theoretical frameworks, arguing that the focus on mid-range and micro-level theories narrows the scope of research and overlooks the influence of macro perspectives.

We seek to address this gap by connecting Hannah Arendt's idea of politics with our mixed-method approach to studying right-wing social media discourse. Instead of using Arendt's concepts as rigid criteria, we treat them as guiding principles—an ideal against which empirical findings can be contrasted. This approach allows us to identify when digital spaces diverge from her vision, while remaining open to new interpretations that may challenge or expand her ideas. By combining the depth of qualitative analysis grounded in robust theorization with computational techniques, we aim to harness the strengths of both approaches. This, we believe, enables the integration of broader theoretical frameworks with computational methodologies to better analyze right-wing movements on social media.

3 Data and methods

Our approach combines analysis of a unique historical social media dataset with an experimental mixed-methods approach to qualitative content analysis aided by generative artificial intelligence.

In the course of only a few years, generative artificial intelligence has turned from a nascent to a widely used technology with potentially far-reaching implications for all forms of knowledge work (Hepp et al. 2024). This is particularly true of so-called large language models, which combine a new approach to information representation—so called word or sentence embeddings—with machine learning

and extensive pretraining on the basis of deep neural networks (Ziems et al. 2024). A wide array of models, commercial and non-commercial, proprietary and open source, now exist able to generate text and images with human level proficiency, though the quality varies widely.

These advances have implications for social science, not least at the methodological level. Because the inference capabilities of generative AI are substantially more advanced than those of older models, it may be useful to scholars by weakening the distinction between standardized and non-standardized approaches, with particular potential as an instrument for the latter. While machine learning has played a relevant role in quantitative approaches to automated content analysis for decades, the same is not necessarily true to qualitative pathways of research, for which older approaches were, simply put, too stupid (Jünger et al. 2022). In part, this reflects the limitations of the paradigms of previous decades. In a traditional bag-of-words framework, words are treated in isolation and context is near impossible to appropriately take into account (Maerz and Puschmann 2020). By contrast, contemporary embedding-based approaches that utilize deep neural networks pretrained on large volumes of digital data are able to accommodate long-term dependencies by relying on an attention mechanism. They are furthermore able to distinguish meaning differences in superficially similar phrases (homographs/homonyms) and in complex multi-word or phrasal expressions (Laurer et al. 2024).

A recent technical innovation that is of particular interest to qualitative research in particular is *retrieval augmented generation* (RAG; Lewis et al. 2020). In this approach, a transformer-based model is finetuned on a custom dataset, for which embeddings are generated on the fly. This makes it possible to query the dataset, to which the model is grounded, effectively using the corpus as a knowledge base on which the model focuses in its responses. At the same time the model retails its pre-trained capabilities for natural language understanding and inference. One such model is Cohere AI's *Command-R* model (www.cohere.com). Command-R is a 35 billion parameter large language model with open weights, optimized for a variety of use cases including reasoning, summarization, and question answering. It has capability for multilingual generation in 10 languages and performant RAG capabilities. While commercial, particularly for business users, the model as such has been released as open source.

In the following we outline our approach to data analysis in more detail. The corpus used for this study consists of public Facebook comments posted to a dozen German-language groups between April 2010 and November 2019. These groups represented a variety of initiatives, grass-roots movements and political actors (parties and individual candidates) ranging from right-wing populism to right-wing extremism in their political outlook. A large portion of comments relate to immigration-related topics and the so-called European refugee crisis of 2015–2016. Some endorsed the AfD, while most appear unaffiliated with any particular party. The data collection took place in the course in multiple stages between 2015 and 2019, when Facebook (now Meta) had permissive rules for the use of its Graph API. Following the Cambridge Analytica scandal in 2018, Facebook substantially curtailed access in order to better safeguard user privacy.

