UNVEILING SUBVERSIVE POWER

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WHO DIS

Justice for Prosperity

WHODIS II REPORT

Executive Summary

Summary of findings – the most polarizing topics, key actors driving narratives, platforms where this plays out most intensely, and what patterns emerged.

1. Introduction

Across Europe—and increasingly in the Netherlands—polarization has become a deliberate political strategy rather than a by-product of democratic debate. The rise of anti-rights narratives targeting LGBTIQ+ people, reproductive rights, migrants, and gender equality reflects a coordinated effort to reframe social progress as moral decline. *WhoDis II*, the second phase of the Justice for Prosperity (JfP) initiative, was launched to understand this phenomenon more deeply: **Who are the actors driving divisive narratives? What motivates them? And how do their messages spread and take hold?** This research was designed to fill a critical evidence gap for funders, policymakers, and civil-society partners seeking to strengthen democratic resilience and counter polarization before it hardens into systemic exclusion.

Our **theory of change** begins with a simple premise: effective response requires first understanding the ecosystem that sustains division. Using the *Anti-Rights Diamond Model* developed by JfP, this research maps how four interdependent pillars—the *ultra-conservative/theocratic*, *populist/electoral*, *propaganda/media-influencer*, and *oligarch/industry* pillars—work in concert. Each plays a role in converting ideology into influence: religious and traditionalist groups supply the moral language; populist parties turn grievance into political capital; media influencers and street movements amplify outrage; and financial or industrial actors provide the resources to sustain campaigns. Together, these networks manufacture a sense of civilizational threat—portraying gender equality, reproductive rights, and diversity as dangers to Dutch identity and stability. Their shared motivation is the consolidation of power through fear, nostalgia, and social fragmentation.

To expose how these narratives are built and spread, *WhoDis II* combined **data-driven digital analysis with qualitative mapping of actors and narratives**. Researchers scraped and analyzed Dutch-language content across major social-media platforms, classifying posts by issue and narrative frame. Controlled algorithmic accounts traced how users are steered toward increasingly extreme content, while the Anti-Rights Diamond Model illuminated the offline coordination linking political figures, faith-based organizations, influencers, and funders. The result is a high-resolution picture of the **ecosystem of amplification** through which divisive narratives move from fringe to mainstream.

Our study found concrete proof of a vicious pattern that was previously only supported by anecdotal evidence: political statements based on real world events lead directly to spikes of divisive rhetoric on the social media. By making these connections visible, this project delivers exactly what SIDN made possible: the first comprehensive early-warning analysis of how anti-rights networks in the Netherlands mobilize online outrage into real-world influence—and where the opportunities now lie to interrupt that cycle.

2. Methodology and Analytical Framework

This report, a continuation of the Justice for Prosperity (JfP) WhoDis initiative, undertakes a granular investigation into the multifaceted landscape of anti-rights activities within the Netherlands. Building upon prior regional analyses, this study employs a multi-methodological approach to unravel the mechanisms through which polarizing narratives coalesce and impact democratic stability. Our methodology is designed not merely to document incidents, but to expose the strategic architecture and interconnectedness of actors driving these phenomena.

2.1 The Anti-Rights Diamond Model

To comprehensively understand the synergistic operations of anti-rights actors, this report introduces and deploys the Anti-Rights Diamond Model as its core analytical framework. This four-pillar structure

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expands upon the previous ("Anti-Rights Triangle") conceptualisation to integrating the crucial role of financial and logistical facilitators. Each pillar represents a distinct yet often interconnected category of actors that contribute to the erosion of democratic norms and human rights, particularly concerning SRHR, LGBTIQ+ rights, immigration, and crime/safety.

The four pillars are:

- **Populist/Electoral Pillar:** This pillar encompasses political parties and their leaders who translate anti-rights sentiments into policy proposals and electoral platforms. These actors leverage existing societal anxieties and the ideological groundwork laid by the ultra-conservative/theocratic pillar to mobilise a voter base. They integrate divisive narratives into mainstream political discourse, and in doing so normalize positions that might otherwise be considered extreme. Their participation is crucial for institutionalising anti-rights agendas through legislative action and public debate.

  For the Netherlands, this pillar includes prominent parties like the PVV (Geert Wilders) and FvD (Thierry Baudet) – known for their hardline rhetoric on immigration and cultural identity; as well as the orthodox-Protestant parties SGP and ChristenUnie, which champion moral legislation. Splinter parties such as JA21 and BVNL also contribute to this electoral alignment, especially by offering support on stricter asylum policies.

- **Propaganda/Media-influencer and Street-Movement Pillar:** This dynamic pillar consists of content creators, alternative media platforms, social media influencers, and organised street movements. These actors serve as the primary conduits for amplifying anti-rights narratives, as well as disseminating them through diverse channels; and mobilising public support. They excel at crafting persuasive – often emotionally charged – content that resonates with specific audiences. In doing so, they manage to bypass traditional media gatekeepers. Their activities range from producing partisan news and commentary to orchestrating public demonstrations and online agitation.

  In the Dutch landscape, key players include the public broadcaster Ongehoord Nederland (ON!), alternative outlets like Wynia's Week, De Andere Krant, and De Dagelijkse Standaard (DDS), and the ultra-conservative publisher De Blauwe Tijger. Influencers such as Eva Vlaardingerbroek and Raisa Blommestijn play an important role in cross-platform message dissemination. Street movements like Pegida Nederland, Erkenbrand, NVU, White Lives Matter NL, PJP, and the Geuzenbond provide visible, often confrontational, manifestations of the anti-rights agenda. These distinct actors often converge during specific mobilisation clusters.

- **Ultra-conservative/Theocratic Pillar:** This foundational layer comprises religious organisations, traditionalist networks, and faith-based advocacy groups. These actors primarily establish and disseminate the ideological foundation of the anti-rights agenda, in particular by framing issues around immutable moral principles, cultural heritage and traditional values. They supply the "moral language" and normative frameworks that legitimise regressive positions, often by drawing upon established religious authority and community structures.

  In the Dutch context, this includes entities such as Civitas Christiana (with its sub-brands Gezin in Gevaar and Cultuur onder Vuur), Schreeuw om Leven (organisers of the Mars voor het Leven), and Bijbels Beraad Man/Vrouw, alongside confessional media outlets like Family7 and Reformatorisch Dagblad. Transnational networks, such as Tradition, Family and Property (TFP), often provide ideological templates, training, and early-stage organisational support.

- **Oligarchs/Industry and Logistics Infrastructure Pillar:** This critical, albeit often opaque, pillar comprises financial backers, wealthy donors, corporate entities, and other organisations that provide significant financial, logistical, or infrastructural support to the other three pillars. These actors may operate with strategic intent, seeking to advance specific political or economic interests, or they may simply represent powerful entities whose operations inadvertently facilitate the anti-rights agenda. Their involvement is often the least visible but can be the most potent – by providing the resources necessary for sustained campaigns, media ventures, political lobbying, and grassroots mobilisation.

  While direct links in the Netherlands are often obscured, individuals include prominent donors such as Peter Poot, Steven Schuurman, and Rene Moos. Furthermore, entities involved in political formation, such as ReMarkAble (linked to the BBB), and established lobby groups like

LTO, alongside multinational corporations, represent the broader industrial and logistical infrastructure that can either wittingly or unwittingly contribute to or benefit from the anti-rights ecosystem.

This expanded framework enables us to move beyond analysing individual actors in isolation. By identifying the explicit and implicit connections, resource flows, and ideological symbioses between these four pillars, the Anti-Rights Diamond Model demonstrates how seemingly disparate efforts converge to create a powerful, coordinated anti-rights ecosystem. It allows for the tracing of not just individual voices, but the broader coordination patterns and amplification mechanisms implementing the agenda of strategic erosion of human rights and democratic stability.

2.2 Data Collection Methods

This research employs a multi-faceted approach to data collection designed to capture both the macro-level trends and granular dynamics of anti-rights narratives in the Netherlands.

The primary data source for this report derives from systematic social media scraping, conducted over a 60-day period. Utilizing the WhoDis I dashboard, we systematically harvested Dutch-language content across multiple prominent social media platforms. Our data acquisition was guided by targeted keyword searches pertaining to the four core issue areas: immigration, crime/safety, SRHR, and LGBTIQ+ rights. This dataset enabled an analysis of language patterns which scores individual posts based on their polarization quotient; an identification of platform-specific behavioral trends; and the precise pinpointing of where the most divisive content aggregates and proliferates.

Complementing this, a narrative-focused scraping methodology, executed through the WhoDis II dashboard, categorized posts not merely by topic, but by the specific rhetorical frames employed. This involved classifying content according to deployed narrative types, including overt calls to action, nostalgic evocations of a 'Dutch golden age' assertions of existential threats to national survival, and similar persuasive rhetorical constructs. This approach illuminated not just what topics generate polarization, but how actors strategically frame these topics to maximize impact and resonance.

To gain insight into the mechanisms of algorithmic radicalization pathways, we engaged in an experimental approach involving the creation of constructed social media accounts. These profiles were intentionally designed to exhibit behaviors that would, through platform recommendation systems, propel them towards either far-left or far-right content. Brief, controlled monitoring of these accounts over several days provided empirical insights into the speed and specific algorithmic mechanisms through which users can be funneled towards increasingly extreme and often polarizing content. This allowed us to map the invisible hand of platform algorithms in shaping information consumption and reinforcing ideological echo chambers.

These digital methods are further augmented by extensive desk research into public sphere narratives and comprehensive actor mapping. This research, informed by the Anti-Rights Diamond framework, enabled the categorization of polarizing actors into the four aforementioned pillars.

Limitations and Ethical Considerations:

While these methods yield substantial insights, inherent limitations exist. Social media scraping, though comprehensive, provides a snapshot rather than a continuous, real-time feed, and the dynamic nature of online discourse means that platforms and their algorithms evolve constantly. Furthermore, while constructed accounts offer valuable algorithmic insights, they cannot perfectly replicate genuine user behavior, and their controlled nature limits long-term observation. All data was collected and analyzed with strict adherence to GDPR privacy protocols. Our focus remains on systemic trends and public discourse patterns, rather than individual targeting, to maintain ethical rigor and protect privacy.

3. The Landscape: Actor Mapping and Networks

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3.1 Ecosystem Overview

Mapping the complex network of anti-rights actors is paramount to understanding the insidious erosion of democratic stability and human rights. As established in JfP's broader methodology, anti-rights activities are not random occurrences but calculated efforts to expand power, influence, and financial gain by instrumentalizing contentious topics. In the Dutch context, this necessitates a detailed examination of how actors across the Anti-Rights Diamond interact in order to form a cohesive yet often covert coalition that systematically reshapes public discourse and policy.

The "modi operandi" observed globally by JfP – such as network building, strategic discourse, targeted training, sophisticated use of social media, robust funding, infiltration of influential positions, direct attacks on human rights defenders, and reputational destruction – are also observed within the Netherlands. These tactics, when deployed in concert by a diverse array of actors, create an environment where radical ideas become normalized and the societal space for nuanced debate shrinks. This leads to intensified polarization and, in certain instances, outright violence – like the incidents that took place during the anti-immigration riots in The Hague on 20 September 2025. Understanding these interdependencies, therefore, is crucial for developing effective counter-strategies that address the systemic nature of the threat rather than its isolated manifestations.

3.2 Key Actors by Pillar

Populist / Electoral Pillar (Parties and Leaders)

These actors translate the ideological frameworks into tangible political action by leveraging their platforms to mainstream anti-rights narratives and influence policy.

- **PVV (Partij voor de Vrijheid) (Geert Wilders):** As a leading populist-nationalist party, the PVV consistently prioritizes themes of border closure, "remigration", and cultural preservation. Geert Wilders' rhetoric is characterized by its hardline stance on immigration and Islam. It is often used together with a tone of distancing from overt unlawful street violence, while still benefiting from the sentiment it generates.
- **FvD (Forum voor Democratie) (Thierry Baudet):** This metapolitical party actively pushes narratives such as the "Great Replacement" theory and anti-EU/anti-climate agendas. FvD often adopts a more conspiratorial and intellectualized tone compared to PVV, yet it competes for a similar electorate. It promotes identitarian and nationalist concerns within parliamentary discourse and social media.
- **SGP (Staatkundig Gereformeerde Partij) and ChristenUnie:** These orthodox-Protestant parties consistently prioritize moral legislation and advocate for policies such as the withdrawal of self-ID legislation and opposition to conversion therapy bans. Their parliamentary efforts often align directly with the objectives of confessional NGOs, and together form a cohesive legislative front.
- **JA21 and BVNL (Belang van Nederland):** As splinters from FvD and PVV, these parties offer a policy-first approach focused on law and order. Their agenda includes criminalizing illegal stay, critiquing housing priority for migrants and consistently advocating for stricter asylum policies. In doing so, they reinforce a broader anti-immigration stance.
- **Leefbaar Rotterdam:** This local party – while focused on municipal issues – at times declines joint condemnations of extremist stunts. This selective stance signals an overlap with harder-right messaging and a willingness to operate within a political environment that entertains or tolerates such expressions, thereby indicating potential local convergences.

Propaganda / Media-Influencer and Street-Movement Pillar

This dynamic category contributes significantly to the widespread dissemination and popularization of anti-rights narratives. It essentially serves as the interface between ideology and public mobilization.

- **Ongehoord Nederland (ON!):** Functioning as a public broadcaster and influential platform, ON! is a critical conduit for anti-immigration and anti-gender content. Organizational overlaps with PVV figures and the frequent hosting of hard-right voices provide a consistent stream of partisan content which further mainstreams extreme viewpoints.
- **Wynia's Week; De Andere Krant; De Dagelijkse Standaard (DDS):** These alternative outlets meticulously package anti-EU, anti-immigration, and anti-gender storylines. In so

doing, they effectively recycle the movement's talking points at scale. They provide an echo chamber that reinforces existing biases and offers a counter-narrative to mainstream media.

- **De Blauwe Tijger:** This ultra-conservative publisher operates as a focal point for narrative development and authorial pipelines within the broader ecosystem. It publishes books and content that articulate and legitimize anti-rights ideologies.
- **Eva Vlaardingerbroek:** An influential former FvD figure, Vlaardingerbroek actively exports Dutch anti-rights frames (e.g., Great Replacement, "gender ideology") to international media platforms (e.g., in the UK and the United States). This approach effectively forms a vicious cycle, in which after this 'narrative export', external validation that strengthens the local, Dutch narrative is subsequently 're-imported' into the Netherlands.
- **Raisa Blommestijn:** As an ON! presenter and polemicist, Blommestijn bridges traditional broadcast, social media and political party milieus. Her commentary consistently centers on immigration-security-identity themes, and enables a cross-platform reach for anti-rights messaging.
- **Pegida Nederland (Edwin Wagensveld):** This street-protest brand employs confrontational tactics – such as Quran desecration and public spectacle – to maintain high salience for immigration and anti-Islam narratives. Its provocative actions generate media attention and galvanize segments of the anti-immigrant population.
- **Erkenbrand:** An alt-right "study circle", Erkenbrand strategically piggybacks on mainstream party events (particularly FvD) to facilitate networking and subtly seed metapolitical ideas. In doing so, it promotes a long-term ideological shift.
- **NVU (Nederlandse Volks-Unie):** This neo-Nazi micro-party and its activists periodically surface in or around broader right-wing mobilizations. Their tactics demonstrate the porous boundaries between different segments of the far-right and the potential for ideological cross-pollination.
- **White Lives Matter (WLM) NL; PJP (Patriottische Jeugd Parkstad); Wolvenrad:** These extremist, white-supremacist, and regional youth formations actively cross-attend demonstrations, share visual propaganda and merchandise, and collaborate on agitation tactics. Taken together, this indicates a degree of operational coordination at the grassroots level.
- **Geuzenbond:** A nationalist scene actor, the Geuzenbond combines online agitation with their physical presence at protests and counter-actions. This strategy ensures both digital and on-the-ground amplification of their nationalist agenda.
- **20 Sept. Mobilisation Cluster (The Hague):** This ad-hoc cluster, organized by figures like Els Noort ("Els Rechts"), Defend Netherlands, Nederlander Voor Altijd, Operatie Hijs de Vlag NL, Rechtse Plakkers, Defend Holland, and various football hooligan crews, demonstrated the capacity of such actors to convert online outrage into significant physical turnout and escalation during protests.
- **PowNed:** This camera-forward broadcaster often frames protest spectacles (e.g., "ElsFest") in a way that generates clips and content for the wider "outrage economy". This contributes to the amplification of these events, even though likely invertedly.

Ultra-conservative / Theocratic Pillar (Religious and Societal Organizations)

This pillar constitutes the ideological bedrock of the anti-rights movement in the Netherlands, as it provides the moral and traditionalist justifications for regressive agendas.

- **Civitas Christiana (including Gezin in Gevaar and Cultuur onder Vuur):** This Catholic activist hub functions as a central node in the Dutch anti-gender movement. Operating within the orbit of the transnational Traditional, Family and Property (TFP) network, Civitas Christiana engages in a range of activities including petitions, campus and clinic protests, and fervent campaigns against "genderideologie". Its various sub-brands – such as Gezin in Gevaar and Cultuur onder Vuur – share mailing lists, infrastructure and an overarching narrative of defending "traditional family values" against perceived modern threats.
- **Schreeuw om Leven (Mars voor het Leven):** A prominent pro-life NGO, Schreeuw om Leven anchors the mobilization against SRHR in the Netherlands. Its annual "Mars voor het Leven" in The Hague serves as a significant public event which draws participants from across confessional communities and reinforces anti-abortion narratives through church networks and recurring public engagement.

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- **Bijbels Beraad Man/Vrouw:** This theological platform provides a scriptural foundation for opposing self-ID legislation and trans-inclusive policies. By promoting rigid, biblically mandated gender roles, it supplies theological arguments that are subsequently leveraged by political and media actors to justify discriminatory stances.
- **Family7 and Reformatorisch Dagblad:** These confessional media outlets are crucial for reinforcing moral-decline narratives, particularly regarding anti-abortion and anti-gender positions. They offer sympathetic coverage to anti-rights actors, amplify their messages, and provide a dedicated platform that solidifies internal cohesion within the ultra-conservative network.
- **Tradition, Family and Property (TFP):** A transnational Catholic network, TFP provides both ideological templates and practical support – including training and start-up resources – to affiliate groups like Civitas Christiana. Its global reach allows for the export and import of tactical methodologies and overarching narratives and ensures a consistent anti-rights framework.

Oligarchs / Industry and Logistics Infrastructure Pillar

This pillar often operates in the shadows, yet provides the critical financial and logistical backbone that sustains and amplifies the activities of the other three categories of actors.

- **Peter Poot:** A documented donor to FvD, Peter Poot represents the direct financial backing that enables political parties to fund campaigns, media efforts, and organizational growth, thereby bolstering the electoral pillar.
- **Steven Schuurman:** A donor to D66, Schuurman highlights the complex nature of financial influence, where donations may flow across the political spectrum, sometimes inadvertently (or intentionally) enabling broader systemic effects beyond immediate ideological alignment.
- **Rene Moos:** Documented as a donor to VVD, Moos's contribution also points to financial influence within mainstream political parties, again, necessitating a nuanced understanding of how such backing can contribute to the broader political climate.
- **ReMarkAble:** This entity's involvement in the founding of the Dutch farmers' party (BBB) demonstrates how strategic support from communication or consultancy firms can directly shape the emergence and trajectory of political actors.
- **LTO (Land- en Tuinbouworganisatie Nederland):** As a powerful farmers' lobby organization, LTO has successfully lobbied in Dutch politics. It demonstrated the potential for influence of industry groups in shaping policy and discourse, particularly around environmental regulations that often intersect with anti-rights narratives.
- **FarmersDefenseForce (FDF):** This action group of radical farmers employs disruptive protests to influence politics. While their direct agenda is agricultural, their tactics and anti-establishment rhetoric often align with and are amplified by the propaganda and street-movement pillar, and sometimes overlap with broader anti-government or anti-climate narratives.
- **Multinational companies (Shell, Tata Steel, AkzoNobel):** While not inherently anti-rights actors, the presence and lobbying power of major industries can exert significant influence on policy frameworks related to environmental protection, labor rights, and regulatory oversight. Their activities, or responses to regulation, can inadvertently fuel anti-establishment or anti-globalist sentiments that are then exploited by other anti-rights actors.

3.3 Ecosystem Functioning and Coordination

The potency of the anti-rights ecosystem lies in its profound interconnectedness and coordinated modus operandi, where distinct actors – despite varying motivations – contribute to a singular, overarching agenda. When coordinated, disparate activities such as political legitimization, popular mobilization, and financial enablement create a feedback loop that continually reinforces and amplifies anti-rights narratives.

Operational Flow:

1. **Media Amplification:** This ideological groundwork is subsequently pre-framed and post-amplified by the Propaganda/Media-influencer pillar. Outlets like ON!, De Blauwe Tijger, DDS, and Wynia's Week package these talking points into broadcast segments, online articles, and social media content. This ensures a widespread dissemination to receptive audiences.

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Influencers such as Eva Vlaardingerbroek and Raisa Blommestijn act as important conduits, as they shuttle messages between media appearances, rallies, and party milieus.

2. **Parliamentary Translation:** The Populist/Electoral pillar (e.g., PVV, FvD, JA21, SGP) then translates these amplified frames into concrete policy proposals – such as demands for an asylum freeze, "remigration", border controls, or restrictions on sex education and SRHR. This legislative engagement creates a vicious cycle: policy proposals validate activist narratives, which in turn fuels further political action. This feedback loop provides a façade of democratic legitimacy to these agendas.

3. **Street-Level Spectacle:** Concurrently, spectacle actors like Pegida Nederland contribute ongoing "visuals" through provocative actions (e.g., Quran desecrations, courthouse theatrics). These events maintain the salience of immigration and security concerns in public discourse, and therefore generate outrage and engagement that feeds into the media cycle and can be leveraged by political actors.

4. **Ideological Foundation:** The Ultra-conservative/Theocratic pillar, exemplified by organizations like Civitas Christiana and Schreeuw om Leven, provides the fundamental moral and traditionalist language. They cultivate mailing lists, organize events (such as the Mars voor het Leven), and establish a consistent cadence of activities that supply the "moral armor" for the broader movement.

Convergence on a Threat to Civilization Framework:

Despite their different entry points, these actors converge upon a unified civilizational-threat framework. Their shared objective is to "defend tradition and national identity", "halt or reverse mass migration", "restore order and punish street terror", and "resist gender ideology and the sexualization of children". In practice, this convergence manifests through the deployment of identical vocabulary and recycled slogans across seemingly disparate issue areas: SRHR, LGBTIQ+ rights, immigration, and crime/safety. Audiences are thus exposed to these narratives as components of one coherent, existential crisis facing the Netherlands.

Common Events and Coordinated Activism:

- **FvD "anti-corona" demonstrations (October 2021 and February 2022):** These rallies served as networking hubs, as they attracted a broad right-wing milieu, including FvD supporters, anti-vaccine activists, and extremist groups like WLM. They facilitated recruitment and coordination among far-right organizations.

- **WLM Erasmus Bridge laser projection (February 2022):** The public praise of this racist action by FvD youth and ON! commentators demonstrated their cross-organizational support. The event triggered significant public debates concerning free speech versus hate speech, and thereby further solidified the narrative of a "cultural battle".

- **Anti-immigration protest in The Hague (20 September 2025):** This large-scale protest – attracting thousands and escalating to violence – exemplified the mobilization capacity of the anti-rights ecosystem. The presence of far-right flags and subsequent statements by PVV leader Geert Wilders (condemning violence but reinforcing calls for closed borders) showcased the interplay between street activism and parliamentary politics.

- **Anti-abortion demonstrations (September 2025):** Organized by Civitas Christiana at key academic institutions, these protests were part of a broader campaign to introduce buffer zone legislation around clinics. The support from the SGP evidenced the existence of legislative-activist coordination.

- **Opposition to self-ID and trans legislation:** The coordinated efforts of SGP MPs (e.g., Diederik van Dijk) with groups like Civitas Christiana and Bijbels Beraad Man/Vrouw to withdraw the self-identification bill (July 2025) exemplifies direct political-ideological alignment. PVV and FvD supported these campaigns in parliament and across social media.

Funding and Financial Networks:

The Oligarchs/Industry pillar plays an important role in enabling the sustained operation and expansion of this ecosystem.

- **TFP funding for Civitas Christiana:** TFP's financial backing and training resources were instrumental in launching Civitas Christiana. While Civitas Christiana now relies on local donations, its foundational ideological and organizational ties to TFP – which is funded by wealthy conservative donors and nobility.

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- **Donations to PVV and FvD:** Public records reveal varying levels of declared donations, with FvD receiving substantial sums. While specific cross-party donors are not always publicly confirmed, investigative reporting has alleged US donors to both PVV and FvD. This points to an international financial dimension to the populist pillar's resourcing.
- **Alt-right infiltration rather than funding:** For extremist groups like Erkenbrand and WLM, the primary resource transfer is often not direct money but rather the exchange of people, propaganda and tactical knowledge. They leverage mainstream party events and media platforms to disseminate ideas and recruit supporters. In doing so, they demonstrating a more subtle and harder to trace – yet equally effective – form of resource allocation that extends beyond monetary transactions.
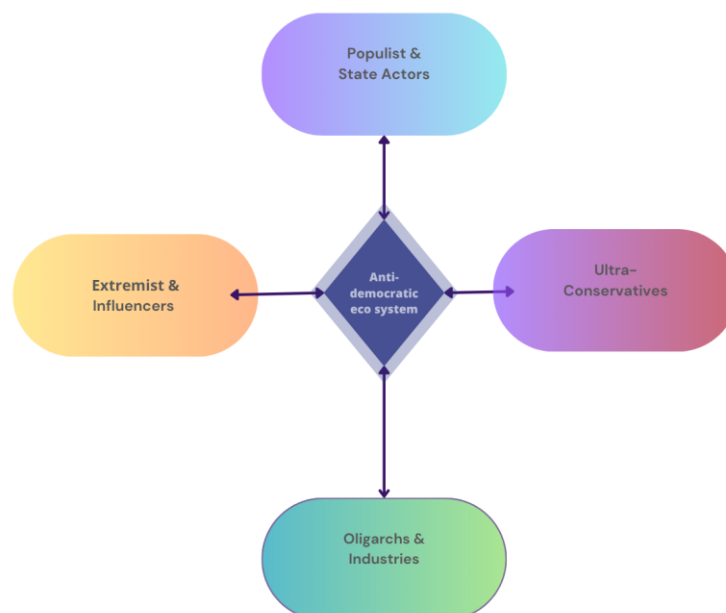
Key Differences within the Ecosystem:

Despite these pervasive convergences between Dutch anti-rights actors, several types of distinctions remain. The ideological root divides confessional conservatives (Schreeuw om Leven, Civitas Christiana, allied Christian media) from secular nationalist/identitarian actors (PVV, FvD, JA21, Pegida). Their modi operandi – while often coordinated, as shown above – are focused on several categories of activities which together cover multiple channels of influence:

- confessional groups often emphasize marches, petitions, and moral suasion;
- Pegida prioritizes confrontational street theatre;
- political parties focus on parliamentary proposals and media soundbites; and
- alternative publishers/broadcasters generate a steady stream of partisan content designed to normalize specific frames.

Finally, transnationality varies, with confessional groups often integrated into TFP-style Catholic networks, while secular influencers frequently tap into United States/UK media loops (e.g., GB News, Tucker Carlson, CPAC) to globalize Dutch narratives and re-import validation.

This complex interplay – facilitated by explicit coordination and tacit ideological alignment across all four pillars – shows that the anti-rights movement in the Netherlands is a sophisticated ecosystem which if left unchecked, has the potential to undermine human rights and democratic institutions.

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4. Dominant Narratives by Issue Area (10 pages total)

4.1 Right-Wing/Conservative Narratives

SRHR Narratives

The SRHR discourse within right-wing circles in the Netherlands is heavily influenced by Christian morality and a "pro-life" philosophy, shaping narratives around abortion, sex education, and gender ideology. This section analyzes various actors contributing to this discourse.

Events for Christ

The Events for Christ - Pro Life Middag event listing employs a narrative rooted in a biblical interpretation of the unborn life. The rhetoric is that abortion means the killing of unborn children and Christians need to be active in opposing it. The language used, such as "geestelijke strijd" (spiritual battle) and "gebrokenheid en zonde" (brokenness and sin) surrounding sexuality, frames the issue within a moral and religious conflict. The event aims to mobilize the Christian community by highlighting the perceived rising number of abortions and calling for action. Some interesting phrases use are:

– "Hoop voor moeder en kind"– "Hope for mother and child". This phrase emphasizes a positive alternative to abortion and highlights support for both the pregnant person and the unborn child.

– "Onnodig en ondenkbaar"– "Unnecessary and unthinkable". This describes their view on abortion as something that should not happen and is morally unacceptable.[i]

Pro Life International

The SGP ('Pro life' internationaal/ Gendercide) political party's stance is characterized by a "pro-life" narrative that extends to international policy, specifically opposing (forced) abortions and gendercide. They emphasize the protection of life as a foreign policy goal and advocate for government funding to support organizations that "protect life". They also express concern about "opdringerige genderideologie" (intrusive gender ideology), asserting that biological differences between men and women should be valued. Relevant phrases used are:

– "Bescherming van het leven"– "Protection of life". This is a core tenet of their "pro-life"stance, showing the value and need to protect unborn life.

– "Moeder- en kindzorg"– "Mother and childcare". By advocating for a special fund for this, they frame their support in terms of caring for both the pregnant person and the child, as an alternative to abortion.[ii]

De Christelijke Zorgverzekeraar

De Christelijke Zorgverzekeraar's approach to "Afbreken zwangerschap" (Termination of pregnancy) uses a narrative centered on the inherent value of every life "vanaf het allereerste begin" (from the very beginning), within a Christian system. The rhetoric acknowledges the difficulties of unintended pregnancy and encourages women to seek help, recommending Christian organizations. While presenting options for support, the underlying narrative promotes choosing life, emphasizing the potential for "wanhoop" (despair) and fear of "oordeel van anderen of van God" (judgment from others or from God) in considering abortion. Interesting phrases used:

– "Ieder leven is waardevol, vanaf het allereerste begin"- "Every life is valuable, from the very beginning". This belief underscores their opposition to abortion by asserting the worth of life from conception

– "In je wanhoop twijfelen"- "Doubting in your despair". This phrase acknowledges the difficult emotions surrounding unintended pregnancy but frames the consideration of abortion as a result of despair[iii]

NPV (Nederlandse Patiënten Vereniging)

The NPV (Nederlandse Patiënten Vereniging) article, "Beëindigen ongeboren leven is géén zorg en géén mensenrecht" (Ending unborn life is not healthcare and not a human right), employs a strong, confrontational narrative that directly challenges the classification of abortion within healthcare and human rights frameworks. The rhetoric uses terms like "vergaande wetsvoorstel" (far-reaching legislative proposal) and "fundament onder de abortuswetgeving weggeslagen" (foundation under abortion legislation struck away) to describe proposed changes, portraying them as detrimental. It argues that calling the termination of a human life "care" requires "veel acrobatiek" (much acrobatics) to reduce the unborn child to a "klompje cellen" (clump of cells), asserting that embryology

contradicts this view and that such a perspective belongs in a "sprookjesboek, niet in een wetboek" (fairytale book, not in a law book). Some specific language used is:

– "Kwetsbare positie van ongeboren kinderen"- "Vulnerable position of unborn children". This highlights their focus on the unborn as a vulnerable group.
– "Klompje cellen dat mijlenver afstaat van de biologische mens"- "Clump of cells that is miles away from the biological human". This phrase, used critically by the NPV, represents the opposing view they are refuting, emphasizing that the unborn is already a human being.[iv]

Wonderlijk Gemaakt

The educational method Wonderlijk Gemaakt by Driestar Onderwijsadvies, presents a narrative for sex education rooted in a Christian worldview. The rhetoric emphasizes that sexuality is a "mooi geschenk van de Schepper" (beautiful gift from the Creator) but is also surrounded by "gebrokenheid en zonde" (brokenness and sin). The program aims to teach children and young people to handle sexuality "op een goede manier" (in a good way) with the Bible as a guideline, focusing on values like faithfulness (especially within marriage between man and woman), respect, responsibility and self-control. It frames sex education as part of character formation and emphasizes the importance of a safe environment at school where these topics can be discussed from a Christian perspective. Some relevant narratives use are:

– "Scheppingsgave van God"- "Creation gift from God". This describes sexuality as something positive and intended by God, setting a religious foundation for their sex education.
– "Waardengerichte aanpak"- "Value-oriented approach". This highlights that their educational method is not solely based on biological facts but is guided by specific Christian values and norms.[v]

Hart van Nederland

An article from Hart van Nederland titled "Kritiek op projectweek seksuele vorming voor basisonderwijs: 'Lespakket door onze strot geduwd'" (Criticism of project week sexual education for primary education: 'Lesson package shoved down our throats') reports on the controversy surrounding the "Week van de Lentekriebels". It highlights the narrative of concerned parents who feel the school is imposing the sex education material against their wishes. The rhetoric includes phrases like "door onze strot geduwd" and questions about the explicitness of the content and the age-appropriateness, and that sex education is primarily a parental responsibility. The article also mentions specific points of contention, such as the discussion of masturbation and the use of a 3D clitoris model, framing these elements as overly explicit.[vi]

KRO-NCRV Pointer

A report by KRO-NCRV Pointer titled "Hoe misinformatie de online haatmachine tegen de Week van de Lentekriebels op gang trok" (How misinformation fueled the online hate machine against the Week of the Spring Fever) investigates the origins and spread of criticism against Rutgers and the "Week van de Lentekriebels". While not a conservative source itself, it analyzes the rhetoric and narratives used by conservative groups, including the claim that the week promotes "seksualisering van kinderen" (sexualization of children), discusses topics like "anale seks, trio's en drag queens" (anal sex, threesomes, and drag queens) with young children, and represents a "sluipende normalisering van pedofilie" (creeping normalization of pedophilia). The article explicitly identifies these claims as misinformation and highlights the role of certain political figures and organizations like Civitas Christiana (via their "Gezin in Gevaar" campaign) in spreading these narratives, often taking materials out of context and leading to threats against Rutgers staff and teachers.[vii]

KRO-NCRV Pointer

Another article from KRO-NCRV Pointer titled "Ook in Nederland leren christelijke scholieren over de plakband-metafoor: hoe vaker je seks hebt, hoe moeilijker je je later kan binden" (In the Netherlands too, Christian schoolchildren learn about the tape metaphor: the more often you have sex, the harder it is to bond later) discusses a specific narrative used in some conservative Christian circles regarding sexuality. The "plakband-metafoor" (tape metaphor) suggests that each sexual encounter is like removing a piece of tape – the more times you use and remove it, the less sticky it becomes, implying that having multiple sexual partners diminishes one's ability to form a lasting bond in a future relationship. The article critiques this metaphor as harmful and scientifically inaccurate, but it illustrates a conservative narrative that emphasizes sexual purity and monogamy by portraying negative consequences of sexual activity, particularly for women.[viii]

BNNVARA

Justice for Prosperity

An article from BNNVARA titled "Waar gaat de Week van de Lentekriebels nou écht over?" (What is the Week of the Spring Fever really about?) reports on the controversy and the legal action taken by Rutgers against Civitas Christiana. It describes the conservative criticism as coming from the "conservatieve hoek" (conservative corner) and highlights the narrative from critics that the material causes "weerstand" (resistance) and that Civitas Christiana spreads "onwaarheden" (untruths) about the program. The article contrasts the conservative claims (such as teaching children how to perform sexual acts) with the actual goals of the week (teaching about resilience, relationships, boundaries, and recognizing inappropriate behavior), portraying the criticism as based on distortion and misinformation.[ix]

DutchNews.nl

An article from DutchNews.nl titled "Catholic group faces legal action over sex education claims" reports in English on Rutgers' decision to take legal action against Civitas Christiana. It directly quotes Civitas Christiana's claims that the "Week van de Lentekriebels" is about "sexualising children, pushing LGBT propaganda, 'normalising homosexuality', and trivialising abortion". This article clearly presents the core narratives used by this specific conservative group, framing the sex education program as ideological indoctrination that promotes what they see as harmful agendas.[x]

De Andere Krant

This article from De Andere Krant, titled "Rutgers weigert verantwoording af te leggen over Week van Lentekriebels" (Rutgers refuses to account for Week of the Spring Fever), employs a narrative of institutional unaccountability and deliberate harm to children through sex education. The central claim is that Rutgers, despite receiving significant funding, refuses to provide a substantive justification for the explicit content in the "Week van de Lentekriebels" program, dismissing criticism as "desinformatie". The rhetoric portrays Rutgers as an opaque organization pushing a controversial agenda, using terms like "indoctrinatie en seksualisering van jonge kinderen" (indoctrination and sexualization of young children) and describing the material as "seksueel expliciete" (sexually explicit) and "pervers" (perverse). Specific examples, such as the book "Mijn papa heeft een piemel" with its illustration and the poster about consent, are used to shock and illustrate the perceived inappropriateness and harmfulness of the content for young children. The article amplifies the voices of concerned parents, conservative commentators (like Raisa Blommestijn and Koen Verhagen), and organizations (Gezin in Gevaar/Civitas Christiana), presenting their resistance ("verzet groeit") as a righteous stand against an overreaching and potentially illegal program ("in strijd is met de wet"). The inclusion of Désirée Röver's view, describing the exposure to the material as "psychologische en mentale verkrachting" (psychological and mental rape), represents the most extreme rhetoric used, framing the educational content as a form of abuse that "ultiem vervuild" (ultimately pollutes) a child's understanding of sexuality. The mention of Rutgers' funding sources (government, Postcodeloterij, Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation) supports a narrative that powerful, possibly ideologically-driven entities are behind the program. The article frames Rutgers' legal action against critics as an attempt to silence opposition and avoid "inhoudelijke discussie" (substantive discussion), reinforcing the narrative of unaccountability.[xi]

LGBTIQ+ Narratives

LGBTIQ+ rights are frequently framed within right-wing discourse as a challenge to traditional values, religious beliefs, and established social norms. Various conservatives emphasize the perceived threat to the traditional family, parental authority and Christian morality. Our analysis reveals the rhetorical strategies and ideological frameworks employed to portray LGBTIQ+ rights as a form of social and moral decay.

Civitas Christiana / Gezin in Gevaar

Civitas Christiana, through its campaign platform 'Gezin in Gevaar' (Family in Danger), constructs a strong oppositional narrative to LGBTIQ+ inclusion. Their activism portrays gender diversity and non-heteronormative sexual orientations as threats to the Christian family and societal order. The organization actively disseminates petitions and protests against inclusive education policies, which they label as 'gender indoctrination'. They argue that schools are being turned into arenas of ideological conflict, where children are confused and led away from Biblical truths. The use of highly emotive language, such as 'sexual indoctrination of minors' and 'attack on family values', reinforces a

siege mentality among their supporters. They call for legal restrictions and public resistance to counter what they describe as the forced normalization of deviant behavior.

"*Wat wij vandaag zien in het onderwijs is niet neutrale informatie, maar een bewuste poging om kinderen los te weken van hun biologische realiteit. De transgenderideologie wordt aan hen opgedrongen alsof het een feit is, terwijl het in werkelijkheid een ideologie is die verwarring zaait en onze families ondermijnt*".

"What we see today in education is not neutral information, but a deliberate attempt to detach children from their biological reality. The transgender ideology is being pushed on them as if it were fact, while in reality, it is an ideology that sows confusion and undermines our families".[xii]

Reformatorisch Dagblad

The Reformatorisch Dagblad functions as a major outlet for conservative Protestant perspectives and publishes content opposing the normalization of LGBTIQ+ identities. Their narrative emphasizes the conflict between Biblical teachings and contemporary societal shifts, framing LGBTIQ+ rights as evidence of moral decay. The newspaper presents legal protections and media representations of LGBTIQ+ individuals as threats to religious liberty and traditional values. Through editorials and guest columns, they assert that Christian schools and communities are pressured to conform to a secular worldview that undermines Scriptural authority. The discourse often positions believers as victims of cultural persecution.

"*In een samenleving waar homoseksualiteit en genderdiversiteit als norm worden gepresenteerd, raakt het christelijke perspectief steeds verder gemarginaliseerd. Jongeren worden in scholen geconfronteerd met levensstijlen die haaks staan op de Bijbel, en christelijke docenten voelen zich onder druk gezet om mee te bewegen met een agenda die ze in hun hart verwerpen*".

"In a society where homosexuality and gender diversity are presented as the norm, the Christian perspective is increasingly marginalized. Young people in schools are confronted with lifestyles that directly oppose the Bible, and Christian teachers feel pressured to comply with an agenda they fundamentally reject".[xiii]

Family7 – Christelijke Omroep

Family7 is a Dutch Christian broadcaster that promotes traditional Christian views on morality and family. Family7 propagates a narrative of cultural crisis, where increasing public acceptance of LGBTIQ+ people is equated with the loss of innocence, erosion of parental authority, and moral corruption of society. They critique campaigns such as Pride and COC-led school programs, presenting them as 'seksuele indoctrinatie' (sexual indoctrination) targeting youth. The message reinforced across their platform is that Christian families must stand firm against what they perceive as an ideological movement that threatens Biblical foundations and national character.

"*De gendermainstream moet uiteindelijk leiden tot:*
- *De volledige gelijkstelling, zo niet gelijkheid, van man en vrouw.*
- *De beëindiging van de geslachtelijke identiteit van man en vrouw.*
- *De beëindiging van de heteroseksuele normativiteit, zowel juridische en maatschappelijk.*
- *Abortus als mensenrecht.*
- *Seksualisering van kinderen en jongeren door seksueel onderwijs als verplicht vak op school.*
- *De omverwerping van het traditioneel gezin*".

"The gender mainstream must ultimately lead to:
- The complete equality, if not equality, of men and women.
- The merging of the gender identity of men and women.
- The dissolution of heterosexual normativity, both legally and socially.
- Abortion as a human right.
- Sexualization of children and young people through sex education as a compulsory subject at school.
- The overthrow of the traditional family".[xiv]

Bijbels Beraad Man/Vrouw

Bijbels Beraad Man/Vrouw promotes a distinctly theological and philosophical rejection of LGBTIQ+ identities. They argue that the recognition of gender diversity is not only biologically incorrect but spiritually harmful. They frame the rise of LGBTIQ+ acceptance as part of a larger cultural shift away from Biblical truth and natural law. Their narrative emphasizes 'liefdevolle waarheid' (truth in love), asserting that refusing to affirm LGBTIQ+ identities is an act of moral faithfulness, not bigotry. The organization warns that progressive gender policies in schools, churches, and the workplace threaten both religious freedom and the stability of society.

"Men zegt dat homofilie geen ziekte is (dus kan er van genezing geen sprake zijn) en dat de geaardheid van homo's niet kan worden veranderd omdat ze zo geboren zijn. Homofilie is inderdaad geen fysieke ziekte, en de vaak gebezigde term 'homogenezing' is dus onjuist, maar men ziet over het hoofd dat het bij homofilie (en ook genderdysforie) niet gaat om een aspect van de (kern)identiteit. Uit onderzoek blijkt dat bij een significant deel van de Nederlanders sprake is van fluïditeit in seksuele gerichtheid. Het „beperken of verbieden van counseling aan hen die een seksuele verandering ervaren of die dat willen onderzoeken in de richting van heteroseksualiteit, is willekeurig, onrechtvaardig en discriminerend". Het is bovendien onjuist om te veronderstellen dat de 'geaardheid' van homo's bij de geboorte altijd al aanwezig zou zijn, want een homofiele gerichtheid kan ook later ontstaan als een ontwikkelingsstoornis. En het is pertinent onjuist om te denken dat het niet te veranderen zou zijn".

"It is said that homosexuality is not a disease (so there can be no cure) and that the orientation of homosexuals cannot be changed because they are born that way. Homosexuality is indeed not a physical disease, and the often used term 'homosexual cure' is therefore incorrect, but it is overlooked that homosexuality (and also gender dysphoria) is not an aspect of (core) identity . Research shows that a significant number of Dutch people have fluidity in sexual orientation. "Restricting or prohibiting counseling for those who are experiencing or wish to explore a sexual change in the direction of heterosexuality is arbitrary, unjust and discriminatory." It is also incorrect to assume that the 'orientation' of homosexuals is always present at birth, because a homosexual orientation can also develop later as a developmental disorder. And it is absolutely incorrect to think that it cannot be changed".[xv]

Geuzenbond

The Geuzenbond is a nationalist and identitarian youth organization that views the rise of LGBTIQ+ rights as part of a broader ideological attack on Western, and specifically Dutch, cultural identity. They claim that LGBTIQ+ advocacy is not about equality, but about enforcing a radical agenda that undermines the nation's historical values and Christian moral foundations. Their rhetoric is often framed around 'cultural erosion', asserting that traditional masculinity, the nuclear family, and heteronormative roles are deliberately being dismantled.

"Allereerst is het simpelweg zo dat we tegenwoordig zo veel en efficiënte manieren hebben om ideeën uit te wisselen, dat cultuur als het ware in een soort stroomversnelling terecht is gekomen, waarbij de cultuur steeds sneller verandert en opvattingen steeds meer verschuiven. Het toonvoorbeeld hiervan is de opvatting ten opzichte van de LHBT-beweging. Deze snelheid van verandering maakt dat mensen geen tijd krijgen om zich voldoende te nestelen in de verschillende veranderingen, met ontworteling als onvermijdelijk gevolg".

"First of all, it is simply that we now have so many and efficient ways to exchange ideas that culture has, as it were, entered a kind of rapid acceleration, whereby culture changes more and more quickly and views shift more and more. The prime example of this is the view towards the LGBT movement. This speed of change means that people do not have time to sufficiently settle into the various changes, with uprooting as an inevitable result".[xvi]

Nashville Verklaring (Nashville Statement)

The Nashville Statement, adapted in the Netherlands by a large group of Protestant ministers in 2019, is a manifesto-style document that rejects same-sex relationships and gender fluidity as inconsistent with Biblical teachings. Dutch signatories portrayed their support for the document as a call to defend the integrity of Christian moral doctrine against cultural relativism and secular liberalism. The statement led to widespread public backlash, but its supporters framed the criticism as persecution of faith-based speech. They emphasize that 'true love' requires speaking spiritual truth, not affirming what they describe as sinful behavior.

"Wij geloven dat God het huwelijk heeft ingesteld als een verbond tussen één man en één vrouw. Het is zondig om homoseksuele of transgender gevoelens te koesteren en te volgen. Wij bevestigen dat

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ware christelijke liefde zich niet uit in het goedkeuren van zonde, maar in het spreken van de waarheid in liefde".

"We believe that God instituted marriage as a covenant between one man and one woman. It is sinful to harbor and act upon homosexual or transgender feelings. We affirm that true Christian love is not expressed by affirming sin, but by speaking the truth in love".[xvii]

Immigration Narratives

Immigration discourse within the Dutch right-wing context is often characterized by concerns about national identity, cultural preservation, and socioeconomic impacts. This section analyzes how various actors frame immigration as a threat, highlighting the perceived negative consequences of "massa-immigratie" (mass immigration), particularly from non-Western and Islamic countries. The analysis includes the interplay between economic anxieties, cultural preservationist arguments and security concerns.

Geert Wilders – PVV (Partij voor de Vrijheid)

Geert Wilders, leader of the Party for Freedom (PVV), adopts a radical anti-Islamic stance. He views Islamic migration as a civilizational threat that undermines Dutch identity, liberty, and public safety. His proposals advocate the systematic exclusion of Islamic culture from public life.

"Wanneer zeggen we een keer STOP tegen de multiculturele hel, de massa-immigratie en de gewelddadige islam en kiezen we voor onze eigen cultuur en de veiligheid van onze eigen mensen?"

"When will we say STOP to the multicultural hell, mass immigration and violent Islam and choose our own culture and the safety of our own people?"[xviii]

Thierry Baudet – Forum voor Democratie (FvD)

Thierry Baudet, representing Forum voor Democratie (FvD), frames immigration as a deliberate demographic warfare against Dutch civilization. He positions global elites and supranational policies as orchestrators of a 'demographic attack,' reflecting the ideological underpinnings of the 'Great Replacement' theory.

"De immigratie problematiek is zonder enige twijfel het grootste probleem van onze tijd. Dat zullen onze kinderen en kleinkinderen ons nog nadragen. Het is ook het grootste probleem van de volgende generaties. Het is ook geen gewoon politiek issue. Het is niet een issue waarbij je kan zeggen ik ga nu eens want ik meer links en dan wat meer naar rechts, wat meer de belastingen verhogen of verlagen. Het is een issue dat een blijvende en structurele morfose van onze samenleving tot gevolg heeft. Het is dus een existentieel thema. Het is niet iets dat binnen de kaders van de normale politiek eigenlijk valt. Het is vergelijkbaar met het opgeven van soevereiniteit. Ja raakt iets fundamenteel definitief duurzaam kwijt wat je had. Het is een transformatie van de samenleving die gaande is, en wat ik heel erg mis in dit debat is een gevoel van urgentie voor deze existentiële zaak".

"The immigration issue is without a doubt the biggest problem of our time. Our children and grandchildren will still hold that against us. It is also the biggest problem of the next generations. It is also not just a political issue. It is not an issue where you can say I am going to go more to the left and then a bit more to the right, a bit more to increase or decrease taxes. It is an issue that results in a permanent and structural morphosis of our society. It is therefore an existential theme. It is not something that actually falls within the framework of normal politics. It is comparable to giving up sovereignty. Yes, you lose something fundamentally permanent and sustainable that you had. It is a transformation of society that is taking place, and what I really miss in this debate is a sense of urgency for this existential matter".[xix]

Civitas Christiana / Gezin in Gevaar

Civitas Christiana, particularly through its platform 'Cultuur onder Vuur', meaning ' Culture under fire', presents immigration, especially Islamic presence, as antithetical to Christian heritage. The organization interprets the spread of Islamic culture as a moral and symbolic defeat for the Netherlands' Christian roots and national identity.