While extensive metadata was available through Facebook's Graph API at the time of data collection, we chose to delete all non-essential metadata in order to conform with both the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) and ethical guidelines on human subjects social research (Franzke et al. 2020), that stipulate the protection of user privacy. Only the comments themselves and the post date were therefore retained, omitting metadata on the author, the group to which the comment was posted and whether the comment responded to other posts or comments. As another step to safeguard user privacy, personally identifiable data (PID) was removed from the comments. From an initial dataset of 2.5 million comments, we then sampled as follows. First, we selected comments containing a set of keywords based on relevance to cultural values and/or memory and nostalgia (see Appendix). We also excluded very short and very long comments. We then drew eight random samples of 5000 comments each. These datasets were then distributed among the two authors and two student assistants.[5] Each team member conducted two data interviews with the grounded Command-R model, asking it a set of questions related to the style and content of the comments. The data interviews were semi-structured in that follow-up questions were asked depending on the direction of the conversation. The resulting transcripts were then subjected to open thematic analysis, coding them according to a broad set of coding guidelines on aspects corresponding to the interview questions.

The model's responses were thoroughly cross-checked by the coders in order to verify the model's basis for associating a particular response with the citation used. This proved to be a crucial step, because the accuracy with which the themes present in the comments were summarized by the model in some instances did not match our expectations, though overall the quality was quite high. Issues presented themselves in particular when the aspects listed by the model were in our view not sufficiently grounded by the commentators' remarks (in other words, the model over- or misinterpreted the comments). These issues could both be alleviated by optimizing parameter settings (e.g. temperature) and by innovations in model design. As such, interviewing the model was a helpful way of organizing the data.

Based on our data interview we derived a deductive category system encompassing four main themes: framing of liberal values, nostalgic idealization of the past, current societal views, and criticism of current political structures. The framing of liberal values includes sub-themes such as freedom, democracy, cultural values, plurality, and the public sphere. Nostalgic idealization of the past covers idealization, the strategic use of history, societal perspectives, expressions of nostalgia, and conspiracy theories. Current societal views encompass economic and social issues, the concept and defense of homeland, the depiction of men and women, and negatively portrayed groups and dehumanizing language. Criticism of current political structures examines totalitarian rhetoric and the separation of private and public interests. Our approach to coding was discussed inside the team in order to achieve consistency in the application of the individual concepts.

This brings us to the issue of reflexivity, a key element in qualitative research. Reflexivity involves critically reflecting on our own role as researchers—how our

[5] We thank the two student assistants Karima Küster and Kristin Müller who supported the project considerably with their efforts.

positionality, biases, and decisions influence both the research process and the interpretations we produce. We are acutely aware of the challenge posed by our own cultural and academic backgrounds and how these might influence our interpretation of the data. As a sociologist and a communication scientist employing both qualitative and quantitative methods, we continuously reflected on our roles in the research process. We recognized our biases as proponents of democracy and the liberal system. In the context of digital methods, reflexivity takes on additional complexity, requiring us to consider the influence of the digital tools we use and how they shape the research. In our AI-assisted analysis, we experienced moments where control over the interpretive process felt challenged. The AI played a significant role in steering which comments were prioritized, how they were categorized, and what themes were highlighted. Although these decisions were based on patterns detected by the AI, they did not always align with our qualitative approach to the data, making careful human validation of the model coding essential. This raised important questions about the balance of power between the researcher and the technology. Through the qualitative analysis, we aimed to maintain a balanced relationship between machine and human input, while minimizing potential errors and misclassifications. Additional themes emerged during the data interviews, which we as researchers categorized inductively. These categories included: Social Darwinism, the environment, mental illness, Nazis, "green pedophiles", Angela Merkel, Islam, migration, everyday problems, the Euro, corporations, religion, political correctness, security, foreign countries, the AfD, media, parties and politicians, immigrants, Muslims, the EU, and the current government and party landscape.