"Het Nederlanderschap is steeds meer een juridische formaliteit, losgekoppeld van cultuur, religie, taal of geschiedenis. Een immigrant die tien minuten zijn paspoort heeft, zonder zelfs één woord Nederlands te spreken, zou evengoed Nederlander zijn als een Friese boer wiens voorouders de polders drooglegden en het land eeuwenlang opbouwden, onderhielden en verdedigden".

"Dutchness is increasingly a legal formality, disconnected from culture, religion, language or history. An immigrant who has had his passport for ten minutes, without speaking even one word of Dutch, would be just as Dutch as a Frisian farmer whose ancestors drained the polders and built, maintained, and defended the land for centuries".[xx]

Belang van Nederland

BVNL (Belang van Nederland) is a right-wing political party in the Netherlands that emphasizes Dutch sovereignty, national identity, and strong opposition to immigration policies perceived to be overly lenient. The party critiques the government's handling of immigration and often frames issues around housing, healthcare, and social benefits as being unfairly skewed in favour of asylum seekers, to the detriment of 'native Dutch' citizens, arguing that the government prioritizes newcomers over its own citizens, which they view as harmful to the nation's long-term stability and social cohesion.

"De nieuwe wet die er moet komen maakt het zelfs mogelijk om burgers te dwingen hun tweede huis af te staan aan asielzoekers. BVNL wil van het kabinet weten hoe het mogelijk is dat er nu aan zulke verregaande maatregelen wordt gedacht, terwijl voor Nederlanders die geen woning konden vinden nooit een dergelijke wet in het leven is geroepen. Leegstaande panden konden nooit worden omgebouwd tot woningen, de bouw van huizen is jarenlang gefrustreerd door het kabinet, maar nu er asielzoekers op straat dreigen komen te staan, is plotseling alles mogelijk? Hoe je ook denkt over het opvangen van mensen uit andere landen, vol is nou eenmaal vol. Meer kun je er niet van maken. En als de eigen bevolking met een gezin in een studio moet wonen, of collectief dakloos dreigt te raken, dan ga je geen vakantieparken volstoppen met vluchtelingen. Dan ga je woningen bouwen voor Nederlanders".

"The new law that is to be passed even makes it possible to force citizens to give up their second homes to asylum seekers. BVNL wants to know from the government how it is possible that such far-reaching measures are now being considered, while such a law was never created for Dutch people who could not find a home. Vacant buildings could never be converted into homes, the construction of homes has been frustrated by the government for years, but now that asylum seekers are in danger of ending up on the streets, suddenly everything is possible? Whatever you think about taking in people from other countries, full is full. You can't make more of it. And if your own population has to live in a studio with a family, or is in danger of becoming homeless collectively, then you don't fill holiday parks with refugees. Then you build homes for Dutch people".[xxi]

Ongehoord Nederland (ON!)

Ongehoord Nederland (ON!) evokes a sense of loss and displacement among native Dutch citizens. Its narrative portrays multiculturalism as a failed experiment imposed by out-of-touch elites, resulting in alienation, cultural fragmentation, and public silencing of dissent. N Notable far-right influencer Raisa Blommenstijn is a presenter at Ongehoord Nederland (ON!).

"De enorme hoeveelheid migranten waarmee ons land al jarenlang wordt overspoeld is niet alleen een kabinetscrisis, maar een alomvattende nationale crisis waard. Het is tijd dat de grenzen dichtgaan, er wordt ingezet op remigratie en dat wij ons land terugkrijgen".

"The enormous number of migrants that our country has been flooded with for years is not just worth a cabinet crisis, but a comprehensive national crisis. It is time to close the borders, focus on remigration and get our country back".[xxii]

De Andere Krant

De Andere Krant promotes a conspiratorial interpretation of migration trends. It claims that mass migration is not organic but rather part of a calculated globalist agenda to erase national borders and identities, implicating actors like the UN and George Soros.

"We vinden duizend veel te veel. We zien steeds meer incidenten in het land. Het is niet de vraag óf, maar wannéér het mis gaat". Geertshuis pleit voor veiligheid en transparantie voor omwonenden. "De opvang van asielzoekers en Oekraïners is een hobby van de burgemeester. Er is geen inspraak geweest, omwonenden zijn gepasseerd. Je ziet dat het er langzaam meer en meer worden. Nu gaat het opeens richting de duizend. Waar houdt het op?" Met een motie riep het raadslid op tot het respecteren van het eerdere raadsbesluit voor maximaal 850 vluchtelingen. "Die motie is van links tot rechts weggestemd. Ook de PVV trok op het laatst haar keutel in"."

"We think a thousand is far too many. We are seeing more and more incidents in the country. It is not a question of whether, but when things will go wrong". Geertshuis advocates safety and

transparency for local residents. "The reception of asylum seekers and Ukrainians is a hobby of the mayor. There has been no consultation, local residents have been passed over. You can see that there are slowly more and more. Now it is suddenly going towards a thousand. Where will it stop?" With a motion, the council member called for respecting the previous council decision for a maximum of 850 refugees. "That motion was voted down from left to right. The PVV also withdrew its turd at the last minute"."[xxiii]

Crime/Safety Narratives

The conservative discourse on crime and safety often centers on anxieties about societal disorder, the perceived ineffectiveness of law enforcement and the government's alleged failure to protect its citizens. Various actors, therefore, construct narratives which link rising crime rates to immigration, cultural changes, and lax law enforcement. The analysis will also explore how specific cases and incidents are employed to reinforce these anxieties and justify calls for tougher law-and-order policies.

2017 debate in the Eerste Kamer

A transcript from a 2017 debate in the Eerste Kamer (Senate) on the non-prosecution of asylum seekers who committed crimes provides insight into some of arguments used in the Dutch political space. Members of parties like the PVV and CDA expressed frustration and concern over asylum seekers, particularly those from "safe countries", being involved in criminal activities like shoplifting and causing public nuisance, sometimes allegedly not being prosecuted to facilitate deportation. The rhetoric emphasized a perceived lack of control by the government ("kabinet is de grip op de problemen helemaal kwijt") and the burden placed on Dutch society ("zadelt de Nederlandse samenleving ermee op"). Terms like "criminele asielzoekers" and "nepasielzoekers" (fake asylum seekers) were used, and there was a strong call for stricter measures, prosecution, detention, and swift deportation ("moeten ophoepelen"). This narrative frames asylum seekers involved in crime not just as individuals breaking the law, but as a systemic problem caused by flawed immigration and asylum policies that endanger public safety.[xxiv]

Forum voor Democratie (FvD)

The Forum voor Democratie (FvD) party program for 2021-2025 explicitly links "systematisch veel te hoge instroom van kansarme immigranten en asielzoekers uit niet-Westerse landen" (systematically much too high influx of low-opportunity immigrants and asylum seekers from non-Western countries) to negative impacts on Dutch society, including increased crime. Their narrative posits that this immigration changes the cultural composition of the population and leads to "oververtegenwoordiging in criminaliteit, in de gevangenis" (overrepresentation in criminality, in prison). The rhetoric emphasizes taking back control over borders ("Immigratiebeleid naar Australisch model: zelf beslissen wie hierheen komt en blijft") and prioritizing "culturele compatibiliteit". The program advocates for stricter policies, including making illegal stay punishable, tracking down and deporting undocumented immigrants, and dismantling the "asielindustrie". This narrative frames immigration not just as an economic or social issue, but as a threat to national identity, safety, and the rule of law, directly attributing criminal issues to specific immigrant groups and the perceived failure of integration.[xxv]

PVV (Partij voor de Vrijheid)

The PVV (Partij voor de Vrijheid) consistently employs a narrative that links "massa-immigratie" (mass immigration), particularly from "islamitische landen", to significant societal costs and problems, including crime. A report commissioned by the PVV from Nyfer in 2010 (referenced in a Binnenlands Bestuur article) claimed that non-Western immigration cost the Netherlands billions annually, partly due to immigrants being "oververtegenwoordigd in de criminaliteit". PVV statements, such as those by Sietse Fritsma, often use strong rhetoric to describe the asylum system as "helemaal mislukt" (completely failed) and "failliet" (bankrupt), blaming it for allowing "massaal" (mass) entry of individuals who are not "echte vluchtelingen" (real refugees) and who contribute to crime and overlast. The narrative frequently highlights the perceived inability or unwillingness of the government to deport rejected or criminal asylum seekers, using phrases like "worden niet opgepakt, ze worden niet vastgezet en ze worden niet uitgezet" (are not arrested, they are not detained, and are not deported). This framing positions immigration as a direct threat to the safety and stability of Dutch society, often with an explicit link to specific national or religious origins.[xxvi]

Mocro Maffia in Political Discussions

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The topic of the "Mocro Maffia", referring to organized crime groups primarily of Moroccan origin, is also a significant element in conservative discourse on crime. A neutral report from EenVandaag on a parliamentary debate analyses how conservative politicians frequently use the existence and actions of such groups to support their broader narratives about the failures of immigration and integration, and the need for tougher law enforcement and border control. The narrative often portrays the "Mocro Maffia" as an exceptionally dangerous and ruthless form of crime that has taken root in the Netherlands due to uncontrolled immigration and insufficient action by the authorities. This framing contributes to a sense of a loss of control and a threat to the fundamental safety of the state and its citizens.[xxvii]

Wynia's Week

Wynia's Week frequently publishes articles that connect immigration and asylum to issues of crime and safety, often employing a critical narrative towards current government policies. An article titled "Hoge criminaliteit van niet-westerse asielzoekers is argument te meer om ze in hun eigen regio op te vangen" (High criminality of non-Western asylum seekers is all the more reason to receive them in their own region) directly argues that the reported higher crime rates among certain groups of asylum seekers justify a policy shift towards reception outside of the Netherlands. The rhetoric emphasizes the negative impact on safety and uses crime statistics to support the argument for stricter immigration controls and different reception models, framing it as a necessary measure to protect the safety of Dutch society.[xxviii]

Another piece in Wynia's Week by Jan van de Beek, "Dit zijn de vijf belangrijkste misvattingen waarmee de asielcrisis wordt ontkend" (These are the five most important misconceptions with which the asylum crisis is denied), addresses common arguments used to downplay the negative effects of the asylum crisis, including those related to crime. The narrative here is one of debunking what the author sees as "desinformatie" from those who deny the severity of the crisis. While not solely focused on crime, it includes crime as one of the significant negative impacts of current asylum policy that, according to the author, is being misrepresented or ignored in public discourse. This reinforces the conservative narrative that the asylum crisis has serious consequences for safety and that these are not being adequately acknowledged.[xxix]

A third article in Wynia's Week, titled "Waarom buitenlandse boeven graag voor Nederland (en vooral voor Amsterdam) kiezen" (Why foreign crooks like to choose the Netherlands (and especially Amsterdam)) presents a narrative that Amsterdam, and the Netherlands in general, are attractive destinations for foreign criminals due to perceived lax law enforcement and opportunities for criminal activity. The article highlights the presence of "buitenlandse boeven" (foreign crooks) and suggests a failure in "actieve opsporing en intelligence rond de drugswereld" (active investigation and intelligence regarding the drug world) in Amsterdam. This narrative contributes to the idea that insufficient control over borders and ineffective policing contribute to crime, particularly in major cities like Amsterdam.[xxx]

Another piece from Wynia's Week, "De jeugd pleegt minder maar zwaardere delicten. Aangeven? Helpt toch niet!" (Youth commit fewer but more serious offenses. Reporting? Doesn't help anyway!), discusses youth crime and the feeling of unsafety, including in Amsterdam. While noting a decrease in overall youth crime, the narrative emphasizes that the nature of the crimes is becoming more serious ("wel ernstiger geworden") with increased use of weapons. The article also links the rise in the feeling of unsafety to low reporting rates ("aangiftebereidheid in Nederland zeer gering") and the exclusion of some groups (like statushouders and asylum seekers) from official statistics, suggesting that the true extent of crime and unsafety is higher than reported. The mention of the feeling of unsafety being highest in Amsterdam (specifically in Nieuw-West and Zuidoost-Bijlmermeer) reinforces the narrative of urban areas, particularly those with diverse populations, experiencing significant safety issues.[xxxi]

An article in Wynia's Week titled "De Nederlandse misdaadbestrijding faalt" (Dutch crime fighting fails) presents a broad critique of law enforcement's effectiveness. While not solely focused on Amsterdam, it contributes to the conservative narrative of police and judicial system failure. The rhetoric highlights perceived issues such as poor investigative work ("De recherche functioneert zeer matig"), cases being dismissed ("Veel misdaadzaken blijven op de plank liggen. Er wordt veel geseponeerd"), and a lack of convictions in serious cases ("Zelfs grote zaken eindigen vaak niet met straf"). This narrative of systemic failure in crime fighting underpins the arguments for tougher

approaches and is often implicitly or explicitly linked to the challenges posed by organized crime and certain types of offenders.[xxxii]

Regarding "Mocro Maffia", Wynia's Week has published articles that delve into its activities and impact. An article titled "Waar dienen de honderden liquidaties door de Nederlandse drugsmaffia eigenlijk toe?" (What purpose do the hundreds of liquidations by the Dutch drug mafia actually serve?) discusses the history and nature of liquidations in the Dutch criminal underworld, with a significant focus on Amsterdam and the rise of the Mocro Maffia. The narrative portrays these liquidations as a brutal consequence of organized crime, highlighting the violence and ruthlessness involved. The article traces the history of organized crime in Amsterdam, noting the shift towards groups like the Mocro Maffia and their methods, contributing to a narrative of escalating and increasingly brutal crime linked to specific criminal networks.[xxxiii]

Yet another article in Wynia's Week, "Mocromaffia bedreigt de democratische rechtsorde" (Mocro Maffia threatens the democratic rule of law), presents a narrative that frames the Mocro Maffia as a fundamental threat not just to public safety but to the very foundations of Dutch democracy and the rule of law. The rhetoric emphasizes the "bedreiging door georganiseerde misdaad" (threat from organized crime) and the "ondermijning van de rechtsstaat" (undermining of the rule of law) through violence, intimidation, and a perceived "omerta-cultuur". The article highlights instances of threats against politicians, journalists, and legal professionals, portraying the Mocro Maffia as operating with a "ongekende narcistische brutaliteit" (unprecedented narcissistic brutality) that challenges state authority. This narrative elevates the issue beyond mere crime to a struggle for the preservation of democratic values and state sovereignty, often implicitly linking the group's existence and power to failures in immigration and integration policies.[xxxiv]

Ongehoord Nederland

The Ongehoord Nederland broadcast "Ongehoord Nieuws #84: Asiel & criminaliteit en werkende armen" (featuring Geert Wilders, poverty aid Camilla van der Burgt and PVV Overijssel party leader Sebastiaan Stöteler) employs a narrative that directly links the presence of asylum seekers to increased crime and societal problems, contrasting this with the struggles of "werkende armen" (working poor) in the Netherlands. The rhetoric positions asylum seekers as a burden on Dutch society, consuming resources and contributing to insecurity and criminality, while implying that the government prioritizes them over struggling Dutch citizens. This narrative often uses anecdotal evidence and generalizes from individual incidents to paint a picture of widespread issues caused by asylum and immigration policies. The combination of "asiel & criminaliteit" with "werkende armen" serves to create a narrative of injustice where the needs of vulnerable Dutch citizens are neglected in favor of accommodating asylum seekers who are presented as posing a threat to safety and prosperity.[xxxv]

Telegraaf

An article in Telegraaf.nl, "Streep door strafbeschikking: criminele asielzoekers tóch makkelijker achter tralies" (Administrative fine scrapped: criminal asylum seekers can now be put behind bars more easily), presents a narrative that celebrates stricter measures against criminal asylum seekers. The title itself is indicative of the tone, suggesting a positive development where a previous leniency ("Streep door strafbeschikking") is replaced by a tougher approach ("makkelijker achter tralies"). The rhetoric implies that the previous system of administrative fines for certain offenses committed by asylum seekers was inadequate and that putting them in jail is a necessary step to ensure safety and justice. This narrative reinforces the idea that criminal behavior by asylum seekers is a significant problem that requires a firm response from the authorities and that such measures are a victory for public safety.[xxxvi]

GeenStijl

GeenStijl's article, "Politie beschiet messenzwaaier op Groningse asielboot" (Police shoot knife-wielder on Groningen asylum boat), uses sensationalist language to report on an incident involving an asylum seeker and the police in an asylum facility. The terms "messenzwaaier" (knife-wielder) and "asielboot" (asylum boat) are used to immediately create a vivid and potentially alarming image. The narrative focuses on the perceived danger posed by the individual and the necessity of police intervention, framing the incident as a consequence of housing asylum seekers in potentially volatile environments. The use of "asielboot" might also implicitly criticize the type of accommodation used for asylum seekers. This narrative contributes to the broader conservative argument that the presence of asylum

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seekers, particularly in certain types of facilities, poses a risk to public safety and requires forceful responses from law enforcement.[xxxvii]

Another GeenStijl article, "Zware criminaliteit in Amsterdam toegenomen, agenten druk met Vlinder van de UvA" (Serious crime increased in Amsterdam, officers busy with Butterfly of the UvA), employs a narrative of misplaced police priorities in Amsterdam. The title starkly contrasts the increase in "Zware criminaliteit" (serious crime) with police resources being occupied by what the article portrays as a less significant matter, likely related to protests or events at the University of Amsterdam ("Vlinder van de UvA"). The rhetoric suggests that the police are distracted by issues that, from a conservative viewpoint, are less critical than tackling serious criminal activity, which is often implicitly linked to concerns about immigration or organized crime in such commentary. This framing reinforces the narrative of declining safety in Amsterdam and criticizes the authorities for not focusing on what the article deems the real problems, implying a failure of governance and law enforcement priorities.[xxxviii]

Conclusion

The dominant narratives examined across these four topics reveal a recurring theme of perceived threat to Dutch identity, traditional values and public safety. Our analysis shows the interconnectedness of anxieties surrounding societal change, cultural preservation and the perceived failures of current policies. These narratives often intersect and thus create a cohesive worldview which frames immigration as a threat to national identity, public safety, and traditional values. Concerns about SRHR and LGBTIQ+ rights are frequently presented as evidence of moral decay and challenges to religious freedom. The narrative on crime reinforces a sense of insecurity – often attributing rising crime rates to uncontrolled immigration and the government's prioritization of criminals over victims.

A significant unifying common thread connecting these narratives is a sense of nostalgia for a perceived earlier era in the Netherlands, characterized by more rigid social and moral boundaries and perceived "properness". This idealized past is depicted as a time of unambiguous moral clarity, established social order and cultural homogeneity; when concepts of right and wrong were undisputed and law and order were unquestioned. In contrast, the contemporary challenges identified across these topics – perceived rising crime rates, changes in family structures and evolving sexual norms – are framed as a decline from this idealized state, primarily driven by forces originating outside the Netherlands through the import of both people and values. This perceived external threat manifests in various forms – ranging from the arrival of culturally distinct immigrant groups and the adoption of international or foreign-originating norms related to SRHR and LGBTIQ+ rights, to the influence of globalist ideologies and organizations. This nostalgia for a more "proper" past thus intertwines with anxieties about external influences, creating a powerful framework which shapes right-wing discourse and policy positions in the Netherlands. By employing emotive language, anecdotal evidence and generalizations; these narratives aim to create a sense of urgency.

The findings of this research demonstrate the importance of critical engagement with these narratives in order to understand their influence on public discourse and political outcomes in the Netherlands.

4.2 Left-Wing Narratives

Introduction

This Chapter examines the dominant narratives employed by left-wing and progressive voices in the Netherlands. The methodology involves a qualitative analysis of publicly available statements, articles, media commentary and academic discussions associated with left-wing or progressive ideologies in the Dutch context.

Unlike the often distinct, issue-specific narratives observed in conservative discourse, left-wing narratives tend to be more thematically integrated. Critiques of issues like immigration, crime, SRHR and LGBTIQ+ rights are frequently interwoven and analyzed through a broader lens of systemic power, inequality and social justice. Therefore, this analysis is structured thematically, in line with the overarching critical frameworks and the specific lexicon used by various sources to articulate a progressive worldview.

The Language of Systemic Critique: Analyzing Power and Privilege

A foundational theme in left-wing discourse is the critique of systemic power structures that perpetuate inequality. These narratives focus on how societal institutions, rather than just individual prejudices, create and maintain disparities based on gender, race and class. A specific lexicon, often drawn from critical social theories, is used to identify and analyze these phenomena.

Critiquing Gender Norms: Patriarchy and Toxic Masculinity

The concept of the **patriarchy** is frequently cited as a root cause of gender inequality, describing a societal structure where men hold primary power and male-dominated norms are privileged.[xxxix] This critique extends to **toxic masculinity**, a term used to describe harmful aspects of traditional masculine norms like emotional repression and aggression. The online magazine Holistik, in its article "Giftige mannelijkheid" presents a narrative that frames these harmful gender norms as a "sociale en culturele constructie" (social and cultural construction) detrimental to all.[xl] The rhetoric emphasizes that this leads to "enorme stress en soms depressies" (enormous stress and sometimes depression) for men, while also forming the basis for "geweld tegen vrouwen" (violence against women).

This concern is echoed in the parenting magazine Kek Mama, which discusses that men are inherently "more aggressive" than women, and that even a three-year-old child absorbs toxic masculine ideas of being "de snelste, sterkste, grootste" (the fastest, strongest, biggest), linking this to the influence of figures like Andrew Tate.[xli] This narrative pathologizes harmful gender norms and presents a call for more emotionally aware and equitable forms of masculinity.

Deconstructing Racial Hierarchies: Privilege, Supremacy and Colonial Thinking

Left-wing narratives consistently highlight the existence of white privilege, defined as the unearned advantages white people experience in a society where whiteness is the norm.[xlii] This is linked to institutional racism – the idea that racism is embedded within societal systems and policies. De Groene Amsterdammer frames the concept of white supremacy within a historical and colonial context, directly linking racist ideology in South Africa to the Dutch VOC's colonial rule and the justification of slavery through "racistische mythes".[xliii] This approach, rooted in "colonial denken" (colonial thinking), positions contemporary racial inequality as a direct legacy of historical exploitation.

A related concept, white tears, is a theme frequently used to critique the defensive emotional reactions of white people when confronted with their role in systemic racism. The literary magazine Hard//hoofd presents a self-critical narrative, describing "witte tranen" as a "tactiek om niet te hoeven praten over racisme" (a tactic to avoid talking about racism).[xliv] The discourse argues that a white woman's drive for perfection makes her fragile to criticism, causing her to center her own feelings instead of the pain of the person of color. This analysis is amplified by outlets like BNNVARA and Doorbraak.eu – which directly link this perceived phenomenon to the perpetuation of institutional racism.[xlv]

The Lexicon of Political Opposition: Deconstructing Right-Wing Discourse

A significant portion of left-wing narrative is dedicated to a meta-analysis of the political debate itself, where the tactics and language of right-wing and populist opponents are identified and deconstructed.

Labeling and Analyzing Populist Tactics

Terms like Trumpiaans (Trumpian) are used to describe political tactics seen as populist, nationalist and dismissive of democratic norms.[xlvi] The term domrechts (dumb-right) is a derogatory label used to dismiss right-wing arguments as intellectually unsophisticated.[xlvii] The online journalism platform De Correspondent presents a critical analysis of how mainstream parties react to populism through accommodatie (accommodation), arguing it is a flawed strategy that ultimately normalizes and legitimizes extremist ideas.[xlviii]

Identifying and Condemning Prejudice

Left-wing discourse actively identifies and condemns various forms of prejudice. Terms like homofoob (homophobic), transfoob (transphobic), islamofoob (Islamophobic) and xenophobia are used to label specific forms of discrimination. Academic platforms like Sociale Vraagstukken analyze the nature of vooroordelen (prejudices) – both conscious and unconscious – as a root cause of discrimination.[xlix]

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The act of turning a vulnerable group into a zondebok (scapegoat) for broader societal problems is a frequently cited critique of populist rhetoric.

Critiquing Rhetorical Evasions and Derogatory Language

Left-wing narratives are highly attuned to rhetorical patterns used to mask prejudice. Phrases like "ik ben geen racist, maar..". ("I'm not racist, but..".) and "ik stel alleen maar vragen" ("I'm just asking questions") are identified as common preludes to discriminatory statements.[l] The call to "doe je eigen onderzoek" ("do your own research") is critiqued as a rejection of 'imposed' expert knowledge or guidelines by official institutions.

In more unfiltered online spaces, such as Reddit, aggressive and derogatory language is used to express opposition. A user on r/nederlands employs the term kutboeren ("fucking farmers"), framing them as "usefull idiots" for "fascisten van FDF en diens FVD matties" (fascists of FDF and their FVD buddies). This narrative links the farmer protests directly to far-right political extremism.[li]

3. The Framework of Social Justice and Human Rights

The language of human rights and social justice serves as the moral and legal foundation for most left-wing positions. Societal issues are framed in terms of fairness, equality and protection for the vulnerable.

Core Principles and Terminology

A schending van mensenrechten (violation of human rights) is a central accusation leveled against policies or actions that harm marginalized groups. The concept of onderdrukking (oppression) is used to describe systemic injustice and the withholding of rights and opportunities from certain groups. Conservative social views are often described as achterhaald (outdated) or bekrompen (narrow-minded). By contrast, progressive values are regarded as modern and forward-looking. The concept of heteronormatief (heteronormative) is used to critique the societal assumption that heterosexuality is the default, thereby making other orientations invisible or "abnormal".

BNNVARA's Joop and Internal Leftist Critique

The opinion section Joop, hosted by the public broadcaster BNNVARA, often features commentary that critiques the political landscape from a left perspective. A comment in a thread on "De schuld van links" (The fault of the left) exemplifies an internal left-wing critique, dismissing figures like Timmermans (PvdA/GL) as not truly "links" and his party as a "middenpartij" (center party) that has abandoned its principles.[lii] This reflects a narrative that values ideological purity and expresses frustration with political compromise, while hoping for a "sterke SP" (strong Socialist Party) to represent a more authentic left-wing position.

The Inversion of Scapegoating: "White Men" and "White Women" in Progressive Critiques

While left-wing narratives frequently critique the right for making a zondebok (scapegoat) of minority groups, a parallel – albeit structurally different – phenomenon can be observed in their own discourse. Here, the focus of systemic critique often falls upon a broadly defined group: "white people", with specific attention paid to "white men" and "white women" in different contexts – as the embodiments of oppressive systems. However, within progressive circles, this critical focus is not framed as discriminatory prejudice but as a legitimate analysis of power dynamics.

The critique of "white men" is often intertwined with analyses of the patriarchy and toxic masculinity. In these narratives, the dominant position of white men is not seen as an individual failing but as the result of a historical system that grants them unearned power and privilege.

A more complex and prominent narrative is the critical analysis of "white women", particularly in the discourse surrounding witte tranen ("white tears"). Articles in outlets like Hard//hoofd and Doorbraak.eu explicitly frame the emotional responses of white women during conversations about race as a tool of oppression. The argument, drawing on thinkers like Robin DiAngelo and Ruby Hamad, is that white women "strategisch hun tranen inzetten" (strategically deploy their tears) to derail discussions of racism and recenter themselves as the victim.[liii] The Hard//hoofd author explicitly states, "Laat mij, en andere witte vrouwen, dus inzien dat we niet enkel slachtoffer maar ook dader zijn van onderdrukking" ("Let me, and other white women, therefore see that we are not only victims but also perpetrators of oppression"). In this narrative, "white women" are scapegoated not for their

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biology, but for their perceived complicity in and benefit from a system of white supremacy – even if they themselves may be victims of "the patriarchy".

A key distinction in how this targeting is justified lies in the role of academic discourse. Many of the core concepts used in these critiques – white privilege, institutional racism, patriarchy, colonial thinking – are products of and are heavily legitimized by left-leaning academic and critical social theories. Outlets like De Groene Amsterdammer and Sociale Vraagstukken ground their analyses in this academic framework – by which they lend it a weight and intellectual authority that is rarely, if ever, afforded to conservative narratives.[liv]

Consequently, what a conservative might see as prejudicial scapegoating of "white women" – a progressive sees as a necessary and academically validated critique of an oppressive social dynamic. The language is not considered a vooroordeel (prejudice) because it is aimed "upwards" at a group perceived to hold systemic power, rather than "downwards" at a marginalized community. This academic legitimization creates a framework where critiques of whiteness and masculinity are positioned as essential tools for deconstructing onderdrukking (oppression), fundamentally distinguishing them – in the eyes of their proponents – from the "discriminatory" and "prejudicial" language they identify in their right-wing counterparts.

Conclusion

This analysis of dominant narratives in the Dutch context reveals a distinct divergence in the language and framing employed by the left and right on key societal issues. It is evident that overtly discriminatory, racist or sexist language targeting marginalized groups – such as immigrants, LGBTIQ+ individuals and those seeking reproductive healthcare – is significantly less prevalent in mainstream left-wing political and media discourse. Instead, the left consistently frames these issues through a lens of universal human rights, systemic inequality and social justice – condemning what it identifies as the prejudicial and exclusionary rhetoric of its conservative counterparts.

However, this does not imply that left-wing discourse is without its own problematic and polarizing aspects. A core finding of this research is that while the left refrains from "downward" scapegoating of vulnerable minorities, it frequently engages in a form of "upward" scapegoating. Broad, often monolithic groups, such as "white men" or "white women"; or "toxic/aggressive men"; are positioned as the primary beneficiaries and perpetuators of systemic oppression like the patriarchy and institutional racism. While this critique is legitimized by academic frameworks and intended to analyze power dynamics, its application often relies on blanket generalizations that can erase the diverse experiences within these groups and attribute collective guilt. For instance, this approach flattens the complex socio-economic realities within the "white population" as blanked privileged/wealthy. It may also attribute a collective "colonial mindset" based on group identity rather than individual belief.
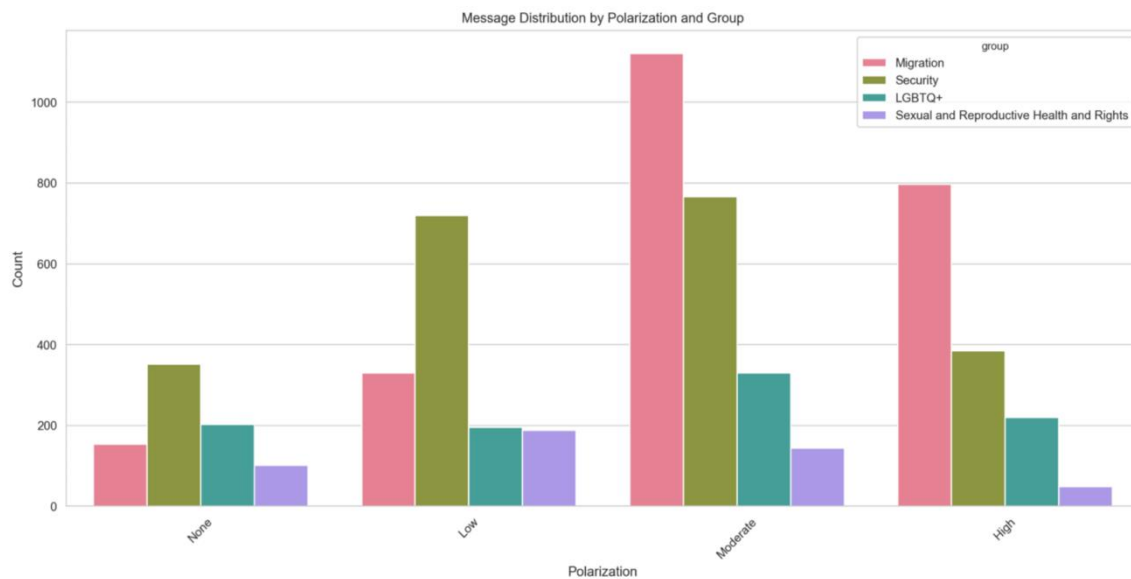
This tendency to make sweeping statements about concepts like "white privilege" or "toxic masculinity", therefore, while analytically useful in some contexts and for certain actors, carries social and political risks of its own. It can alienate potential allies, reinforce a sense of grievance among those who do not recognize their own lives in these generalizations and provide fertile ground for conservative actors to frame progressive movements as divisive and out of touch. Ultimately – while originating from different ideological standpoints and targeting different societal groups – both left and right-wing narratives demonstrate a capacity to create and deepen social divisions along the lines of race, gender and socio-economic status – thereby contributing to the very polarization they often claim to oppose.

5. Strategies of Polarization

5.1 Findings from the WhoDis II dashboard

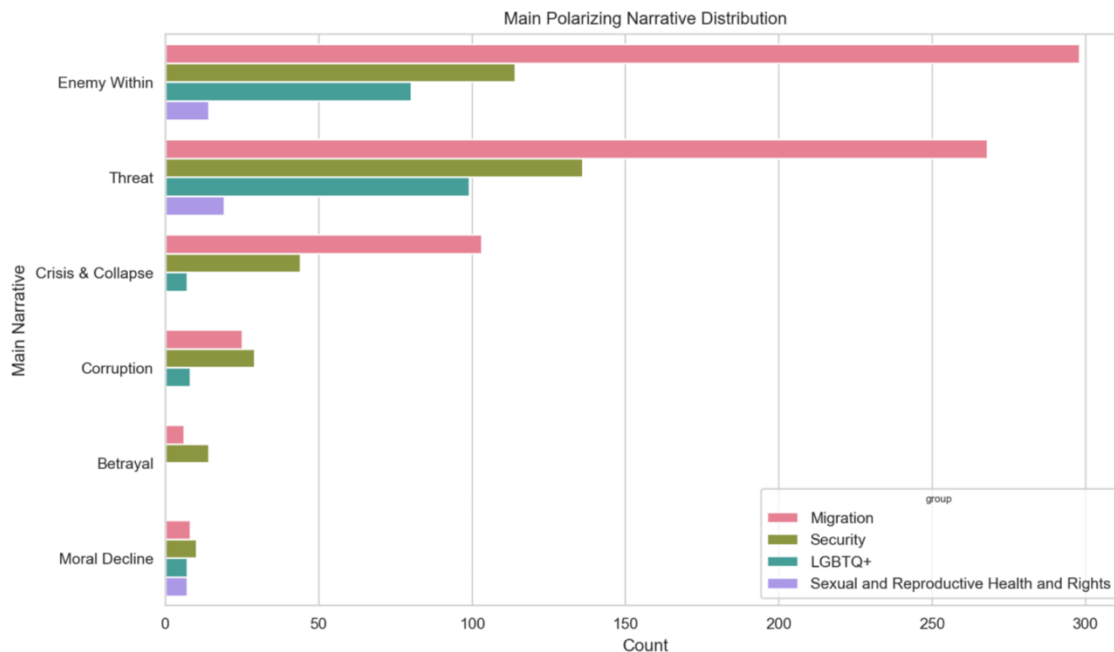## *Polarization distribution per search topic*

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In this figure we see the count of X-messages grouped by polarization for each of the search-query topics. Over the two weeks (one in 2024 and one in 2025) of scraped X data, we see different distributions per topic. Most of the migration texts are moderate to high in polarization. Next, the topic of security has mostly low and moderate labels of polarization. There are considerably less messages sent regarding SRHR and LGBTQ+ in these weeks than the other two topics. The SRHR distribution is tilted to low polarization, and the LGBTQ has a pretty even distribution with a peak in moderate messages. Clearly, in this period of time, migration is the most polarizing topic.

Polarizing themes per search topic

For Migration, the three most prevalent themes in messages labeled as highly polarizing are: immigration (680 messages), cultural identity (516 messages) and crime (499 messages). For LGBTQ+, cultural identity (192), corruption (110), and crime (108). For SRHRH, governance (28), corruption (29), and cultural identity (34). For the security topic, corruption (226), public safety (260) and crime (259).

Polarizing narratives per search topic

This figure shows the main polarizing narratives used in the highly polarized X messages. The most prevalent are 'Enemy within'. An example of a message with this narrative: "Moslima's tonen vaak

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#agressie en #racisme. Helaas wordt dit vaak verzwegen. Een mentaliteitsprobleem is zeker aanwezig in deze groep. #islam #moslims #migratie" Where the 'Moslima's' are deemed the enemy who is among us. Next prevalent narrative is 'Threat'. For example, "Gezellige boel bij onze zuiderburen. België verleent namelijk asiel aan deze Gazaanse Jihadi, en hij betaalt hen terug door op te scheppen over het willen doorsnijden van hun kelen omdat Europeanen de kuffar zijn"., where giving asylum to a 'Gazaanse Jihadi' that brags about cutting throats is considered a threat. Interestingly, the 'Betrayal' narrative is only applied within the migration and security context. An example is: "Het dilemma van de Britse politie, je leidinggevende staat aan de kant van de islamisten, uiteindelijk moet je partij kiezen voor je eigen volk, die onderdrukt en gepiepeld wordt, zegt de burger". Where is suggested the British police should betray their 'Islam' minded superiors in favor of 'their own people'.

5.2. Comparative Analysis Across the Four Topics and Across Negative v. Neutral Terms

In the following section, we will examine the data that was gathered from the platform Twitter/X. We have created 2 accounts, one following Left-Wing recommendations and the other following Right-Wing recommendations for the data-gathering purposes. The accounts were tailored using the following methodology:

- Create a blank X profile
- Follow one "seed account". The seed account is a first account that would guide the next profile recommendations.
- Proceed to check and follow other recommended accounts from the original "seed account" if the recommended accounts align with the desired political inclination.
- Alternatively, after having followed a significant number of accounts, one can start using the Twitter "For you" dashboard for more potential accounts to follow.
- The process was stopped when the account reached about 100 followed accounts

For the sake of simplicity, these accounts will be referred to as sock-puppet accounts.

After a desirable number of accounts with the correct political leaning were followed, we proceeded with the data scraping. This was done using the browser extension Zeeschuimer while scrolling down the "For you" feed on X. Zeeschuimer is a browser extension that monitors internet traffic while browsing a social media site and collects data about the items you see in a platform's web interface for later systematic analysis. It was used in conjunction with 4CAT. 4CAT is a research tool that can be used to analyze and process data from online social platforms.

Using these 2 research tools to examine the Twitter/X feeds of the Left-Wing and the Right-Wings accounts respectively, we have obtained the 2 graphs below. The graphs show all the tags that appear together. Each dot corresponds to a tag relevant for the account used for the data scraping. A line is formed between two tags when they appear in the same post. The line will appear stronger when the two tags appear more often together.
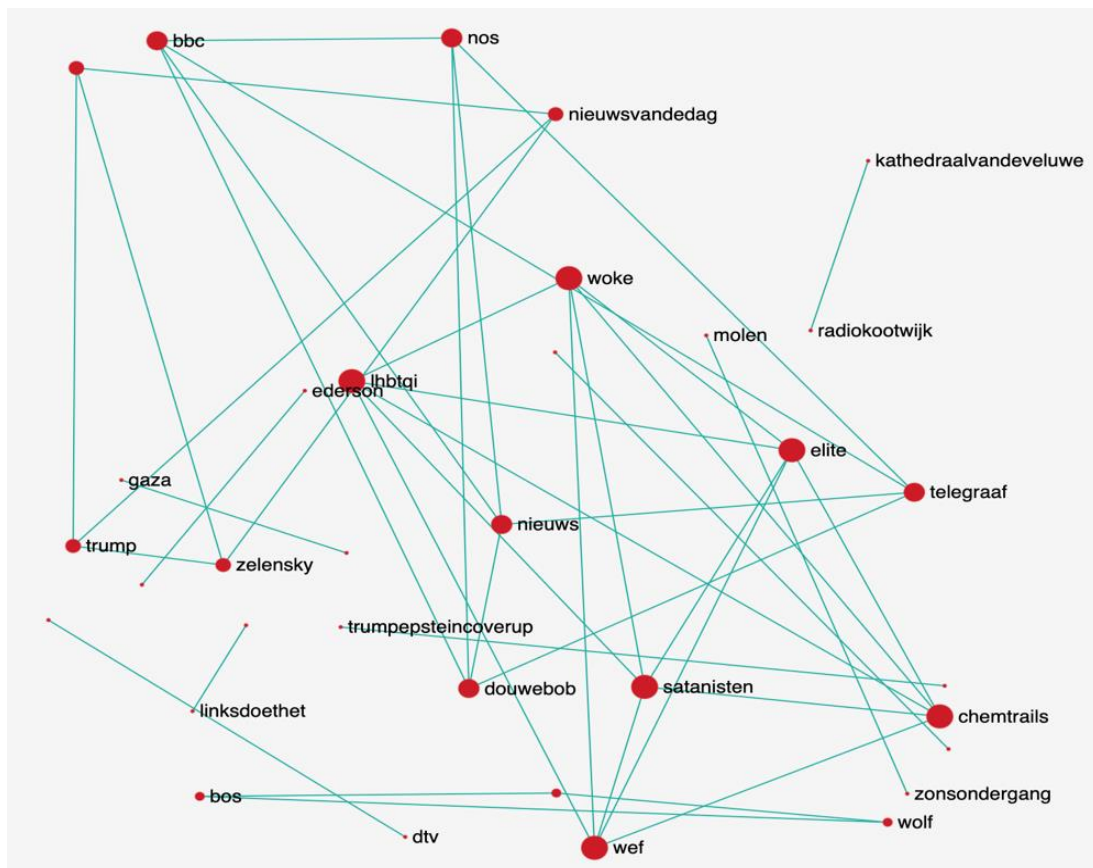
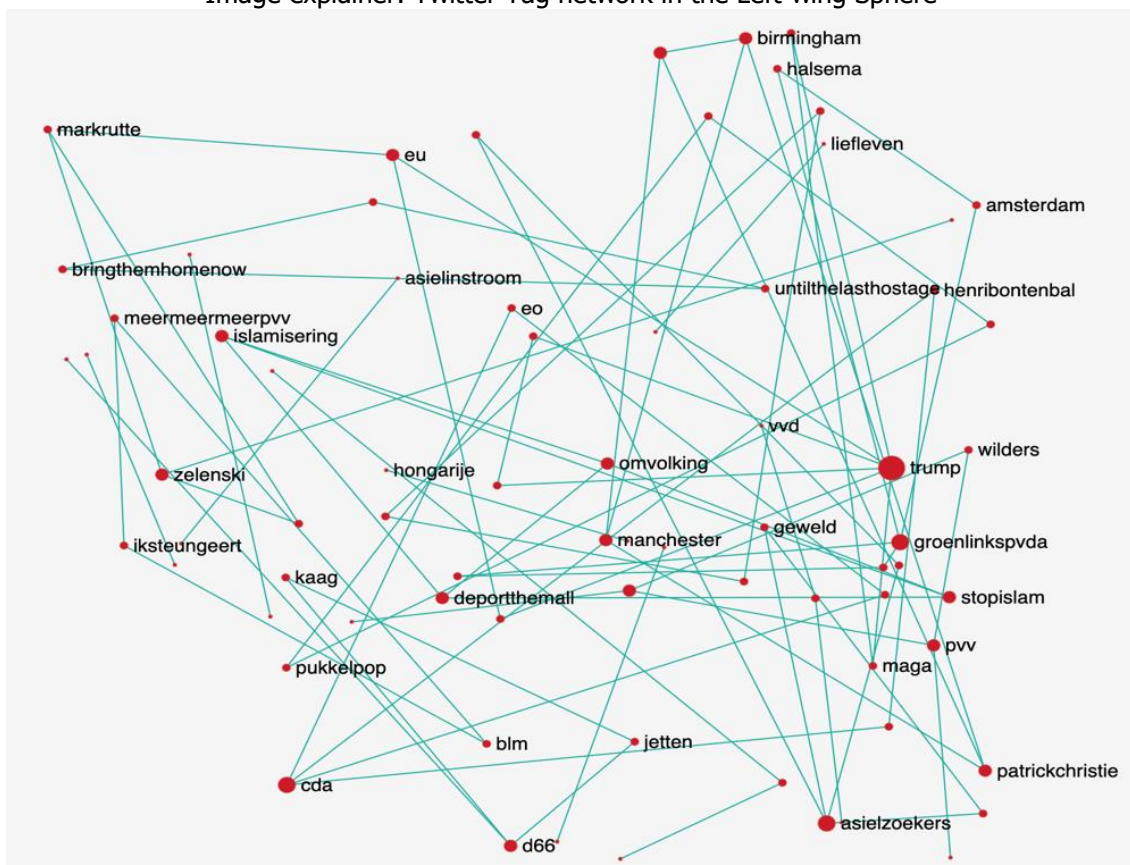Image explainer: Twitter Tag network in the Left-wing Sphere

Image explainer: Twitter Tag network in the Right-wing Sphere

From the two explainer graphs, we can derive the following conclusion: judging by the quantity of tags used and the quantity of connections between them, it is apparent that the platform Twitter/X has either a far more active Right-Wing user base or a particular preference towards Right-Wing posts, hashtags and accounts. The second possibility will be explored more in detail in the following section. Furthermore, the same methodology for account set-up was used for other platforms, namely Instagram and TikTok.

5.3 Scraping of selected keywords per the 4 topics using the WhoDis I Dashboard and Statistical Analysis

How Textgain measure polarity in regard to the information presented below:
- What polarity means: A post's polarity reflects its surface sentiment on a negative–positive continuum. Values near 0 indicate neutral tone; negative values indicate negative tone; positive values indicate positive tone.
- Spread and central tendency: The range shows how far sentiment varies (e.g., –0.9 to +0.8). Notes like "most between 0.0 and 0.1" indicate that the bulk of posts cluster around neutral.
- "Most polarizing" posts: These are the posts with the most extreme polarity values (largest absolute scores), regardless of whether they are positive or negative.
- Crucial caveat: Polarity is not toxicity. A post can score positively in polarity while still advancing exclusionary or harmful narratives (for example, praise for discriminatory ideas). Interpret content accordingly.

Methodological Notes and Limitations

Polarity summarizes surface sentiment and is not toxicity. Neutral headwords can host highly polarized content; "most between 0 and 0.1" indicates near-neutral tone clustering despite adversarial framings. Several rows contain minor inconsistencies (e.g., counts or year fields); interpretations rely on the values as listed.

5.3.1 LGBTIQ+ Keywords

Statistical analysis of their use in Dutch language, on platforms: Facebook, TikTok, Instagram, Twitter (former, current X), Telegram, 4chan, gab, Truth Social, 9gag, YouTube, Reddit, traditional media online (mostly online published articles in Dutch language), between 1 June and 1 August 2025.

Negative LGBTIQ+ terms

1. Overview of Volume and Coverage

Across the corpus, 276 posts contained at least one listed term between 1 June and 1 August 2025.

2. Distribution of Mentions by Platform (Overall Share)

Across all tracked mentions, the conversation overwhelmingly took place on Twitter/X, which carried 88.8 percent of posts containing the listed terms (245/276). Facebook, YouTube, and Reddit each accounted for approximately 3.3 percent (9/276 apiece), while Instagram and Dutch online news sites made up less than 1 percent each (2/276 for news; 2/276 for Instagram).

3. Platform-Specific Contribution

Twitter/X dominated all individual terms with usable volume, including "manwijf" (98/98 on Twitter) and "trannies" (10/11 on Twitter). "mietje" showed the broadest dispersion across platforms but still centred on Twitter (105/133), with small shares on Facebook (9), YouTube (9), Reddit (7), Instagram (1), and news (2).

4. Lexical Co-occurrence Analysis: Neutral versus Polarizing Terms (from "Other Terms Used in Connection" with the keywords)

Co-occurring vocabulary combines neutral connectors and strongly polarising elements. Neutral or connective terms include "weet", "allemaal", "zitten", "laten". Culture-war markers and derogatory lexicon include "woke", "lelijk", "trappen", "keiharde", "homohaat", and gendered or identity-related slang such as "femboys". Place references such as "Amsterdam" also appear. Overall, the balance tilts polarizing for "manwijf", "mietje", and "kankerhomo", which co-occur with insults, violence-adjacent words, as well as political surnames.

5. Named Entities/Actors Referenced

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Personal surnames and political actors surface in proximity to slur usage – e.g., Piri and Timmermans in "manwijf" contexts, PVV in the most polarising "kankerhomo" exemplar, and "moslims" as a group reference in "homoseksualiteit is een ziekte". These mentions indicate politicisation and group-targeting rather than purely descriptive use.

6. Account-Level Activity: Top Posters and Cross-Keyword Recurrence

Concentrations of posting are evident by term, but no top account appears as a repeated high-frequency poster across multiple different terms from this list of negative terms relevant to the topic of LGBTIQ+ in the Dutch context. For "manwijf", top handles include dextertjekater1 and janveen1996 (five posts each). For "kankerhomo", Rechtshelder (three posts) and three additional handles (two posts each) stand out. "trannies" is evenly distributed across 11 accounts with one post each; "LGBT propaganda" and "homoseksualiteit is een ziekte" have one post by one account.

7. Polarity Profile and Central Tendency (interpreted using Textgain's methodology on polarization)

Polarity distributions are wide but centre near neutral, consistent with Textgain's observation that tone-polishing can mask harmful content. Most posts cluster between 0.0 and 0.1 despite clearly abusive lexis in several terms. Ranges by term: "manwijf" –0.9 to +0.8; "mietje" –0.8 to +0.9; "trannies" –0.5 to +0.6; "kankerhomo" –0.4 to +0.4. Two single-post terms register positive exemplars (+0.367 and +0.8), illustrating that surface-positive polarity can co-occur with exclusionary or derogatory framings.