4 Results

4.1 Societal and cultural decline

Qualitative analysis of the comment data reveals a clear pattern of nationalist and culturally conservative attitudes in relation to issues such as immigration, national identity and traditional values. The majority of comments express a general dissatisfaction with the current state of German society and a perception that the country is being 'undermined' or 'invaded' by outsiders, including refugees and immigrants, as well as by political leftists and cultural elites. The comments often express anti-immigrant and anti-refugee views, portraying them as a burden on the German welfare state and a threat to law and order. There is also a clear criticism of the German government, particularly former Chancellor Angela Merkel, for her handling of the refugee crisis and the alleged prioritization of the interests of other countries such as Turkey and Greece over those of Germany. Some comments reflect a sense of cultural decline and a desire for a return to traditional values and national pride. There is also criticism of political correctness and multiculturalism, with some commentators expressing support for far-right parties such as the AfD, which they see as defenders of traditional German values and culture against external threats. Some comments also express conspiratorial thinking, such as the belief that political elites actively want to promote mass migration or that the refugee crisis is being used

as a distraction from other problems. For example, the comment that "Turkey has been ruled by Jews since the end of the monarchy"[6] reflects antisemitic conspiracy elements. In addition, comments such as "The AfD is clearly against unlimited and uncontrolled immigration, mainly into our German social systems" show agreement with right-wing viewpoints and rejection of current immigration policy.

4.2 Nostalgia and the past

The analysis of the commentary data reveals a clear pattern of nostalgia and longing for an idealized past. Many commentators express a desire for a return to traditional German values and culture, which they often associate with national pride and the concept of "the German fatherland". There is a perceived gap between the past and the present, with some comments emphasizing the "good old days" when certain problems, such as social integration, were handled differently. In addition, some comments express a loss or change in terms of German identity and culture, with the introduction of a Muslim holiday or the perceived decrease in German identity due to immigration being criticized. Some comments also draw comparisons between political figures and ideologies of the past and present, highlighting the backward-looking view of political leaders such as Wladimir Putin and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in comparison to German leadership. Individual comments describe a change in social attitudes over time and a weakening of social norms such as compassion. Poverty is framed largely as a contemporary issue.

4.3 Dissatisfaction with contemporary politics

The analysis of the comments clearly shows that there is a pronounced feeling of dissatisfaction with the current state of German politics, culture and society, which is expressed in the comments. In the area of politics, many comments express criticism of the current government under Chancellor Angela Merkel, particularly in relation to its handling of the refugee crisis. There are fears that Merkel's policies could lead to civil war and that German interests are being neglected.

> "The whole thing is so typical of Merkel again: short-sighted action and single-track thinking without foresight. There is no way around an absolute upper limit based on accommodation capacities and financial possibilities with the option of closing the border."

Economically, the government and large businesses are blamed for the plight of many Germans who rely on state support. There is resentment about fraudulent companies and the burden immigration places on the economically weak. Here, the past is portrayed as a time when the interests of the German unemployed were better protected.

[6] The comments have been translated from German into English for this publication. Please note that the translation may not be entirely accurate, particularly in cases where informal language, dialects or idioms are used.

"When it came to excluding millions of unemployed Germans from this regulation, the German socialist party was quick to exclude millions of Germans from the minimum wage!"[7]
"I understand this state less and less every day!!! There are so many poor German children and nobody cares two hoots about it!!! POOR COUNTRY!!!"

In the area of culture and society, a perceived cultural decline is addressed, particularly in connection with immigration and the integration of refugees and migrants.

"The German socialist party are the worst hypocrites there are! First they bring millions of people into the country who can do nothing but type and swipe on smartphones, harass women and girls and steal and rob like ravens."

There are fears that traditional German values and identity are being lost and threatened by the influence of Islam. Another comment expresses concern that Germany is losing its international reputation and becoming a "laughing stock". Finally, in the area of education, the integration of non-German-speaking children in schools is criticized, with doubts expressed as to its feasibility. The comments show a clear longing for a past that is perceived as more orderly and homogeneous. Current developments, on the other hand, are seen as a departure from these ideals, which leads to a strong sense of unease and dissatisfaction among the commentators.