8. Content Analysis of the Most Polarizing Post(s)

– **Score and Metadata** (account, date, platform)
  Across the most polarising exemplars, every post was published on Twitter/X, by distinct accounts, on 1 June, 6 June, 14 June, 4 July, 20 July, and 28 July 2025 respectively. The following are the 'most polarizing' exemplars:
  - Trannies — –0.6; @babababasx75615; 20 July 2025; Twitter/X.
  - manwijf — –0.9; @JadwigaMaksymi1; 14 June 2025; Twitter/X.
  - Mietje — –0.8; @ariedeknaller73; 28 July 2025; Twitter/X.
  - Kankerhomo — –0.4; @FBerensma; 6 June 2025; Twitter/X.
  - LGBT propaganda — +0.367; @beschuit_p; 4 July 2025; Twitter/X.
  - homoseksualiteit is een ziekte — +0.8; @BovenkampD (listed in-table as BovenkampD1940 in the per-platform line); 1 June 2025; Twitter/X.

– **Narrative Devices and Framing** (us–them, dehumanisation, threat or decline framing, references to tradition or a "Golden Age")
  The texts employ us–them polarisation, personalised vilification, and cultural-threat framing. Examples include conspiracy-adjacent lines ("special forces trannies"), criminalising rhetoric ("hoort achter tralies"), gendered slurs ("verwijfde kankerhomo"), and delegitimisation of political participation. While explicit references to a lost tradition or a "Golden Age" do not surface in the quoted exemplars, cultural decline is implied (e.g., "Nederland van nu").

– **Calls to Action and Mobilisation Cues** (presence and count)
  An explicit punitive call to action appears once in the dataset of "most polarising" exemplars: the "manwijf" post on Twitter/X by @JadwigaMaksymi1 on 14 June 2025, which states: "Ze hoort achter tralies!" ("she belongs behind bars"). All other "most polarising" exemplars (for Trannies, Mietje, Kankerhomo, LGBT propaganda, and homoseksualiteit is een ziekte) contain no direct mobilisation or punitive command. Thus, 1 of 6 exemplars (16.7 percent) contains an explicit call to action.

9. Temporal Patterns and Event Alignment (date clusters or spikes)

The most polarising exemplars distribute across June and July 2025 without a single repeated date in this slice, suggesting episodic spikes rather than a coordinated surge tied to a specific day.

10. Platform Distribution of the Most Polarizing Posts

Across all most polarising exemplars, Twitter/X accounts for 100 percent of posts. This demonstrates the platform's centrality to high-intensity discourse for these terms in the measured period.

11. Illustrative Examples (short excerpts, where relevant)

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Examples include: "Manwijf Thielen… ze hoort achter tralies!" (criminalisation framing), "special forces trannies" (conspiracy-adjacent narrative), "verwijfde kankerhomo" (gendered dehumanisation and political gatekeeping), and "Homoseksualiteit is een ziekte, volgens moslims… Welkom in het Nederland van nu" (outsourcing prejudice and culture-threat framing).

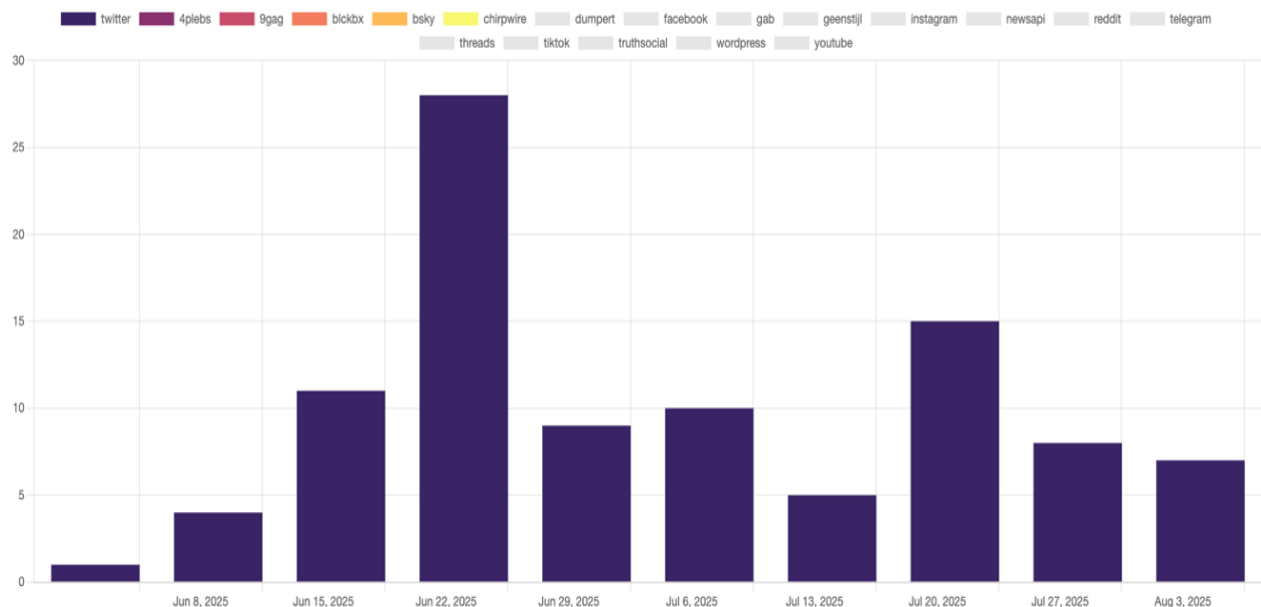## 12. Implications for Democratic Discourse and Risk Indicators

The combination of platform concentration on Twitter/X, polarising co-terms, named political actors, and near-neutral polarity clustering points to strategic tone management that can normalise exclusionary narratives while evading automated moderation. For early warning, risk indicators should weight: (i) slur usage with neutral polarity, (ii) political name co-mentions, (iii) episodic surges around contentious dates, and (iv) presence of punitive calls to action, even when surface sentiment is not overtly negative.

13. Who Dis I Dashboard analysis and correlating words

In the section below, we have included a series graphs showing the number of posts per platform featuring a certain term. Below you will see a list of associated words that tend to appear alongside the selected word, as well as the polarity of the posts. Before each dataset, the keyword used in the scraping will be stated.

Manwijf

Counts by platform

The top keywords associated with it are: manwijf, piri, Timmermans, lelijk
Below you will see the polarity percentages.

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Polarities percentages (-1 - very negative, 1 - very postive)

Kankerhomo

Counts by platform

Top keywords associated with it are: kankerhomo, homohaat, Amsterdam, trappen, homo.
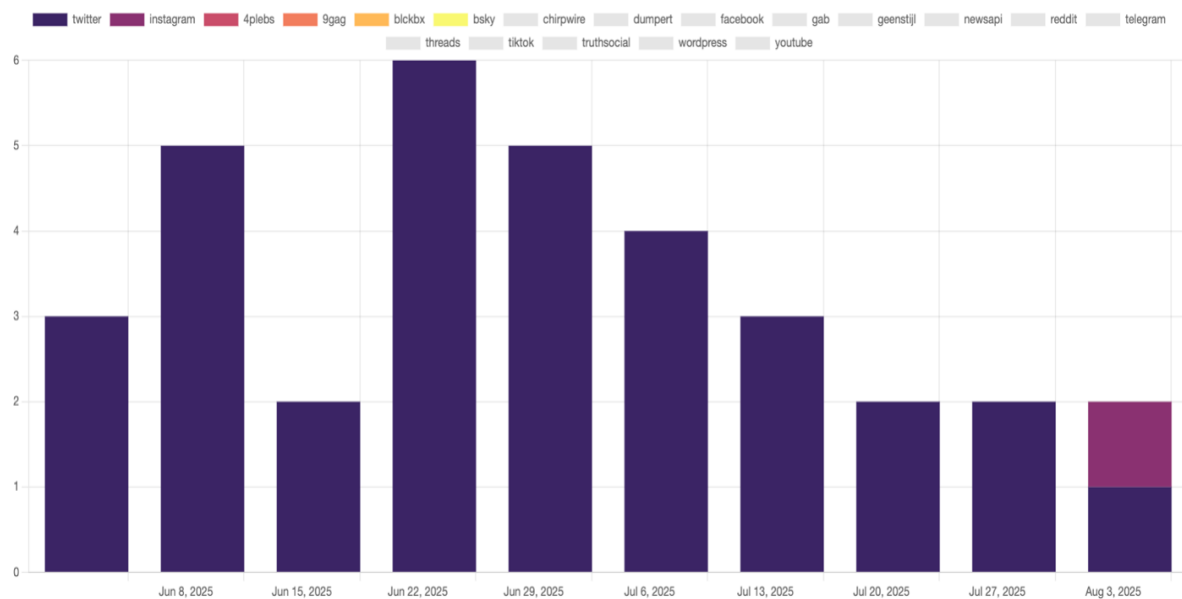Below see the polarity percentages

Justice for Prosperity

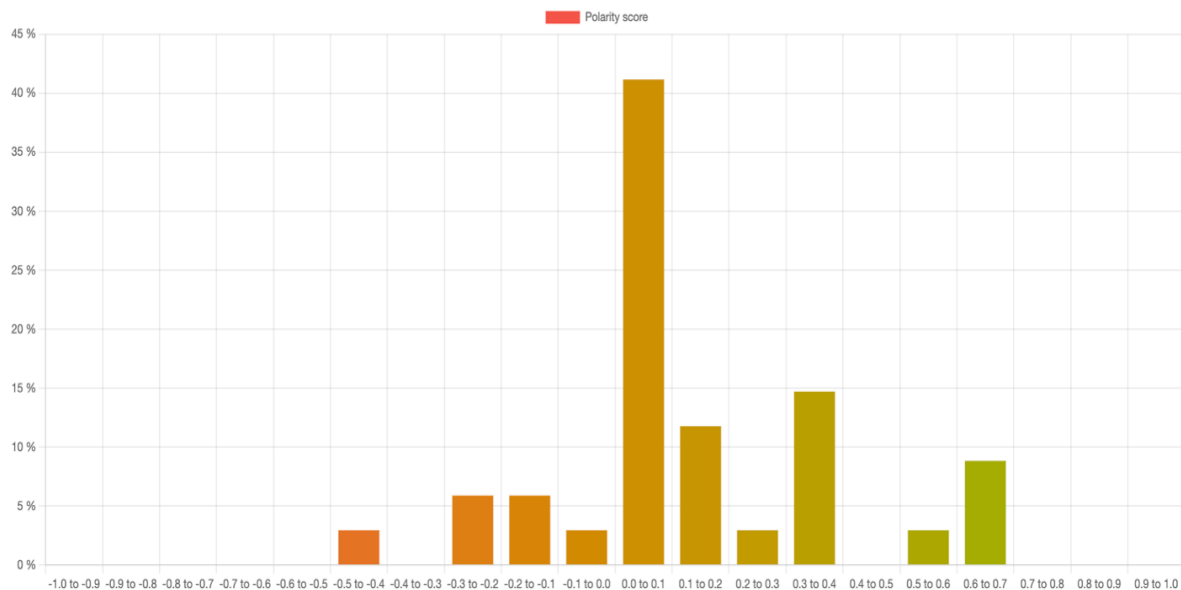**Polarities percentages (-1 - very negative, 1 - very postive)**

Sodomie

Counts by platform

Top keywords associated with it are: sodomie, kinderen, samenleving, gaat, staat
Below see the polarity percentages

Justice for Prosperity

Polarities percentages (-1 - very negative, 1 - very postive)

Neutral LGBTIQ+ terms

1. Overview of Volume and Coverage

Across the corpus (1 June–1 August 2025), neutral LGBTIQ-related terms span high-volume head terms such as "Homo's" (4,248 posts), "Trans" (2,838), "Transgender" (2,314), "Queer" (1,673), as well as mid-to-low volume terms (e.g., "LHBT" 138; "Regenboogvlag" 198; "Seksuele geaardheid" 225). Several entries record zero hits in the period (e.g., "LGBT activisten", "LGBT censuur", "LGBT disinformatie", "regenbooglevensstijl", "Cruisingplek").

2. Distribution of Mentions by Platform (Overall Share)

Across the four highest-volume terms, the conversation is concentrated on Twitter/X. Taken together, Twitter/X carries ≈78.6 percent of posts for "Homo's", "Trans", "Transgender", and "Queer" (Twitter total 8,706 of 11,073 combined posts). By term, Twitter's share ranges from ≈55 percent ("Queer" 915/1,673) to ≈93 percent ("Homo's" 3,957/4,248). Other platforms appear consistently but at much lower shares (YouTube, Instagram, Reddit, TikTok, Facebook, online media; long-tail platforms such as Gab, 9gag, and Telegram register trace volumes for a few terms only).

3. Platform-Specific Contribution

Twitter/X dominates each of the top-volume terms (e.g., "Homo's" 3,957/4,248; "Trans" 2,100/2,838; "Transgender" 1,734/2,314). YouTube and Instagram contribute notably to "Queer" (YouTube 282; Instagram 217) and to "Trans/Transgender" (YouTube 196/221; Instagram 78/73). Reddit contributes modestly across "Trans/Queer/Homo's"; Facebook contributes to "Transgender", "Lesbisch", "homoseksualiteit", and "Anti-LGBT". Online media are visible but comparatively small. No meaningful activity appears for 4chan or Truth Social in this slice; Gab and 9gag appear only sporadically.

4. Lexical Co-occurrence Analysis: Neutral versus Polarizing Terms (from "Other Terms Used in Connection" with the keywords)

Co-occurring terms mix neutral connectors (e.g., *mensen, gaat, mee, jaar*) with culture-war markers and moral-panic vocabulary (e.g., *woke, pedofilie, zoofilie*), place or event anchors (e.g., *Amsterdam, Pride*), and group references (e.g., *moslims*). Even within "neutral" head terms, co-occurrences often tilt polarising (e.g., "Regenboogvlag" paired with "pedofielen"; "Gay pride" paired with "moslims" and threat framing).

5. Named Entities/Actors Referenced

Femke (Halsema) appears in polarising exemplars around "LHBT/homofobie"; Orban/Hongarije/Europese Commissie surface with "Anti-LGBT"; PVV appears in "LHBT" (hashtags); Amsterdam recurs as a location anchor. Media outlets (e.g., nrc.nl) also appear among "top accounts" for certain terms.

6. Account-Level Activity: Top Posters and Cross-Keyword Recurrence

Several handles recur across different terms, indicating multi-term activity: **@BroFozlover** appears as a top poster for "Seksuele geaardheid" and "homoseksualiteit", and also in "Homoseksueel". **@grok (AI account)** appears in "Homofobie" and "homoseksualiteit", and again in "Anti-LGBT". **@zijplus** is active under "Lesbisch" and "biseksueel" (Instagram). **@OldBoysense** appears for "LHBT" and "Regenboogvlag". This repetition suggests a stable set of amplifiers active across multiple neutral-term conversations.

7. Polarity Profile and Central Tendency (interpreted using Textgain's methodology on polarization)

Polarity ranges are broad but cluster near neutral for most terms (e.g., "most between 0 and 0.1"), consistent with neutral headwords attracting both descriptive and adversarial usage. Nonetheless, several terms register extreme values (e.g., −1 for "Lesbisch", "Trans", "Queer", "Homo's", "Homofoob"), illustrating that neutral lexemes can host highly polarizing messages.

8. Content Analysis of the Most Polarizing Post(s)

– **Score and Metadata** *(account, date, platform)*

Platforms: Most exemplars are on Twitter/X, with outliers on Facebook (e.g., "Transgender", "Seksuele opvoeding", "Anti-LGBT"), YouTube (e.g., "Non-binair persoon"), and Reddit ("LGBT rechten").

Accounts (examples): @jansen_mila (LHBT/homofobie, 5 June 2025, Twitter); @fa_cosslay ("Lesbisch", 4 July 2025, Twitter); Working Man ("Transgender", 15 June 2025, Facebook); LivingLibraryNL ("Non-binair persoon", 31 July 2025, YouTube); @FoeYuck ("Homoseksueel", 31 July 2025, Twitter); @risumotus ("Seksuele geaardheid", 24 June 2025, Twitter); @BrianNijman ("LGBT organisaties", 20 June 2025, Twitter); @Serrotterdam ("Regenboogvlag", 30 June 2025, Twitter); @XR_Simpelveld ("Gay pride", 16 June 2025, Twitter); destandaard ("Anti-LGBT", 5 June 2025, Facebook). Scores at the exemplar level range from −1 (multiple terms) up to positive values (e.g., 0.233 for "Regenboogfamilies").

– **Narrative Devices and Framing** *(us–them, dehumanisation, threat or decline framing, references to tradition or a "Golden Age")*

Even with neutral headwords, the most polarising exemplars frequently employ us-versus-them framing, moral panic (e.g., children as a threatened group), dehumanising or derogatory language, and culture-threat references (e.g., "woke", accusations of decadence). Some posts outsource prejudice to named groups (e.g., *moslims*) or link to political actors/places (e.g., Amsterdam, Hungary, Orban), reframing neutral terms within political conflict narratives.

– **Calls to Action and Mobilisation Cues** *(presence and count)*

Explicit mobilisation appears occasionally. Clear instances include a demonstration call in "Anti-homo geweld" (*"Ga dan demonstreren in Amsterdam…"*) and punitive endorsement in "Regenboogvlag" (*"Ze hadden er geslagen moeten worden…"*). Imperative or dismissive cues ("rot op", "neem … mee") occur in several exemplars but typically target individuals rather than mobilizing broader audiences. Overall, direct mobilization commands are infrequent relative to boundary-drawing and exclusionary framing.

9. Temporal Patterns and Event Alignment (date clusters or spikes)

Most polarising exemplars cluster in June and early July 2025 (e.g., 5–6–16–21–29–30 June; 4–5–6 July), aligning with Pride-season timelines and related media attention. This pattern suggests episodic spikes linked to visibility events rather than a continuous surge.

10. Platform Distribution of the Most Polarizing Posts

Considering one "most-polarising" exemplar per term, Twitter/X accounts for ≈82 percent of exemplars, with Facebook ≈11 percent, YouTube ≈4 percent, and Reddit ≈4 percent. This confirms Twitter/X as the primary locus for high-intensity discourse even for neutral headwords.

11. Illustrative Examples (short excerpts, where relevant)

Examples include: "ONG LIKE JE KAN NIET EEN MAN EN LESBISCH ZIJN… " (−1; "Lesbisch", Twitter), "En neem ulder transgender agenda ook mee" (−1; "Transgender", Facebook), "Ze hadden er geslagen moeten worden die vieze pedofielen club daar. Met hun pedofielen regenboogvlag" (−0.8; "Regenboogvlag", Twitter), "Ga dan demonstreren in Amsterdam tegen de anti-homo geweld…" (0; "Anti-homo geweld", Twitter).

12. Implications for Democratic Discourse and Risk Indicators
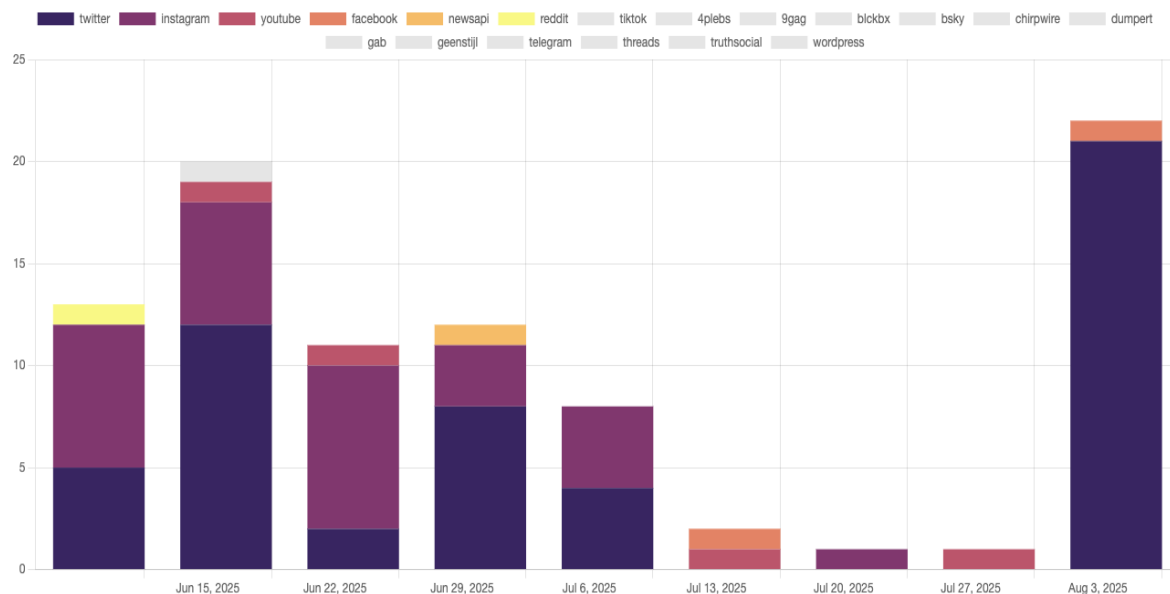
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Neutral LGBTIQ lexicon functions as a contested terrain: while much usage is descriptive, high-salience events (Pride season) attract polarizing overlays with us-them and culture-threat narratives. For early warning, weight: (i) neutral-term threads with extreme polarity (±1), (ii) recurring amplifiers active across multiple terms, (iii) event-linked spikes, and (iv) rare but salient mobilization cues – especially demonstration calls or punitive endorsements couched within ostensibly neutral topics.

13. Who Dis I Dashboard analysis and correlating words

In the section below, we have included a series graphs showing the number of posts per platform featuring a certain term. Below you will see a list of associated words that tend to appear alongside the selected word, as well as the polarity of the posts. Before each dataset, the keyword used in the scraping will be stated.

Genderdiversiteit

Counts by platform

Top keywords associated with it are samenleving, queer, voorkeur, staat, gehele.

Below see the polarity percentages:

Polarities percentages (-1 - very negative, 1 - very postive)

5.3.2 SRHR Keywords

Statistical Analysis of their use in Dutch language, on platforms: Facebook, TikTok, Instagram, Twitter (former, current X), Telegram, 4chan, gab, Truth Social, 9gag, YouTube, Reddit, traditional media online (mostly online published articles in Dutch language), between 1 June and 1 August 2025.

Negative SRHR terms

1. Overview of Volume and Coverage

Across the corpus (1 June–1 August 2025), SRHR-negative terms range from high-volume head terms—notably "lentekriebels" (498), "dragqueen" (221), and "genderideologie" (139)—to low-frequency terms such as "seksuele indoctrinatie" (3), "sexualisering" (7), "zwangere mannen" (6), and single-post entries like "abortuspropaganda" (1) and "pedotuig" (1). Several terms record zero hits in this period, including "het huwelijk gekaapt", "geslachtelijk verminkt", "kindermisbruik", "sexuele ontregeling", "spijtpil", "antichristelijke wet", "expliciete beelden van geslachtsdelen".

2. Distribution of Mentions by Platform (Overall Share)

Across all tracked mentions, the conversation predominantly unfolded on Twitter/X, which carried 70.7 percent of posts containing the listed terms. Instagram accounted for 17.3 percent, YouTube for 6.2 percent, Facebook and Reddit for ≈2 percent each, while traditional online media, TikTok, and Telegram together made up ≈1.5 percent.

3. Platform-Specific Contribution

Twitter/X dominates the high-volume terms – "lentekriebels" (326/498), "dragqueen" (140/221), "genderideologie" (117/139) – with Instagram a strong secondary locus for "lentekriebels" (134) and "dragqueen" (42). YouTube contributes to "dragqueen" (29) and "gezin in gevaar" (5), and appears in "genderpraatjes" (1). Reddit is present in "cultuur van de dood" (5) and singleton terms like "rape cultuur" (1). Facebook appears in "seksuele indoctrinatie" (1) and at low volumes elsewhere. Long-tail platforms (TikTok, Telegram) surface marginally; 4chan, Gab, Truth Social, 9gag are absent.

4. Lexical Co-occurrence Analysis: Neutral versus Polarizing Terms (from "Other Terms Used in Connection" with the keywords)

Co-occurring terms blend neutral connectors – *kinderen, mensen, jaar, mee, open* – with culture-war and moral-panic vocabulary – *woke, pedofielen/pedotuig, mind control, DID* – and political or geopolitical anchors – *Timmermans, Hamas, Israël*. Even where headwords are issue-descriptive, the co-lexicon often tilts polarising, for example "sexualisering" and "seksualisering van kinderen" co-occurring with "misbruik" and "mind control/DID", or "cultuur van de dood" pairing with "Hamas/Israël" and dehumanising metaphors.

5. Named Entities/Actors Referenced

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Named actors recur in proximity to SRHR-negative frames: Timmermans in "cultuur van de dood" threads; FVD via hashtag in "seksuele indoctrinatie"; SGP and MP D. J. H. van Dijk in "Kies Leven"; geopolitical entities such as Hamas and Israël within "cultuur van de dood" narratives. These references embed SRHR-linked rhetoric within partisan and foreign-policy frames.

6. Account-Level Activity: Top Posters and Cross-Keyword Recurrence

High-frequency handles concentrate by term rather than uniformly across terms. Notable volumes include **@RoeliendenOuden** under **"genderideologie"** (21 posts), **@CoachCaroline** recurring in **"genderideologie"** and **"dragqueen"**, and **@biteofamsterdam** on **"lentekriebels"** (47 Instagram posts). A limited number of accounts appear across multiple SRHR-negative terms, suggesting issue-specific amplification rather than a single cross-term driver.