4.4 Political decline and corruption

The analysis of the comments shows that despite a predominantly negative view of the current political culture, some comments contain a positive portrayal of past political conditions. These positive portrayals relate to various aspects of political culture. Some comments emphasize the preference for former political figures compared to the current German leadership.

"After the scandalous ruling in Karlsruhe [Seat of the Federal Constitutional Court], the only option left is the political one: the basis of injustice must be removed by other parliamentary majorities."

Another aspect that is positively emphasized is political participation and democratic processes. Some comments encourage voter participation and emphasize the importance of democratic majorities in political decisions.

"That's why all GEZ[8] opponents should definitely go to the polls and vote for one of the parties opposing state broadcasting."
"This is the only way to find parliamentary majorities to dissolve the GEZ, as with other issues (nuclear phase-out, gay marriage, etc.)."

[7] With socialist party the commentators are referring to the SPD.

[8] Former name of the institution collecting the mandatory public broadcasting fee in Germany.

Furthermore, the possibility of change in political leadership is viewed positively, which indicates trust in democratic processes, though frequently tinged with resignation:

"I wonder what else has to happen before Merkel is finally sent packing."

Some commentaries also highlight important political issues and show an interest in coming to terms with historical injustices that have allegedly happened to Germans:

"A very important topic that also sheds a special light on Eastern Europe and the injustice against the Germans in the East."

These comments reflect a positive view of certain aspects of the political culture of the past, particularly with regard to democratic processes, political participation and dealing with political challenges.

4.5 Historical turning points

The analysis of comments reveals that specific historical events and periods are often identified as pivotal moments that have led to the perceived deterioration of Germany's current state. Prominent among these is the "refugee crisis" and Chancellor Angela Merkel's associated policies, which are frequently blamed for many of the country's issues. For instance, one comment directly references Merkel's refugee policy, illustrating it as a point of contention and possibly even as a validation of her leadership's impact during the crisis. Furthermore, the end of the Second World War is noted as a significant turning point, after which commentators feel Germany lost its way. The narrative that emerges from the comments underscores this moment in history as a critical juncture, with implications that continue to resonate in contemporary German society. The introduction of the Euro and subsequent economic policies are also seen as detrimental, with one comment specifically criticizing these policies and implying a direct link to Germany's economic challenges. Another turning point is the rise of political correctness and left-wing ideologies within the CDU and other political parties, which some commentators argue signify a departure from traditional values. These sentiments reflect a broader discontent with the political and cultural shifts perceived within the country towards greater cultural liberalism. Moreover, nostalgia for a perceived more orderly and respectful past is evident in comments comparing previous decades to the present, lamenting changes in education and societal respect. This type of commentary underscores a longing for a time seen as better managed and more aligned with traditional values, emphasizing a stark contrast with today's perceived decline.

4.6 Negative views of the past

Alongside these wistful reflections, there is also a significant acknowledgment of the past's darker elements. For example, one comment critiques the idealized "hippie state" of the past, describing it as overly emotional and unrealistically idealistic. This critique points to a broader reassessment of certain romanticized historical

periods. Similarly, there is criticism of parts of the Green Party's historical positions, particularly its controversial support for the legalization of pedophilia in the 1980s[9], highlighting a more problematic dimension of political advocacy from previous decades. Further emphasizing the darker undertones, some comments delve into the repercussions of the Nazi past and its association with German identity. Some commentators describe this period as a profoundly negative legacy that still influences contemporary German society. Other comments contrast the past handling of mental health issues—where individuals with mental health problems were largely ignored—with the present, which shows a greater awareness and more open discussion around such issues. And also mention environmental concerns with previous decades, with some pointing out that past actions and policies have contributed significantly to the current climate crisis. This critique extends to the realm of politics, where the "dark business practices" of lobbyists in the past are blamed for leading to questionable political alliances (i.e. of the Greens and Liberals). There is also a perception that the past was a time when the public was kept uninformed by the media and the government, which underscores a deep-seated mistrust of past information and communication practices. One comment contrasts the past, where fewer material possessions meant less fear of loss, with the present's heightened fear inhibiting action, highlighting a critical stance on past values and attitudes. Another comment criticizes past working conditions, illustrating this through today's burden of increasing taxes and contributions on workers, suggesting a negative view of historical labor practices. Additional remarks reinforce this critical perspective by referencing darker historical elements, such as the effects of the Nazi era and the oppression of specific population groups.