7. Polarity Profile and Central Tendency (interpreted using Textgain's methodology on polarization)

Polarity ranges are broad but cluster near neutral for many terms – e.g., "sexualisering" (–0.5 to 0.4, most 0.0 to 0.1), "genderideologie" (–0.8 to 0.7, most 0 to 0.1), "lentekriebels" (–0.8 to 1, most 0 to 0.1), "cultuur van de dood" (–0.6 to 0.8, most 0 to 0.1). Several single-post entries show near-neutral polarity (e.g., "rape cultuur" at 0.009), while "pedotuig" records –0.7. As a reminder for readers: polarity is not toxicity; near-neutral polarity can still accompany exclusionary or demeaning framings.

8. Content Analysis of the Most Polarizing Post(s)

– **Score and Metadata** (account, date, platform)

Platforms: Predominantly Twitter/X, with isolated exemplars on Reddit (Intrepid_Result8223, 28 July 2025, "rape cultuur"), YouTube (Accare Child Study Center, 12 June 2025, "genderpraatjes"), and Instagram (scarletts_art_house, 31 July 2025; nielssimons, 1 July 2025, "dragqueen").

Accounts (set of exemplars): @myriam_der, @dendolly1, @haatlinksesoep, @SEeckelaerts, @PixelPlatoon80, scarletts_art_house, nielssimons, @MeijertjeTanja, @TriotPa, tonsmit, Caliber_63, Ineke_Scholten, Mijnnaamishaas5, Accare Child Study Center, @buitelaar_peter, Overlistener, @ChrisKramer1973, @alche7777, @Doc250797997089, @nr1rizk2, @thop57, Intrepid_Result8223.

Dates: Concentrated in June and July 2025, including 3–7–10–12–15–16–22–23–24–27–28–31 within that span.

– **Narrative Devices and Framing** (us–them, dehumanisation, threat or decline framing, references to tradition or a "Golden Age")

The most polarizing exemplars frequently deploy us–them framing, moral panic around children, and delegitimising or dehumanising language. Examples include "pedotuig" targeting an individual with hostile imperative language; "seksualisering van kinderen" pairing SRHR with "mind control/DID" tropes; "seksuele indoctrinatie" framing public institutions as state-facilitated indoctrination; "cultuur van de dood" casting geopolitical conflict in civilisation versus barbarism terms. Conversely, some "dragqueen" exemplars on Instagram pair positive or neutral community content with polarizing reactions, illustrating the decoupling of polarity from toxicity.

– **Calls to Action and Mobilisation Cues** (presence and count)

Explicit imperatives occur infrequently among the most polarizing exemplars. Clear instances include "Stop abortuspropaganda op scholen" (Twitter, 3 June 2025, @haatlinksesoep) and "Donder op naar Marokko" (Twitter, 7 June 2025, @MeijertjeTanja). Based on the exemplars with full text available, 2 posts contain a direct imperative call to action; the remainder rely on boundary-drawing, delegitimisation, or institutional appeals ("wil dat dit stopt", "vroeg ik een debat aan") rather than mass mobilization.

9. Temporal Patterns and Event Alignment (date clusters or spikes)

The most polarizing exemplars cluster in June and July 2025 – notably around early to mid-June and late July – consistent with visibility cycles tied to Pride-season discourse and related news moments. No single date dominates across multiple terms; the pattern suggests episodic spikes rather than a coordinated single-day surge.

10. Platform Distribution of the Most Polarizing Posts

The "most polarising" exemplars are overwhelmingly on Twitter/X. Exceptions include Reddit for "rape cultuur", YouTube for "genderpraatjes", and Instagram for two "dragqueen" exemplars. In other words, Twitter/X is the primary locus, with isolated cases on Reddit, YouTube, and Instagram.

11. Illustrative Examples (short excerpts, where relevant)

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Examples include "Stop abortuspropaganda op scholen" (Twitter), "Sexualisering is onnatuurlijk" (Twitter), "De destructieve eindmeet van de genderideologie" (Twitter), "Donder op naar Marokko, vies stuk pedotuig" (Twitter), and "mind control/DID" framings attached to "seksualisering van kinderen" (Twitter). These illustrate imperative cues, moral-panic rhetoric, dehumanization, and conspiracy-adjacent overlays within SRHR-negative discourse.
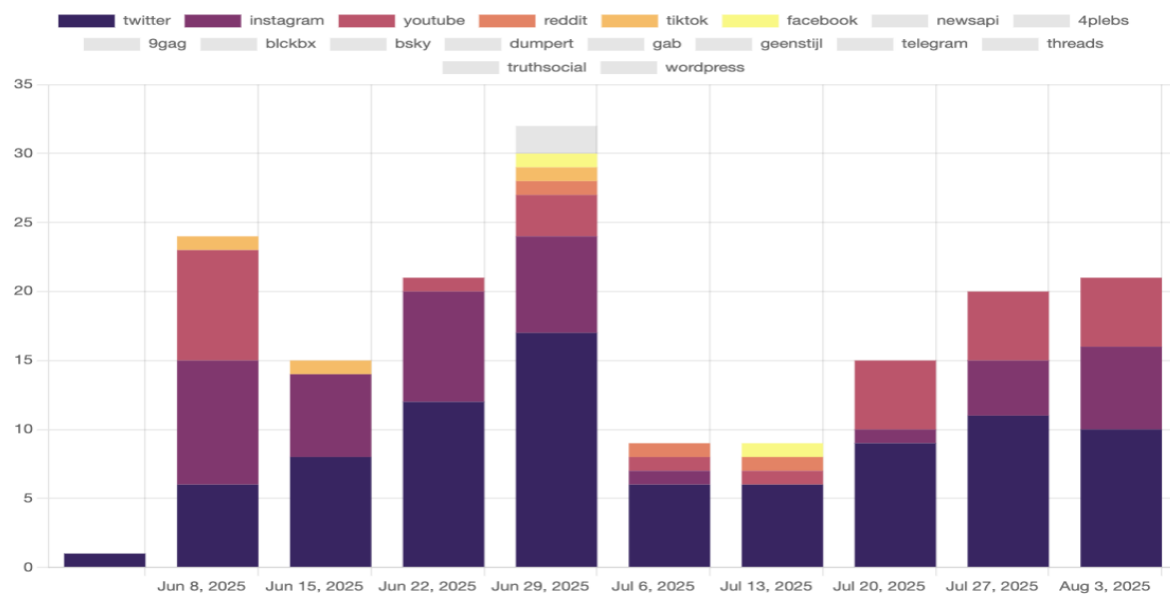
12. Implications for Democratic Discourse and Risk Indicators

SRHR-negative discourse in the Dutch language sample is platform-concentrated on Twitter/X, with Instagram as a secondary venue for visibility content and YouTube/Reddit as minor but salient hosts of polarizing exemplars. For early warning, weight: (i) child-protection frames attached to SRHR debates, (ii) dehumanizing or expulsion-style imperatives ("donder op", "stop …"), (iii) institutional-capture narratives ("indoctrinatie", "gesubsidieerd"), and (iv) event-linked spikes in June–July.

13. Who Dis I Dashboard analysis and correlating words

In the section below, we have included a series graphs showing the number of posts per platform featuring a certain term. Below you will see a list of associated words that tend to appear alongside the selected word, as well as the polarity of the posts. Before each dataset, the keyword used in the scraping will be stated.
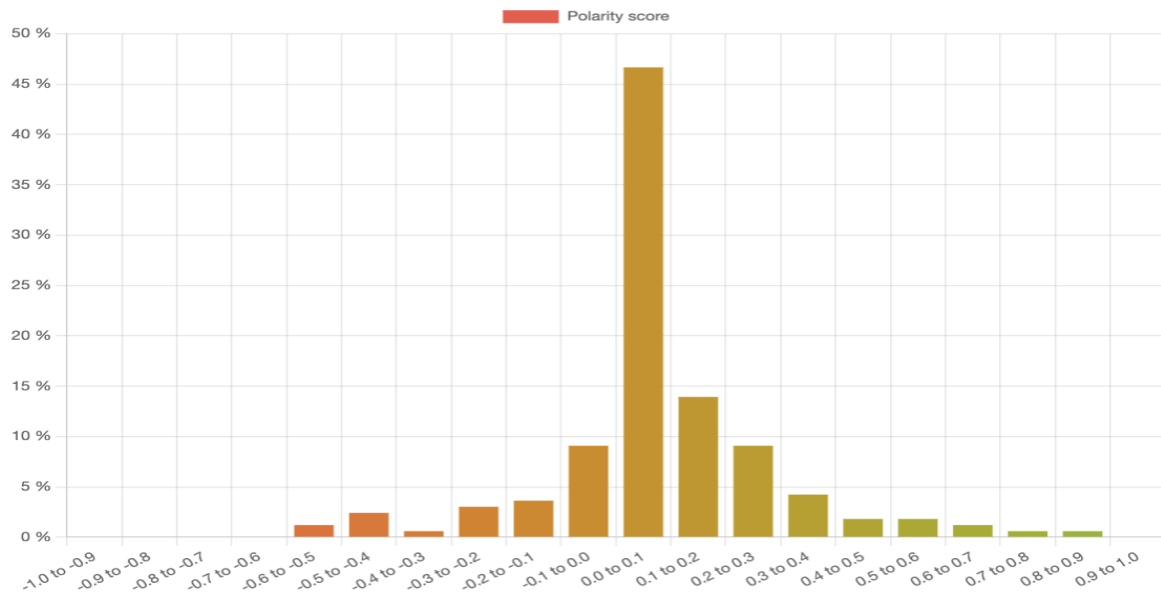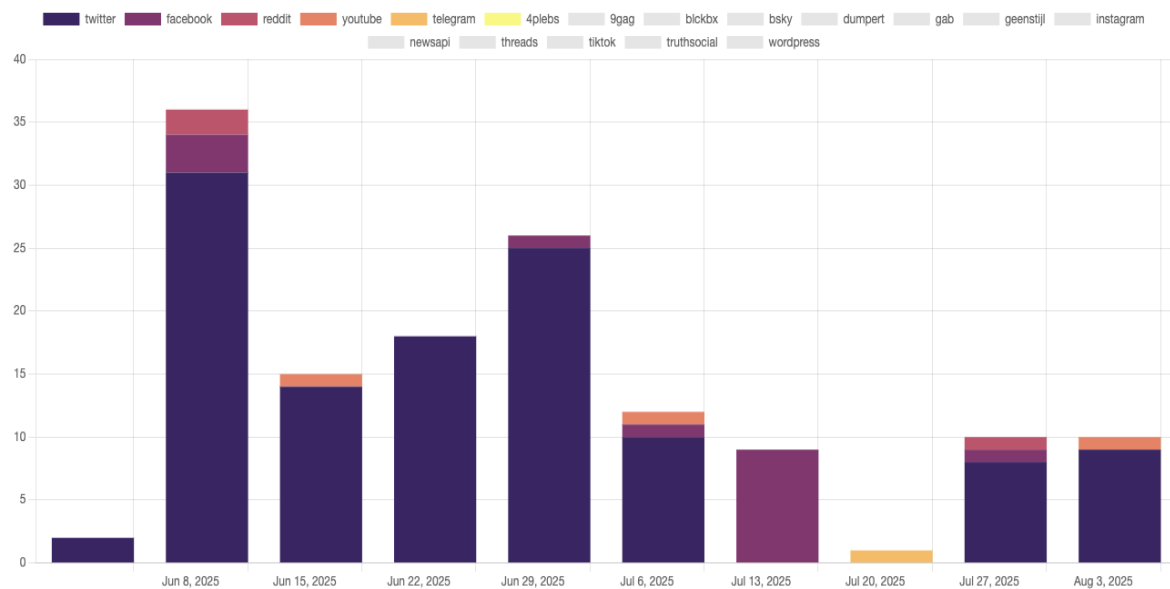
Dragqueen

Counts by platform

Top keywords associated with it are drag, dragqueens, kinderen, open.
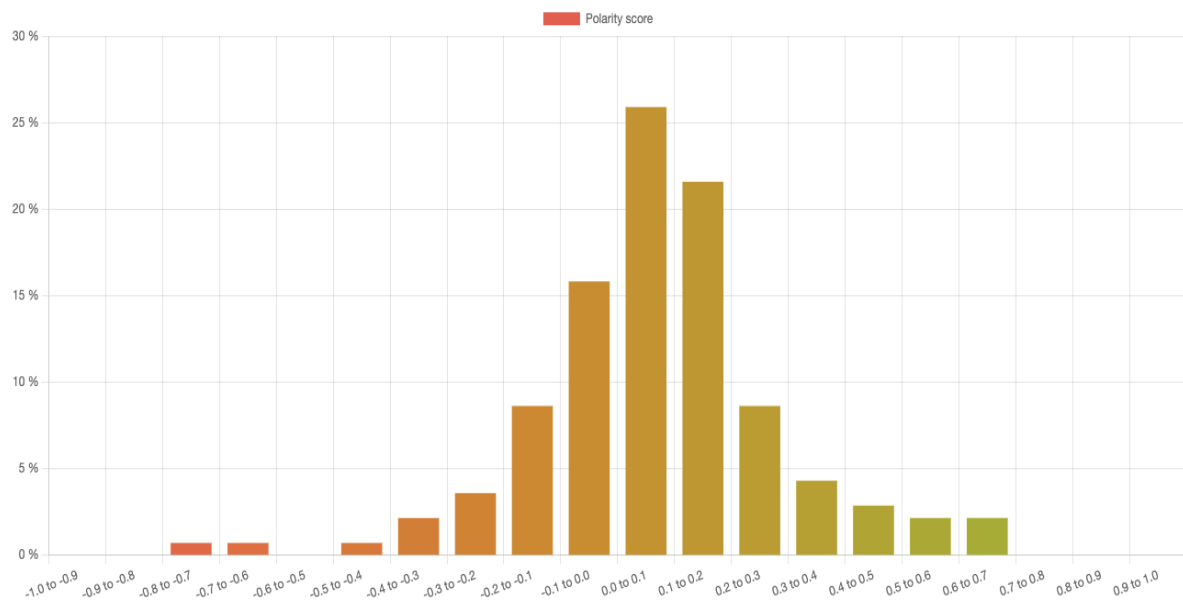
Below see the polarity percentages:

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Polarities percentages (–1 – very negative, 1 – very postive)

Genderideologie

Counts by platform

Top keywords associated with it are: vrouwen, mensen, kinderen, goed.
Below see the polarity percentages:

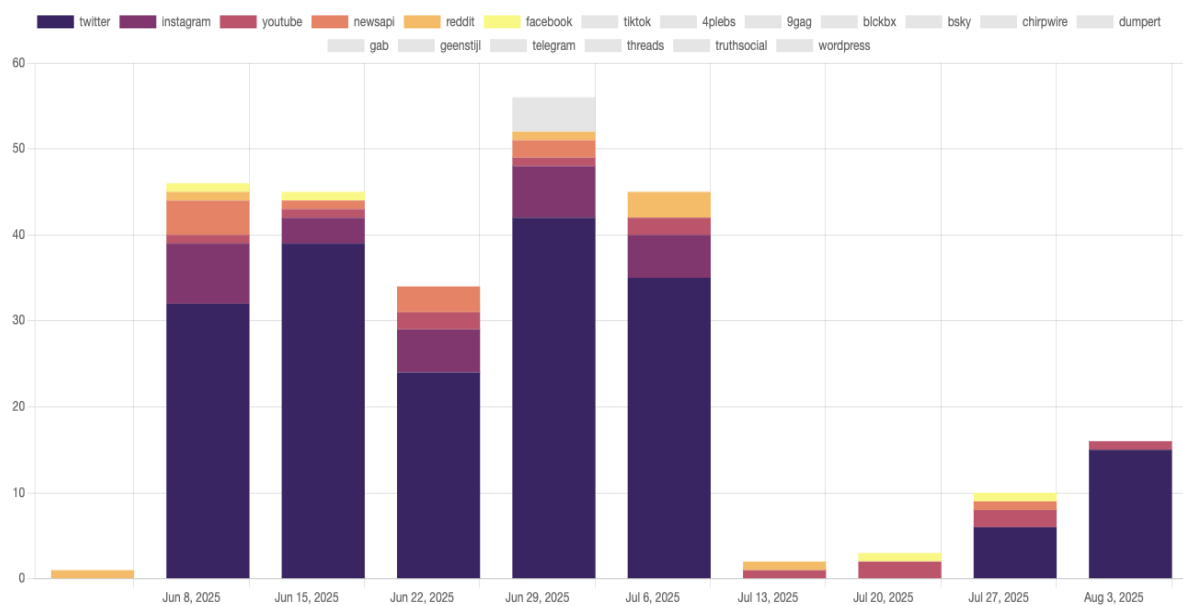Justice for Prosperity

Public

Polarities percentages (-1 - very negative, 1 - very postive)

Genderidentiteit

Counts by platform

Top keywords associated with it are: geslacht, mensen, vrouw, gender, basis.

Below see the polarity percentages:

Justice for Prosperity

Polarities percentages (-1 - very negative, 1 - very postive)

Neutral SRHR terms

1. Overview of Volume and Coverage

· Across the corpus (1 June–1 August 2025), neutral SRHR terms are led by "Abortus" (1,959), "Zwanger" (1,309), "Vruchtbaarheid" (667), "Echo" (566), and "Kinderwens" (567). Mid-volume terms include "Geboortecijfers" (192), "Genderidentiteit" (260), "Seksueel geweld" (127), "Abortuskliniek" (82), "Genderdiversiteit" (87), and "Conceptie" (87). Several terms register zero occurrences (e.g., "Alternatieven voor abortus", "Uitgebreide seksuele voorlichting", "Veelheid van partners", "Verantwoording bij complicaties", "Veiligere sekspraktijken").

2. Distribution of Mentions by Platform (Overall Share)

Across high-volume neutral SRHR terms, discussion concentrates on Twitter/X, with YouTube and Instagram forming substantial secondary venues for health, pregnancy, and fertility content. For example, "Abortus" is ≈79.6 percent Twitter/X (1,558/1,959), while "Echo" is YouTube-led (260/566 ≈46.0 percent) and "Zwanger" is more evenly multi-platform (Twitter, Instagram, YouTube, TikTok all material). Reddit, Facebook and online news are present but smaller, and long-tail platforms (Telegram, Gab) appear sporadically.

3. Platform-Specific Contribution

- Twitter/X dominates "Abortus" (1,558/1,959), "Genderidentiteit" (195/260), "Abortuskliniek" (77/82), "Geboortecijfers" (158/192), "Consent" (85/110).
- YouTube leads "Echo" (260/566) and is significant for "Vruchtbaarheid" (96/667) and "Kinderwens" (118/567).
- Instagram is strong for "Zwanger" (345/1,309), "Vruchtbaarheid" (285/667), "Kinderwens" (204/567).
- TikTok appears notably for "Zwanger" (149/1,309) and "Vruchtbaarheid" (78/667).
- Reddit contributes to "Abortus" (70/1,959), "Kinderwens" (50/567), "Echo" (27/566), "Consent" (9/110).
- Traditional media online appears at low levels throughout. 4chan, Truth Social, 9gag are absent in this slice.

4. Lexical Co-occurrence Analysis: Neutral versus Polarizing Terms (from "Other Terms Used in Connection" with the keywords)

Co-occurring vocabulary mixes neutral connectors (*vrouwen, mensen, jaar, weten*) and content anchors (*weken, baby, delft, kinderwens, PFAS*), with periodic culture-war or moral-panic markers (*woke, satanische pedofielen*, immigration references in "Geboortecijfers"). Even with neutral headwords, a subset of posts tilts polarising, particularly around sport eligibility ("Genderidentiteit"), late-term edge cases ("Abortus"), and demographic anxiety ("Geboortecijfers").

5. Named Entities/Actors Referenced

References include NOC/NSF in "Genderidentiteit" debates, SGP/D. J. H. van Dijk via reply-targets under "Abortuskliniek", city or institution anchors (e.g., Delft, Rutgers), and policy-adjacent actors via tagging. Media brands (e.g., nrc.nl) appear among top posters for related topics.

6. Account-Level Activity: Top Posters and Cross-Keyword Recurrence

Recurrent amplifiers include **@grok (AI account)** (appearing under "Abortus", "Vruchtbaarheid", "Consent"), **Echobaby Marita** (YouTube-led "Echo", "Zwanger"), **lieke1989raijmakers** (YouTube-led "Vruchtbaarheid/Kinderwens"), and **blooming__mom** (TikTok "Zwanger/Vruchtbaarheid"). These accounts bridge multiple neutral terms, indicating stable topic communities rather than one-off spikes.

7. Polarity Profile and Central Tendency (interpreted using Textgain's methodology on polarization)

Polarity ranges are broad yet cluster near neutral ("most between 0 and 0.1") for many terms: "Abortus" –0.9 to 0.9, "Foetus" –0.6 to 0.9, "Echo" –0.6 to 0.9, "Vruchtbaarheid" –0.6 to 0.9, "Geboortecijfers" –0.7 to 0.8, "Genderidentiteit" –0.7 to 0.9. Several terms reach extreme values including –1 for "Kinderwens" (Twitter), underscoring that neutral lexemes can host highly polarizing messages. Polarity is not toxicity; positive scores can accompany exclusionary framings, and near-neutral clusters can mask strategic tone management.

8. Content Analysis of the Most Polarizing Post(s)

- **Score and Metadata** (account, date, platform)

Platforms: Predominantly Twitter/X, with isolated exemplars on Reddit (Intrepid_Result8223, 28 July 2025, "rape cultuur"), YouTube (Accare Child Study Center, 12 June 2025, "genderpraatjes"), and Instagram (scarletts_art_house, 31 July 2025; nielssimons, 1 July 2025, "dragqueen").

Accounts (set of exemplars): @myriam_der, @dendolly1, @haatlinksesoep, @SEeckelaerts, @PixelPlatoon80, scarletts_art_house, nielssimons, @MeijertjeTanja, @TriotPa, tonsmit, Caliber_63, Ineke_Scholten, Mijnnaamishaas5, Accare Child Study Center, @buitelaar_peter, Overlistener, @ChrisKramer1973, @alche7777, @Doc250797997089, @nr1rizk2, @thop57, Intrepid_Result8223.

Dates: Concentrated in June and July 2025, including 3–7–10–12–15–16–22–23–24–27–28–31 within that span.

- **Narrative Devices and Framing** (us–them, dehumanisation, threat or decline framing, references to tradition or a "Golden Age")

With neutral headwords, most-polarising posts still leverage us-versus-them dichotomies, policy blame or alarm (e.g., NOC/NSF and sport eligibility under "Genderidentiteit"), demographic anxiety ("Geboortecijfers"), and moral adjudication around "Abortus". Health-oriented terms ("Echo", "Vruchtbaarheid") tend toward descriptive or personal narrative framing, but comment threads sometimes import culture-war frames.

- **Calls to Action and Mobilization Cues** (presence and count)

Direct mobilization is rare. Typical imperatives are informational or advisory (e.g., "Raadpleeg altijd een arts" in a "Consent" exemplar) rather than mass mobilization.

Two exemplars contain explicit imperative calls to action – "Stop abortuspropaganda op scholen" (Twitter, 3 June 2025, @haatlinksesoep) and "Donder op naar Marokko" (Twitter, 7 June 2025, @MeijertjeTanja). All other exemplars rely on social exclusion, delegitimization, or institutional appeals rather than direct mobilization.

9. Temporal Patterns and Event Alignment (date clusters or spikes)

The "most polarising" exemplars cluster in June–July 2025, often around mid-June and late July, reflecting Pride-season visibility and related news cycles; the pattern indicates episodic spikes rather than a single-day surge.

10. Platform Distribution of the Most Polarizing Posts

Considering one exemplar per term, Twitter/X is predominant, with notable YouTube presence for "Echo" and fertility-related narratives, TikTok outliers for "Zwanger", and Instagram cases tied to personal or organisational posts. Reddit appears selectively.

11. Illustrative Examples (short excerpts, where relevant)

- NOC/NSF brengt moedwillig meisjes en vrouwen in gevaar" — Genderidentiteit, Twitter (–0.7).
- "Vreselijk toch wat er met die man gebeurd is … bij een abortuskliniek" — Abortuskliniek, Twitter (–0.75).

- "Als de foetus ongewenst is … dit is toch op de grens van sociopathie" — Foetus, Twitter (–0.6).
- "Nee, ontzeg het niet … Informed consent voorkomt onnodig leed" — Consent, Twitter (–0.533).
- "Voor welke anticonceptie ga jij na je zwangerschap" — Zwanger, TikTok (–0.8).