4.7 Conspiracy theories

The comments include some examples of conspiracy theories or controversial interpretations of the past that address different aspects of Germany's political landscape. One earlier mentioned comment claims that Turkey is ruled by Jews, highlighting the presence of conspiracy theories in the data that are rooted in racist and anti-Semitic ideologies. Another comment refers to an alleged quote by Michael Henrich claiming that the German people are gullible and susceptible to manipulation by propaganda. One commentary portrays Chancellor Angela Merkel as a "mega-terrorist" and draws a parallel with Osama Bin Laden, accusing her of having "millions of innocent, absolutely defenseless babies on her conscience", which refers to the legal situation regarding abortion at the time. This depiction is not only extreme, but also portraying Merkel as some kind of criminal and implying that she is responsible for a large number of deaths, indicating political radicalization. One comment suggests that the German population has been manipulated by propaganda in recent decades to view their own country as the enemy. This comment raises questions about the role of the media and the government in strategically shaping public opinion and national self-image. While some of the additional comments also point to conspiracy

[9] For a more detailed insight into this topic, see: https://cms.gruene.de/uploads/assets/Broschuere_Aufarbeitung_und_Verantwortung_Online_190515_074146.pdf

theories, such as the claim that politicians are just interchangeable puppets following orders from high finance and the Vatican, they are not directly related to negative portrayals of the past, but rather refer to general distrust of political institutions and elites.

4.8 Democracy

The comments analyze a range of opinions on democracy and democratic values within the context of Germany's current political scene. Key themes include significant criticism of established political parties like Christlich Demokratische Union (CDU), the Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (SPD), and the Greens (Bündnis 90/Die Grünen), accused of betraying German citizens and failing to uphold democratic principles. Many commentators advocate for more direct forms of democracy, such as referendums and the direct election of officials, to address the perceived shortcomings of the representative system. There is widespread opposition to political correctness, with concerns that it stifles free expression and traditional values. Support for right-wing populist parties, particularly the AfD, is strong, as these parties are seen as protectors of traditional German values. Additionally, there is a notable distrust of the media, with allegations that it obscures the truth, and calls for political change that emphasize a return to traditional values and critique Germany's role in the EU and its policies on refugees, reflecting a sentiment of lost national sovereignty.

4.9 Economic and social issues

The comments reveal a broad spectrum of economic and social concerns in Germany, frequently linked to the perceived effects of immigration. Economic criticisms focus on government spending for refugees and asylum seekers, highlighting the increased cost of living and taxpayer burden. Socially, there are fears of a decline in cultural values and national identity due to immigration. Personal anecdotes often describe economic hardships like job scarcity and the negative impacts on local communities. Healthcare concerns are noted too, particularly the strain immigration has put on the system, alongside dissatisfaction with the government's handling of the COVID-19 pandemic. Education is another area of concern, with comments about the challenges of integrating non-German speaking children into schools. Security issues are raised, with a perceived rise in crime often attributed to immigrants, and discussions about inequality suggest that German citizens feel unfairly treated in comparison to immigrants, especially regarding social benefits and housing. Lastly, environmental concerns are mentioned, including the impacts of immigration on natural resources and the broader issue of climate change.

4.10 Conception of Heimat

The comments illustrate that the concept of home is deeply intertwined with national identity and political orientation in Germany. Some express a patriotic attachment to the "German fatherland", while others lament the nation's current challenges,

remarking, "Poor country!" amidst discussions of economic and social issues. Concerns about immigration and its perceived effects on cultural integrity and national identity are common, with some advocating for far-right parties like the AfD as defenders of the homeland. Additionally, one comment highlights the need for immigrants to assimilate by learning the language and adapting to societal norms, indicating a sense of national pride and exclusivity. These perspectives reflect the complex and varied views on what constitutes the homeland in the discourse.

4.11 Demarcation groups

The comments highlight widespread criticism and negative attitudes towards various groups within German society and politics. Political parties like the CDU, SPD, and the Greens are heavily criticized for their immigration policies and handling of social issues, as evident in comments accusing them of prioritizing money over beliefs. There is significant anti-immigrant and anti-refugee sentiment, with immigrants often described as burdens and threats to societal order. Negative portrayals extend to Muslims, with accusations of cultural imposition through practices like honor killings, and to Jews, with conspiracy theories suggesting undue influence. Chancellor Angela Merkel faces harsh criticism for her refugee policies, with calls for her removal, while historical political figures like Robert F. Kennedy and Joschka Fischer are criticized for perceived bias and manipulative practices, reflecting deep-seated prejudices and dissatisfaction across various facets of German society.

4.12 Dehumanizing language

The comments are rife with dehumanizing language that discriminates against diverse groups such as political parties, immigrants, Muslims, Jews, political leaders, media, and celebrities. Examples include mocking the country's predicament with leaders like Wladimir Putin, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, or Donald J. Trump supposedly laughing at Germany; derogatory remarks about the nation becoming "ridiculous"; and offensive comments towards individuals in challenging situations. Further instances include swearing, belittling the media as "misanthropists", and stereotyping religious and ethnic groups with severe accusations of violence and backwardness. Collectively, these comments paint a picture of a discourse filled with prejudice and hostility.

5 Limitations

The aim of this contribution is both to deliver substantive results on the invocation of nostalgia in the context of far-right rhetoric and to contribute methodologically by enlisting generative artificial intelligence in a qualitative research workflow. In spite of many advantages to our approach, there are also a number of limitations. These accrue to different areas: classification accuracy with regard to correct identification of particular themes in the discourse via RAG (1), variety in relation to the examples offered for specific arguments (2), and finally normative bias on the part of the AI

model when evaluating problematic content (3). All of these led to cases where the model's inference was at odds with that of the researcher and the original source material had to be consulted in order to make corrections where needed. However, it is crucial to point out that some of these mismatches were in many instances similar to those that are likely to occur in human content analysis, both standardized and non-standardized, and even when the model made mistakes, the strategy of conduction multiple data interviews based on multiple random samples led to satisfactory results, because individual mistakes could be compensated. At the same time, the fact that the model provided references to the individual comments on which it based its analysis was extremely useful.

1. The model occasionally exhibited difficulties in correctly interpreting the meaning of individual comments, leading it to cite them as examples for categories which humans would not have associated them with. While its ability to interpret short German-language social media with little context was overall quite impressive, it was sometimes too speculative in its interpretation, citing comments that humans would have rated uninterpretable as evidence. This speculative tendency, rather than outright misinterpretation, could probably be controlled by parameter tuning (Ziems et al. 2024), or by explicitly instructing it to be very conservative in its judgment.
2. The model in some cases produced very limited examples, even on explicit request, making particular concepts appear more widespread than warranted. It also relied on the same examples for multiple, in some cases contradictory categories, calling into question its ability to clearly and reliably distinguish between certain concepts. However, this can partly be resolved by instruction tuning and clarification.
3. The model exhibited normative bias when evaluating deeply problematic content in the sense that it tended to gloss over such issues. While the model's unwillingness to assume a normative stance should be seen as an asset in the sense that it labored to provide (in our impression) fairly neutral assessments of the arguments and tone of comments, it had a tendency to rationalize extreme viewpoints, presenting them as (more or less rational) equivalent arguments (false balance). As above, it was necessary to double-check the model's evaluation with human judgment, rather than uncritically following its interpretation.

There are also important ethical implications of social scientific use with generative AI, particularly when relying (as we did) on a commercial platform, even when the model itself may be open source. Most importantly, we operated under the assumption that any data disclosed to *Command-R* would become part of its training material or be used by Cohere Inc in another way. This is not only problematic because of the commercialization of user data per se, but also because models may reproduce content in full when prompted appropriately. Given how problematic some of the content in our data is, both privacy concerns and the reproduction of racism, misogyny or violence pose relevant research risks to social media users. We therefore proceeded only after safeguarding that the data had been thoroughly deidentitfied and disclosed no metadata whatsoever to the model. While the dataset

we retained contained post dates and textual content, only the text was uploaded to Cohere's platform. Given the age of the comments and restrictions placed by Facebook on the searchability of comments by private individuals, we judged the risk of individual users being deidentified based on their comments to be extremely low. Researchers considering the use of generative AI show however be aware of the legal and ethical risks posed by exposing data to commercial models and weigh the risks appropriately.

This study demonstrates the potential of combining qualitative theory-driven approaches with AI-assisted content analysis to handle large volumes of data. A key limitation of our AI-assisted analysis lies in the balance of control between the researcher and the machine during the interpretative process. Artificial intelligence played a significant role in drawing attention to specific comments and what themes were emphasized. While these decisions were driven by patterns detected in the data, they sometimes diverged from the interpretative approach we, as qualitative researchers, would naturally adopt. At times, our role became that of "digital cleaners", tasked with identifying and correcting AI errors, misclassifications, and overlooked nuances—especially in instances where extreme viewpoints were normalized or the context of comments was inadequately captured. Such interventions were necessary to maintain the integrity of our analysis. That said, the model's baseline abilities to support data synthesis had its limitations.

This experience underscores the importance of reflexivity in digital research. While AI can enhance data processing capabilities, it is crucial for researchers to remain critically engaged with these tools. The interpretative work cannot be fully delegated to machines; rather, researchers must continuously question AI outputs and ensure that the analysis aligns with the deeper, contextualized insights that qualitative research aims to provide.

6 Conclusion

Our analysis of right-wing populist discourse in digital spaces reveals three dominant themes. First, a nationalist and culturally conservative discourse focuses on issues such as immigration, national identity, and the perceived threats posed by external groups, particularly refugees and migrants. These comments often frame German society as being in decline, with a sense of cultural erosion driving much of the discourse. Second, a nostalgic discourse longs for an idealized version of the German "fatherland" and evokes the "good old days". This discourse reflects a negotiation between past and present, often positioning the former as morally superior. Third, a discourse of political decline and corruption harshly criticizes the current leadership, especially Angela Merkel and her refugee policies, with key historical events—such as World War II and the refugee crisis—used as markers of Germany's alleged downfall.

These discourses are deeply interwoven with a sense of pessimistic nostalgia, in Colin Crouchs (2020) terms. Right-wing users portray the present and future in bleak terms, invoking nostalgia to stoke fear and resentment towards perceived threats to national identity. Such rhetoric distorts historical realities and contradicts Hannah

Arendt's vision of plurality and openness in the public sphere, as the nostalgic longing for a homogeneous past actively undermines the diversity and freedom Arendt saw as central to democratic discourse.

Furthermore, the sentiments expressed by these users are better captured by concept of "relative deprivation" (Bauman 2017) rather than Nancy Fraser's (1992) idea of counterpublics. This concept emphasizes the perceived disadvantage individuals feel when they compare their own suffering to that of their reference group, making their deprivation not an abstract philosophical question of justice but one rooted in relative comparison.

In our findings, this rejection of plurality is most apparent in the portrayal of specific groups, such as refugees and migrants, who are depicted as existential threats to Germany's welfare system and national identity. Simultaneously, the political elite is framed as corrupt and incapable of addressing these challenges. The far-right party AfD is positioned as a defender of traditional values, constructing a narrative of decline and crisis that legitimizes its exclusionary positions. The discursive construction of the "Other" plays a central role in this, with dehumanizing language used to justify social hierarchies and divisions.

Despite the theoretical promise of digital platforms to foster open, participatory dialogue, our analysis of these comment sections reveals significant deviations from Arendt's concept of the public sphere. Instead of encouraging diverse and constructive debate, these spaces are often characterized by exclusion, hostility, and a retreat into nostalgic visions of a lost past. This blending of private fears with public discourse contradicts the ideals of freedom and plurality central to Arendt's understanding of political life, where the public sphere should serve as a space for engagement with diverse perspectives.

Furthermore, the expressed demand for direct democracy—such as referendums and the direct election of officials—may initially appear as a call for greater citizen participation. However, the often radical and rejectionist tone of many comments indicates a desire to dismantle the existing political system without offering viable alternatives. This stands in direct opposition to Arendt's view that political participation should aim to strengthen and improve the community. Many of the critiques voiced in these online spaces reject democratic structures outright, reflecting a fundamental departure from Arendt's vision of constructive political engagement.

The strong presence of nostalgia and the desire to return to traditional values observed in these digital discourses illustrates how historical narratives and idealized pasts can be harnessed by social media users seeking to reshape public opinion. Our findings also align with Zygmunt Bauman's assertion that in times of uncertainty, politics often retreats into the realm of collective memory, where the past becomes malleable and subject to manipulation:

> "Once stripped of power to shape the future, politics tends to be transferred to the space of collective memory—a space immensely more amenable to manipulation and management, and for that reason promising a chance of blissful omnipotence long (and perhaps irretrievably) lost in the present and in the times yet to come" (Bauman 2017, p. 79).

Our data supports Bauman's central thesis. In the face of contemporary disillusionment, individuals increasingly turn to an idealized past as a refuge, finding solace in narratives of a simpler, more homogeneous time. This longing for the past, however, distorts historical realities, reinforcing a nostalgic rhetoric that opposes the values of plurality and openness central to Arendt's concept of the political.

In the broader context of right-wing populist ideology, our findings underscore the importance of emotional appeals and nostalgic idealizations in mobilizing support. As previous research has shown (Boulianne et al. 2020; Krämer et al. 2021), populist movements often rely on these rhetorical strategies to connect with voters. Our analysis, particularly of the intersection between values and memory, demonstrates how historical narratives are strategically employed to influence public opinion and shape political attitudes, contributing to a rejection of pluralistic, democratic engagement.

Methodologically, our study introduces AI-assisted qualitative data analysis, which we found valuable in processing large amounts of unstructured textual data. While scale alone does not inherently enhance research quality, this method allows us to explore complex discourses through a structured, theory-driven lens, revealing diverse and nuanced results that would require significantly more human labor through traditional methods. The AI-assisted approach enabled us to organize the data in ways that reflect theoretical considerations, offering a deeper understanding of digital right-wing discourse that more established computational techniques such as topic modelling are likely to overlook.

7 Appendix

Table 1 Terms used to sample Facebook comments

altparteien	familie	juden	politische
angst	flüchtlinge	kind	politischen
arbeit	flüchtlingen	kinder	polizei
arbeiten	frau	kindern	putin
asylanten	frauen	kirche	rechte
ausländer	freiheit	kosten	regierung
bevölkerung	geld	krieg	religion
bezahlen	geschichte	kultur	russland
brd	gesellschaft	land	sicherheit
bürger	gesetze	leben	staat
christen	gewalt	macht	staaten
damals	gewählt	mann	system
ddr	glauben	medien	usa
demokratie	gott	meinung	volk
deutsch	grenzen	menschen	wahlen
deutsche	gutmenschen	migranten	wahrheit
deutschen	heimat	moslems	welt
deutscher	heute	muslime	wählen
deutschland	islam	männer	wähler
deutschlands	jahr	nazi	zeit
ehrlich	jahre	nazis	zukunft
eltern	jahren	politik	
euro		politiker	
europa			

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