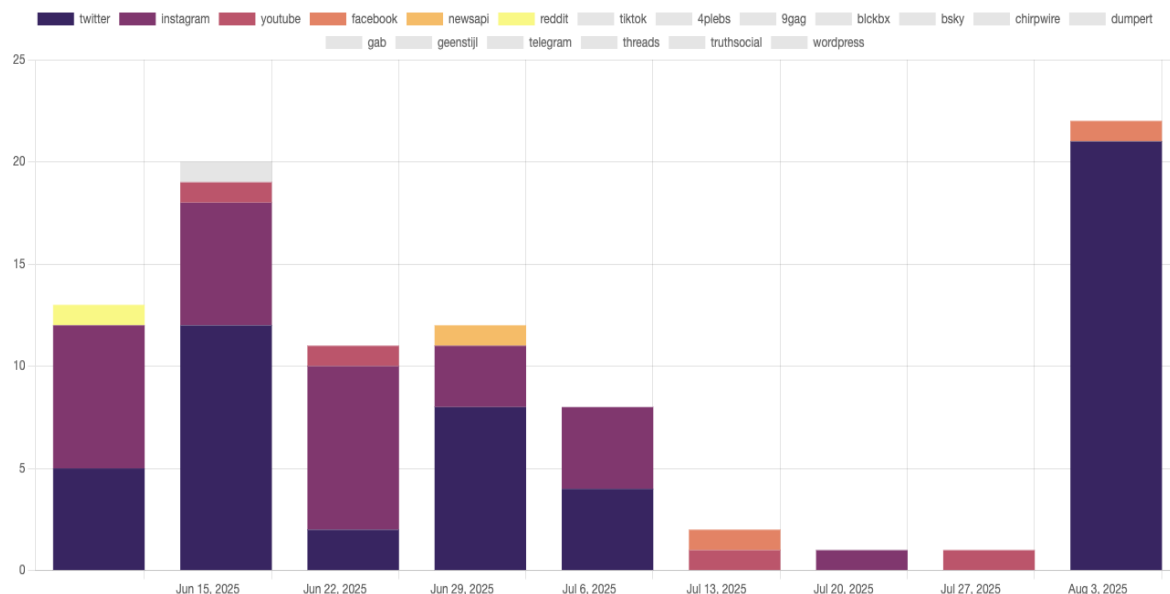## 12. Implications for Democratic Discourse and Risk Indicators

Neutral SRHR lexicon functions as a mixed arena: policy and ideology concentrate on Twitter/X, while health and pregnancy content is distributed across YouTube, Instagram, TikTok. For early warning, weight: (i) neutral-term threads with extreme polarity values (e.g., –1 in "Kinderwens"), (ii) recurrent amplifiers spanning multiple SRHR terms, (iii) event-linked spikes in June–July, and (iv) advisory CTAs that can seed norm-shaping even when they do not mobilize crowds.

13. Who Dis I Dashboard analysis and correlating words

In the section below, we have included a series graphs showing the number of posts per platform featuring a certain term. Below you will see a list of associated words that tend to appear alongside the selected word, as well as the polarity of the posts. Before each dataset, the keyword used in the scraping will be stated.

Genderdiversiteit
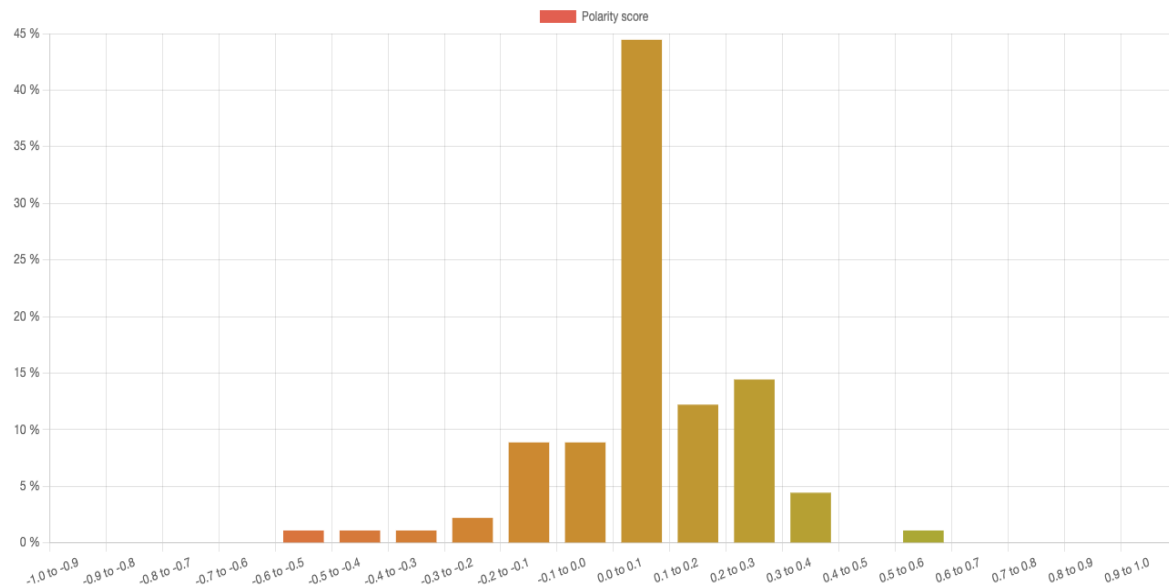

Top keywords associated with it are: leiderschap, samenleving, inclusief, staat.

Below see the polarity percentages:

Polarities percentages (-1 - very negative, 1 - very postive)

5.3.3 Immigration Keywords

Statistical Analysis of their use in Dutch language, on platforms: Facebook, TikTok, Instagram, Twitter (former, current X), Telegram, 4chan, gab, Truth Social, 9gag, YouTube, Reddit, traditional media online (mostly online published articles in Dutch language), between 1 June and 1 August 2025.

Negative Immigration terms

1. Overview of Volume and Coverage

Across the corpus (1 June–1 August 2025), immigration-negative terms total ≈20,377 posts. High-volume head terms include "illegalen" (7,924), "islamisering" (5,431), "buitenlander" (2,422), and "remigratie" (2,168). Mid-volume terms include "gelukzoeker" (539) and "asielcrisis" (213), while several niche or archaic labels appear at double- or single-digit levels; a number of entries register zero occurrences in this period.

2. Distribution of Mentions by Platform (Overall Share)

Across all tracked mentions, the conversation overwhelmingly took place on Twitter/X, which carried ≈85.4 percent of posts containing the listed terms. Facebook accounted for ≈7.6 percent, YouTube for ≈2.6 percent, and Reddit for ≈2.2 percent, while TikTok contributed ≈1.1 percent. Traditional online media made up ≈0.8 percent, Instagram ≈0.24 percent, and Telegram ≈0.12 percent. Fringe venues such as Gab and 4plebs together accounted for <0.05 percent. Minor summation inconsistencies in the source table explain a ~0.02 percent rounding difference.

3. Platform-Specific Contribution

Twitter/X dominates every high-volume term: "illegalen" (6,772/7,924), "islamisering" (5,097/5,431), "buitenlander" (1,641/2,422), "remigratie" (1,949/2,168). Secondary contributions concentrate on Facebook and YouTube (e.g., "buitenlander" 239/204; "remigratie" 97/75), with Reddit salient for several terms (e.g., "buitenlander" 173, "asielcrisis" 11). TikTok appears consistently but modestly (e.g., "buitenlander" 116, "islamisering" 12). Traditional media online registers small but visible totals for terms tied to news cycles (e.g., "buitenlander" 42, "asielcrisis" 16). Telegram and Gab are marginal; Truth Social and 9gag are absent in this slice.

4. Lexical Co-occurrence Analysis: Neutral versus Polarizing Terms (from "Other Terms Used in Connection" with the keywords)

Co-occurring vocabulary mixes neutral connectors (*mensen, land, jaar, gaat, krijgen*) with culture-war markers, security frames, and pejoratives. Examples:

- "illegalen" with *strafbaar, hulp* → criminalization and welfare frames.
- "gelukzoeker/gelukszoeker" with *stemmen, kinderen* → electoral threat and child-focused moral panic overlays.

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- "islamisering" with *omvolking, islam* → civilizational threat and Great Replacement adjacency.
- "omvolkingstheorie" co-mentioned with Wilders/PVV names → party-political anchoring of conspiracy frames.
- Overall, even neutral glue words frequently sit alongside polarizing or exclusionary co-terms.

5. Named Entities/Actors Referenced

Named actors recur across multiple items: Geert Wilders/PVV, Timmermans/GL-PvdA, and references to EU/Schengen within border-control demands. Some exemplars link to Hamas/Israël when generalizing about deportation or violence. The mix positions immigration rhetoric inside party politics, security policy, and geopolitics rather than purely local concerns.

6. Account-Level Activity: Top Posters and Cross-Keyword Recurrence

High-frequency handles cluster per term rather than dominating across the board. Examples include **___Charlie__C** (appears under both **"gelukzoeker"** and **"buitenlander"**), **NL_weer_op_1** ("remigratie" 146 tweets), and **Cancel_EU** (**"islamisering"** 97 tweets). Repetition exists but is issue-specific; the dataset does not indicate a single universal amplifier across all negative terms.

7. Polarity Profile and Central Tendency (interpreted using Textgain's methodology on polarization)

Polarity ranges are broad but cluster near neutral for most terms, consistent with adversarial messages framed in a matter-of-fact tone. Examples:

- "illegalen" −1 to +0.9, *most between 0 and 0.1*; ten posts at −1.
- "islamisering" *reported as* −0.1 to +0.9 with six posts at −1 noted in the exemplar set; the −1 items are concentrated on Twitter with one on Facebook.
- "buitenlander" −1 to +0.9, *most between 0 and 0.1*, with eight posts at −1 across platforms. This supports the caveat that polarity is not toxicity; near-neutral clustering can mask exclusionary narratives, while extreme values identify the sharpest edges of the discourse.

8. Content Analysis of the Most Polarizing Post(s)

- **Score and Metadata** (account, date, platform)

Platforms: Predominantly Twitter/X; Facebook and YouTube appear in isolated "most polarizing" exemplars (e.g., the −1 sets under "illegalen" and "buitenlander" include one exemplar each on Facebook and YouTube, with the remainder on Twitter).

Accounts (set of exemplars): BigDutchLion, Bee181494337976, SchoutenNL, WilliePeijnenbu, GezondeSporter, eenblikopdenos, skynetwerk, geertwilderspvv, RickSlingerpick, afonsobongo6228, Eric Audenaert, wanderer_vibes, IkNet, Frankelmans65, helena_is_here, vissenkoppig, Rachid3008, user moerasbewoner, Oni6511, Dirk Govaerts, dickfsnl, Grim Doclo, doomned2000, Neaddiggers2001, bla_msen, ArrowUpside, Danielle Henderyckx, Nora1504aron, LeoVeen2, JulienDUPO69273, wee_hans, TheDutchConnec2, Indigo_RebelX, FreedomV1king, Gert Claes, Selefienederlnd, MichaelvdGalien, Roishin_Rose, Triumpf2.

Dates: Concentrated in June and July 2025, including 3–7–9–13–15–20–24–26–28–29–31 July, with mid-June points tied to specific headwords.

- **Narrative Devices and Framing** (us–them, dehumanisation, threat or decline framing, references to tradition or a "Golden Age")

The sharpest exemplars rely on us-versus-them narratives, criminalization and security frames, dehumanizing language for out-groups, and civilizational decline rhetoric:

- "gelukzoeker" exemplar strings a series of moral-panic clauses culminating in hostile labelling of multiple out-groups.
- "christelijke beschaving" frames an opponent as aiding the "vernietiging van West-Europa", combining elite betrayal with civilizational collapse.
- "multiculturele droom" portrays "Europese kindertjes" as victims of "extreemlinks", an explicit threat-to-children trope.
- "omvolkingstheorie" and "islamisering" fold migration into Great Replacement and religious threat narratives.
- "buitenlander" and "allochtoon" exemplars feature group vilification and anti-welfare insinuations.

Together, these constructs normalize exclusion while distributing blame to political elites, minority groups, and external enemies.

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    – **Calls to Action and Mobilisation Cues** *(presence and count)*
Direct imperative mobilization is rare. Clear instances include "Deporteren naar Gaza" in a "deporteren" exemplar (Twitter, 19 June 2025, @ArrowUpside). Other posts imply policy preferences or social boundary-drawing (remigratie, COA-sluitingen) without issuing explicit calls. Based on the available "most polarizing" texts, 1 of the exemplars contains a direct imperative. One "most polarizing" exemplar contains an explicit imperative call to action – "Deporteren naar Gaza" (Twitter, 19 June 2025, @ArrowUpside). The remaining exemplars emphasize boundary-drawing, delegitimization, and policy preference statements rather than direct mobilization.

9. Temporal Patterns and Event Alignment (date clusters or spikes)
Most polarizing exemplars cluster in June–July 2025, with localized spikes around mid-June and late July. These align with national political moments and media cycles on migration, suggesting episodic spikes rather than a single coordinated surge.

10. Platform Distribution of the Most Polarizing Posts
The "most polarizing" exemplars are overwhelmingly on Twitter/X. Isolated exemplars appear on Facebook and YouTube in the –1 subsets for "illegalen" and "buitenlander". This concentration underscores Twitter/X as the primary locus for high-intensity immigration-negative discourse.

11. Illustrative Examples (short excerpts, where relevant)
    – "Is een stem voor islamitische gelukzoekers" — gelukzoeker, Twitter (–0.9).
    – "Vernietiging van West-Europa en onze judeo-christelijke beschaving" — christelijke beschaving, Twitter (–0.8).
    – "Multiculturele droom van extreemlinks" — multiculturele droom, Twitter (–0.83).
    – "Deporteren naar Gaza" — deporteren, Twitter (–0.75).
    – "Zeg je er iets van ben je racist" — omgekeerde discriminatie, Facebook (–0.433).
    – "Minder Marokkanen" — minder Marokkanen, Twitter (–0.9).

12. Implications for Democratic Discourse and Risk Indicators
The combination of platform concentration on Twitter/X, civilizational-threat framing, criminalization rhetoric, and occasional imperatives indicates a high-intensity narrative environment capable of normalizing exclusion. For early warning, weight: (i) terms with repeated –1 posts ("illegalen", "buitenlander", "islamisering"), (ii) co-occurrence with party names and EU governance frames, (iii) late-July and mid-June spikes, and (iv) any emergence of explicit mobilization verbs beyond the current low baseline.
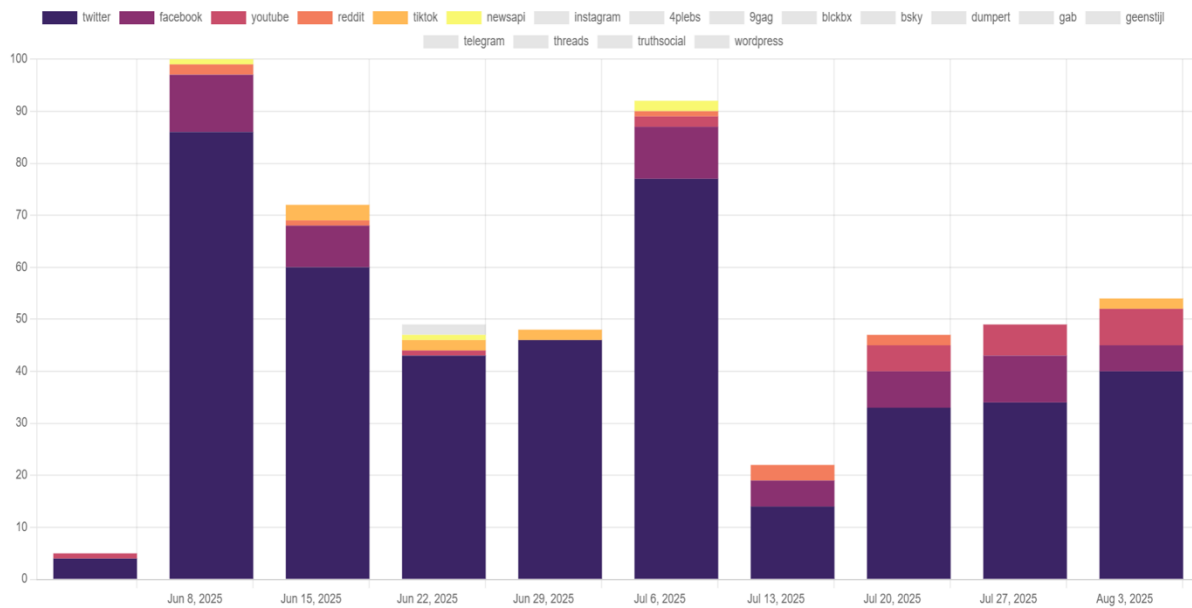
13. Who Dis I Dashboard analysis and correlating words
In the section below, we have included a series graphs showing the number of posts per platform featuring a certain term. Below you will see a list of associated words that tend to appear alongside the selected word, as well as the polarity of the posts. Before each dataset, the keyword used in the scraping will be stated.
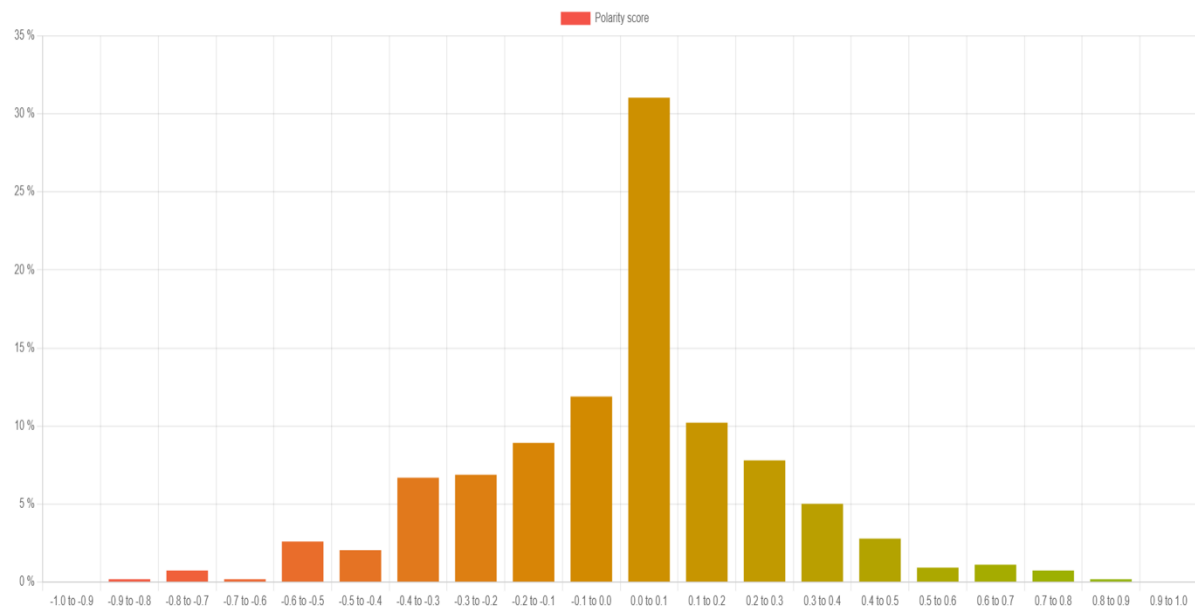
    Gelukzoeker

Counts by platform

Top keywords associated with it are: gelukzoeker, stemmen, kinderen, mensen.
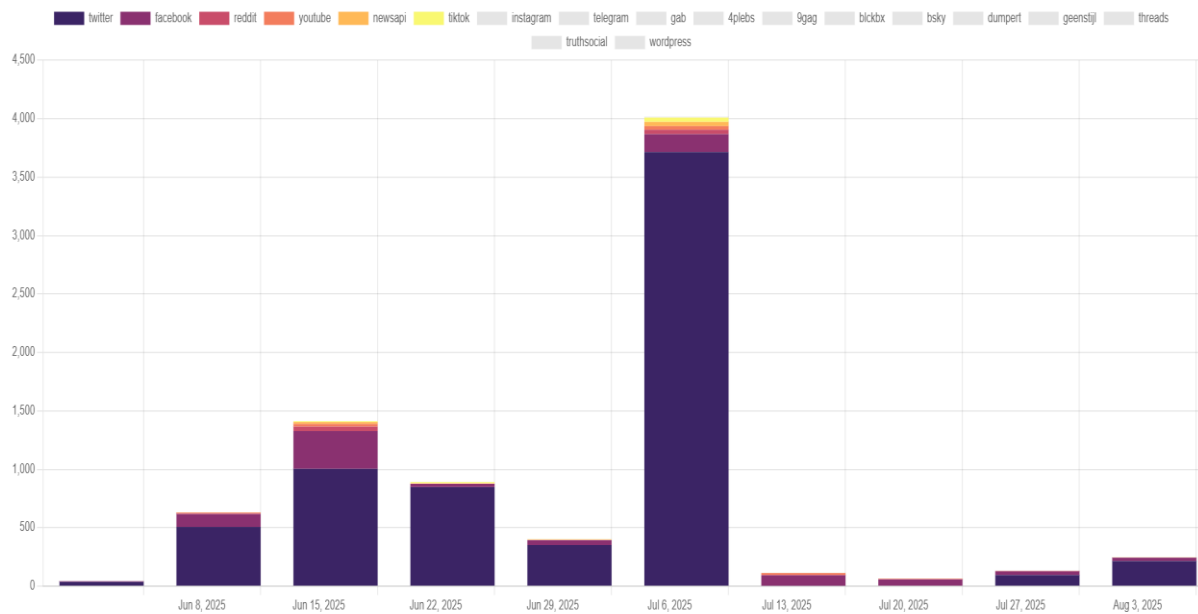
Below see the polarity percentages:

Percent of results by polarity (-1 - very negative, 1 - very postive)
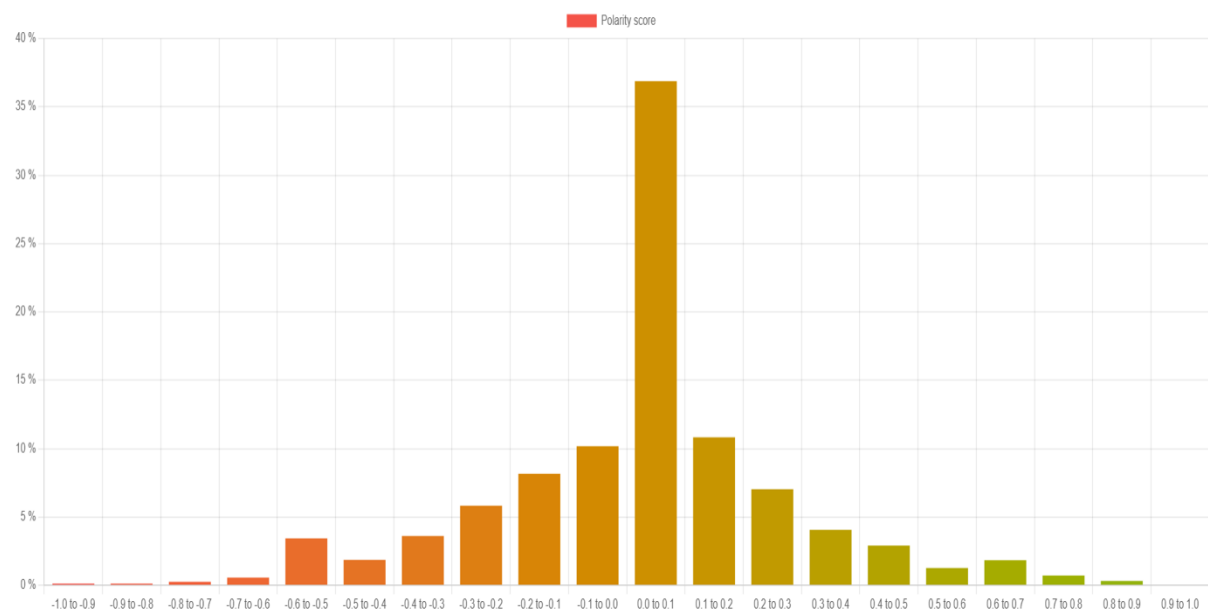

Illegalen

Counts by platform

Top keywords associated with it are Land, mensen, strafbaar,hulp, gaat.
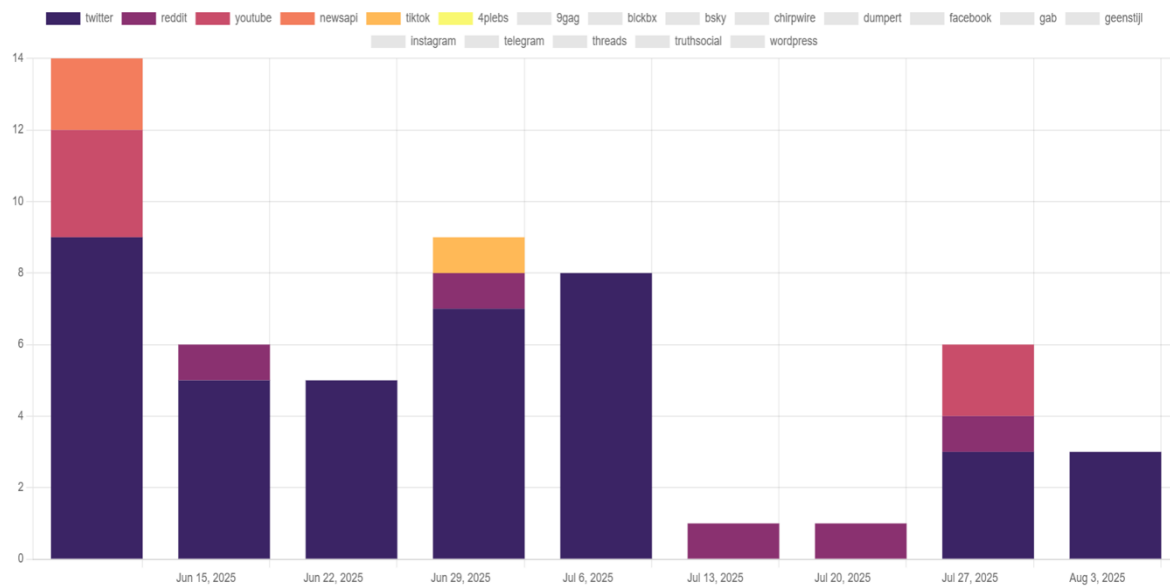
Below see the polarity percentages:

Polarities percentages (-1 - very negative, 1 - very postive)

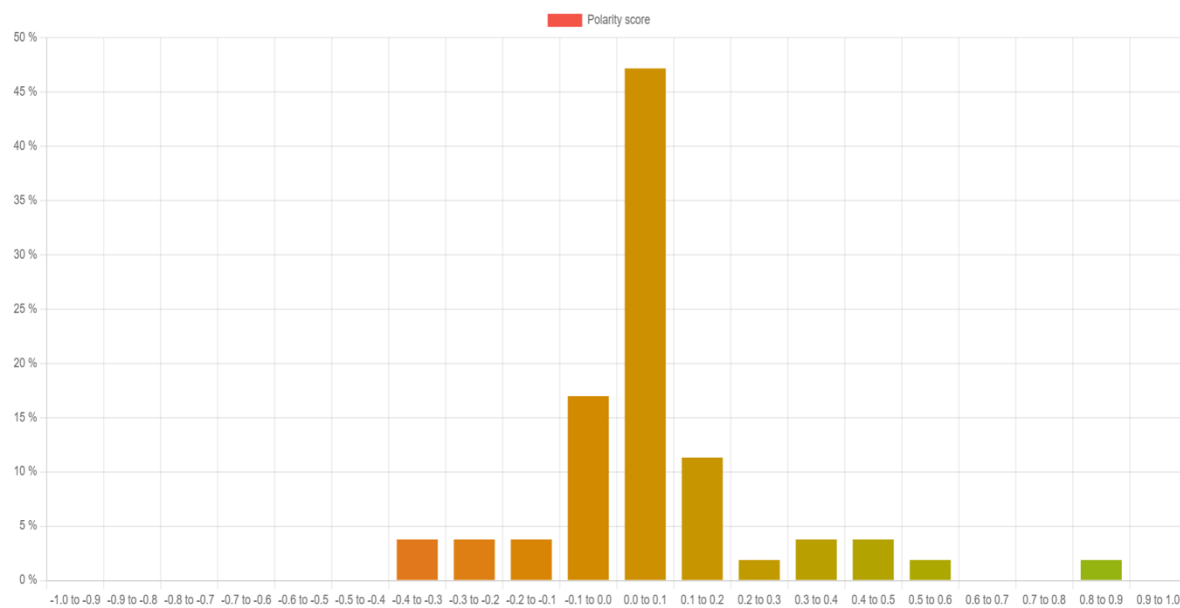## Omvolkingstheorie

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Counts by platform

Top keywords associated with it are: gaat, kamer, mensen, partij, wilders, zit pvv.
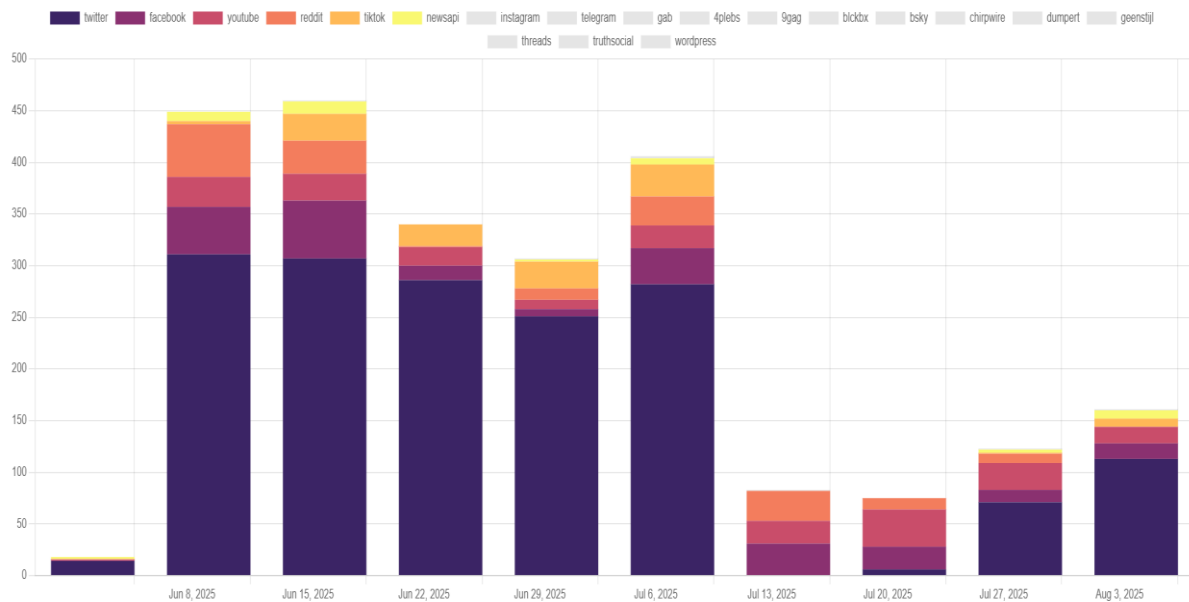
Below see the polarity percentages:

Polarities percentages (-1 - very negative, 1 - very postive)
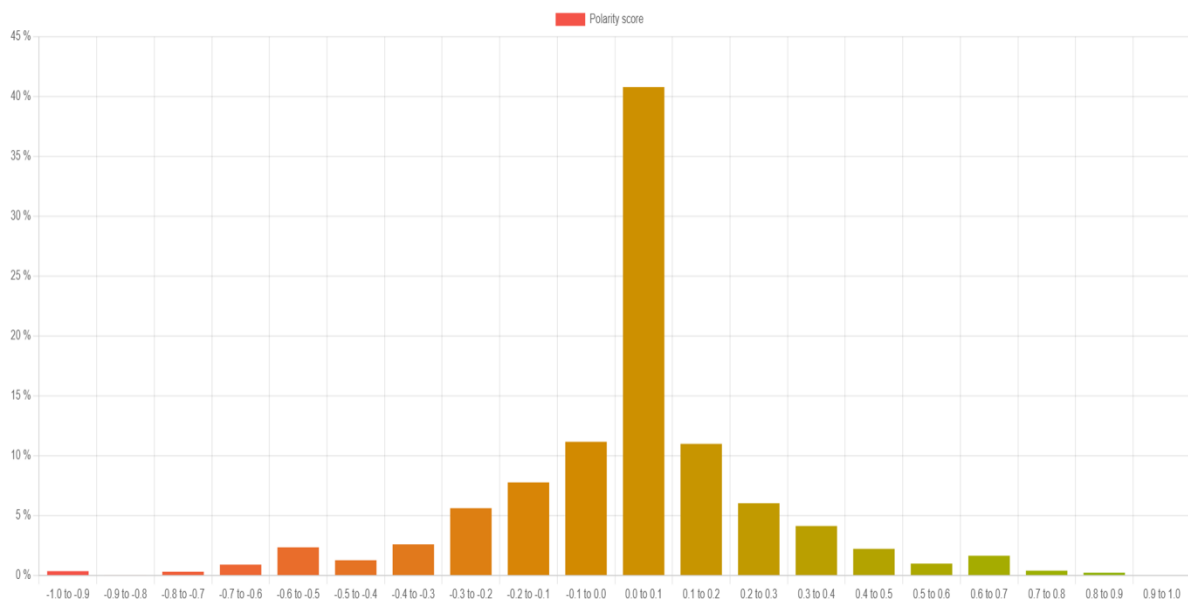

Buitelander

Counts by platform

Top keywords associated with it are: buitenlanders, mensen, land, nederland, gaan, gaat.

Below see the polarity percentages:

Polarities percentages (-1 - very negative, 1 - very positive)

Neutral Immigration terms
1. Overview of Volume and Coverage
Across the corpus (1 June–1 August 2025), immigration-neutral terms span high-volume entries such as "immigratie" (12,175) and "asielzoeker" (7,557) alongside policy or terminology items like "inburgering" (194), "integratie" (4,639), "vreemdelingenwet" (104), and identity descriptors such as "autochtoon" (167) and "mensen met migratieachtergrond" (65). Several very low-volume items appear (for example "witte westerlingen" 3) and a few record zero hits in the period.
2. Distribution of Mentions by Platform (Overall Share)
Across all tracked mentions, the conversation overwhelmingly took place on Twitter/X, which carried 84.18 percent of posts containing the listed terms (33,600/39,913). YouTube accounted for 4.92

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percent (1,962/39,913), Reddit 4.33 percent (1,727/39,913), and Facebook 4.14 percent (1,654/39,913). Traditional online media made up 0.92 percent, Instagram 0.73 percent, TikTok 0.57 percent, Telegram 0.20 percent, while Gab registered 0.01 percent.

3. Platform-Specific Contribution

Twitter/X dominates the headline terms: "immigratie" 11,103/12,175, "asielzoeker" 6,553/7,557, "integratie" 2,816/4,639, "inburgering" 95/194, "vreemdelingenwet" 99/104. YouTube is salient for "inburgering" (39/194) and "cultureel erfgoed" (90/215); Reddit contributes to "asielzoeker" (393/7,557) and "integratie" (342/4,639); Facebook appears across "integratie" (298) and "autochtoon" (19); Traditional media online is visible for "spreidingswet" (44/338) and "cultureel erfgoed" (4/215); TikTok/Instagram appear at low levels across several terms.

4. Lexical Co-occurrence Analysis: Neutral versus Polarizing Terms (from "Other Terms Used in Connection" with the keywords)

Co-occurring vocabulary blends neutral connectors (*mensen, jaar, gaat, land, samenleving*) with policy anchors (*wet, artikel, AZC, spreidingswet*) and culture-war markers (*woke, anti autochtoon, remigratie*). Even where the headword is neutral, co-terms frequently tilt polarizing: for example "immigratie" with *PVV, VVD* and mass-scale language (*massa*), "asielzoeker" with *huis, geld, overlast* and politician tags (*Kati Piri, Timmermans*), "vreemdelingenwet" with *strafbaar, illegaal*, "multiculturalisme" with *zieke … ideologie*. Location and media anchors also recur (Amsterdam, nrc.nl, parool.nl).

5. Named Entities/Actors Referenced

Party and politician references include PVV/Geert Wilders, VVD, GL-PvdA figures (Kati Piri, Timmermans), and municipality Westland in "spreidingswet" threads. Media brands (nrc.nl, parool.nl, volkskrant.nl) and institutional references (IND) appear across policy items. These anchors situate neutral immigration vocabulary within party politics, policy disputes, and media cycles rather than purely descriptive discourse.

6. Account-Level Activity: Top Posters and Cross-Keyword Recurrence

High-frequency posters concentrate by term, with **repeats across multiple neutral items**. Examples: **Grok** appears as a top account for "immigratie" and again under "multiculturalisme" and "vreemdelingenwet"; **nrc.nl** appears as a top poster in "asielzoeker" (Traditional media online) and "spreidingswet"; several individual handles recur across identity-label terms ("autochtoon", "mensen met migratieachtergrond"). The repetition pattern suggests stable amplifiers active across multiple neutral-term conversations.

7. Polarity Profile and Central Tendency (interpreted using Textgain's methodology on polarization)

Polarity ranges are broad but cluster near neutral for most terms ("most between 0 and 0.1"), consistent with descriptive headwords drawing mixed usage. Examples: "immigratie" −1 to 0.9 with six posts at −1; "asielzoeker" −1 to 0.9 with seven posts at −1; "autochtoon" −0.8 to 0.7; "vreemdelingenwet" −0.6 to 0.7; "cultureel erfgoed" −0.5 to 0.6. As noted in your methodological caveat, polarity is not toxicity: positive or neutral polarity can still accompany exclusionary framings or boundary-drawing rhetoric.

8. Content Analysis of the Most Polarizing Post(s)

– **Score and Metadata** (*account, date, platform*)

Scores: Exemplars range from −1 (multiple items including "asielzoeker") up to near-neutral positives (for instance "culturele assimilatie" 0.0258).

Platforms: Predominantly Twitter/X; isolated cases appear on Reddit (for example "asielzoeker", 2 June 2025), YouTube (for example "culturele assimilatie", MrRed326), and Traditional media online (trouw.nl, 11 June 2025, "immigratie en naturalisatiedienst").

Accounts (set across exemplars): TheFenerlandss, Alexscardola, keerhettij, FredHart, Marco1218070201, ricwe123, Beaurouge2, AnnaPIPT, PremiumCryptos, BeukerBerend, TabakGeert, denhallond, barreaux1989, HSG1984, Sidje70, MarkusNL95, bla_msen, JanJaap70891893, HennieLem39986, extranjero99, AndresAlvar3z, HansHuijzer, vatniksoep_nl, emnigigigi, MarcusViridis, TOnbeNl1, EdwardErasmus, HegedusGeza, MrRed326, trouw.nl, BiancadB1980, _Du_Meulen, AlbertusAgterb1, WitdeBerna, volkskrant.nl, among others listed per row.

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Dates (consolidated): 2 June, 3 June, 7 June, 9 June, 10 June, 11 June, 15 June, 19 June, 20 June, 21 June, 25 June, 27 June, 30 June, 2 July, 3 July, 4 July, 11 July, 13 July, 14 July, 18 July, 20 July, 27 July, 28 July, 29 July, 30 July, 31 July 2025.

– **Narrative Devices and Framing** *(us–them, dehumanisation, threat or decline framing, references to tradition or a "Golden Age")*

Even with neutral labels, the sharpest exemplars frequently mobilize us-versus-them dichotomies, criminalization and security frames (*strafbaarstelling, illegaal*), civilizational or cultural-threat rhetoric (*multiculturalisme is een zieke … ideologie; anti autochtoon*), and policy blame. Examples: "asielzoeker" exemplars pair identity labels with *overlast, huis, geld* and partisan tags; "vreemdelingenwet" frames legality and punishment (*strafbaar, artikel 108*); "multiculturalisme" casts an existential threat ("Daarom remigratie!"); "cultureel erfgoed" shows pejorative delegitimization of out-groups. Health-check: several exemplars show descriptive or media-reporting tone while comments embed polarizing overlays.

– **Calls to Action and Mobilisation Cues** *(presence and count)*

Explicit imperatives are infrequent. Clear instances in this set include "Weg met die spreidingswet" (Twitter/X, 7 June 2025, _Du_Meulen) and "Daarom remigratie!" (Twitter/X, 20 July 2025, HegedusGeza). Based on the exemplars with full text, two posts contain direct imperative calls to action; the remainder emphasize boundary-drawing, delegitimization, or policy preference statements rather than mass mobilization.

9. Temporal Patterns and Event Alignment (date clusters or spikes)

Most polarizing exemplars cluster in June and July 2025, with noticeable concentrations around early-to-mid June and late July. The pattern suggests episodic spikes tied to news events (for example "spreidingswet" debates, local demonstration coverage) rather than a single coordinated surge.

10. Platform Distribution of the Most Polarizing Posts

Considering one exemplar per term, Twitter/X is predominant. Isolated exemplars appear on Reddit ("asielzoeker"), YouTube ("culturele assimilatie"), and Traditional media online ("immigratie en naturalisatiedienst"), confirming Twitter/X as the primary locus for high-intensity discourse even for neutral immigration vocabulary.

11. Illustrative Examples

– "@geertwilderspvv … Weg met die spreidingswet …" — spreidingswet, Twitter/X (–0.7).
– "Daarom remigratie! Multiculturalisme is een zieke alles vernietigende ideologie" — multiculturalisme, Twitter/X (–0.7).
– "Zeer eenzijdige … woke organisatie, anti autochtoon …" — autochtoon, Twitter/X (–0.8).
– "Verbazing over Syrië-beleid kabinet …" — immigratie en naturalisatiedienst, Traditional media online (–0.0386).
– "Slechte inburgering = slechte integratie …" — inburgering, Twitter/X (–0.7).

12. Implications for Democratic Discourse and Risk Indicators

Neutral immigration lexicon operates as a contested space: routine reporting and commentary co-exist with security, civilizational, and boundary-setting frames. For early warning, weight: (i) neutral-term threads with extreme polarity (for example –1 items under "immigratie" and "asielzoeker"), (ii) recurrent amplifiers active across multiple neutral terms, (iii) event-linked spikes in June–July, and (iv) emergence of explicit mobilization verbs beyond the current low baseline.
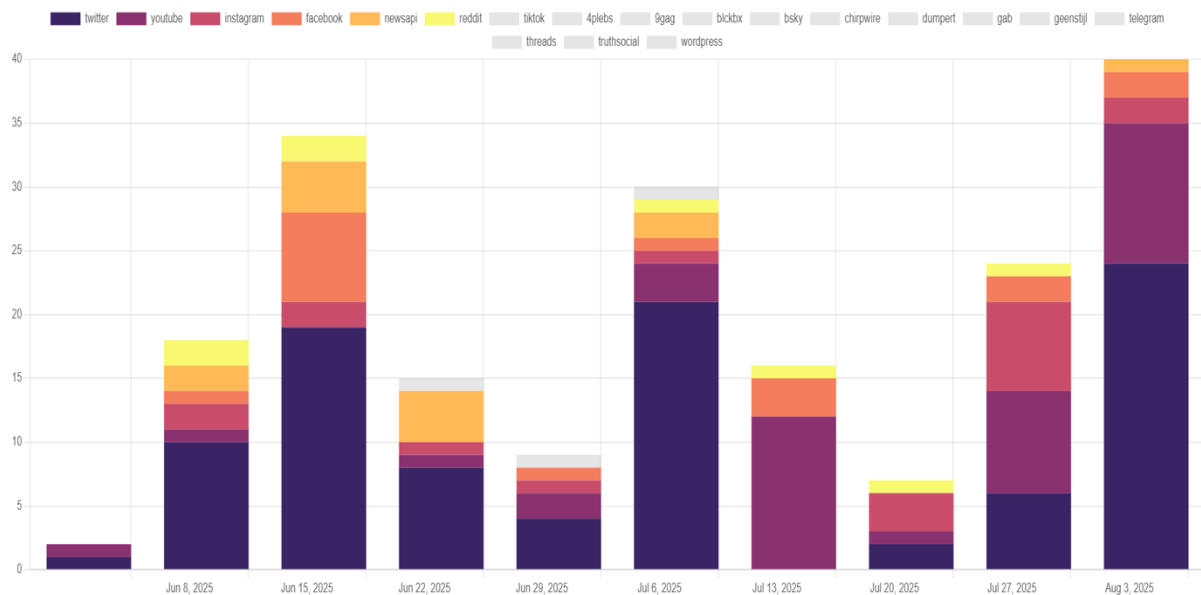
13. Who Dis I Dashboard analysis and correlating words

In the section below, we have included a series graphs showing the number of posts per platform featuring a certain term. Below you will see a list of associated words that tend to appear alongside the selected word, as well as the polarity of the posts. Before each dataset, the keyword used in the scraping will be stated.

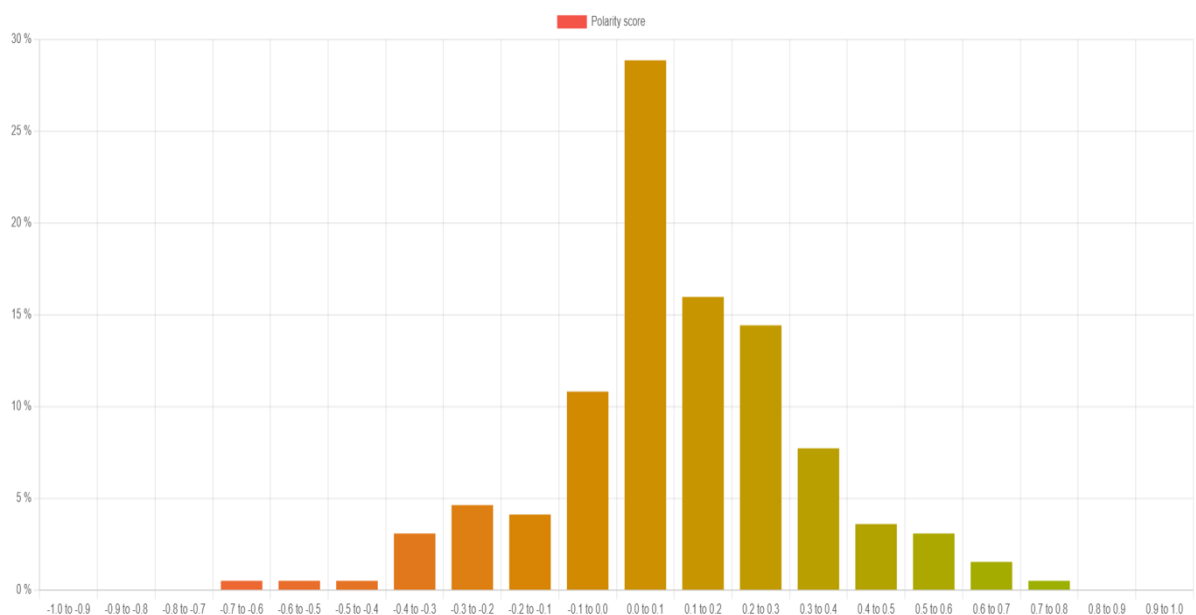### Inburgering

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Counts by platform

Top keywords associated with it are integratie, nederlands, goed, gaat, jaar, mensen, nieuwe

Below see the polarity percentages:

5.3.4 Rise of Crime/Safety Index Keywords

Statistical Analysis of their use in Dutch language, on platforms: Facebook, TikTok, Instagram, Twitter (former, current X), Telegram, 4chan, gab, Truth Social, 9gag, YouTube, Reddit, traditional media online (mostly online published articles in Dutch language), between 1 June and 1 August 2025.

Negative Rise of Crime/Safety Index terms

1. Overview of Volume and Coverage

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Across the corpus (1 June–1 August 2025), the listed negative crime and safety terms total 505 posts. Terms with measurable volume include "grenscontroles" (282), "Criminele asielzoekers" (112), "Strafbaar stellen illegaliteit" (47), "straatterroristen" (24), "leger wordt ingezet" (19), "zero-tolerance" (15), "schizofrene situatie" (5), and "schaal 9 moet de straat op" (1). Several terms register zero posts in the period.

2. Distribution of Mentions by Platform (Overall Share)

Across all tracked mentions, the conversation overwhelmingly took place on Twitter/X, which carried ≈75.2 percent of posts containing the listed terms (380/505). Traditional online media accounted for ≈10.5 percent (53/505), YouTube ≈5.1 percent (26/505), Facebook ≈4.0 percent (20/505), and Reddit ≈3.8 percent (19/505), while TikTok and Instagram made up ≈1.0 percent (5/505) and ≈0.4 percent (2/505) respectively. Telegram, 4chan, Gab, Truth Social, 9gag recorded 0 percent in this slice.

3. Platform-Specific Contribution

Twitter/X dominates each active term, notably "grenscontroles" (175/282), "Criminele asielzoekers" (102/112), "Strafbaar stellen illegaliteit" (46/47), "straatterroristen" (24/24), and "zero-tolerance" (15/15). Traditional media online is concentrated in "grenscontroles" (47) and "schizofrene situatie" (3). YouTube contributes to "grenscontroles" (24) and "schizofrene situatie" (1); Reddit to "grenscontroles" (15) and "leger wordt ingezet" (1); Facebook to "grenscontroles" (15) and "schizofrene situatie" (1). TikTok and Instagram appear only in "grenscontroles" (4 and 2 respectively).

4. Lexical Co-occurrence Analysis: Neutral versus Polarizing Terms (from "Other Terms Used in Connection" with the keywords)

Co-terms mix **neutral connectors** (*beleid, bron, jarenlange, mensen, gaan, situatie*) with **security and culture-war markers** that tilt polarizing:

- – **"grenscontroles"** with *asielzoekers, grens, mensen* → **border-security** and **asylum** frames.
- – **"Criminele asielzoekers"** with *illegalen, uitzetten* → **criminalization** and **removal** frames.
- – **"Strafbaar stellen illegaliteit"** with *CDA, BBB, bedrijven/boeren* → **policy accountability** and **elite complicity** frames.
- – **"straatterroristen"** with *Turkse* → **out-group threat** and **dehumanizing** labeling.

Overall, neutral connectors frequently sit beside exclusionary or threat-based co-terms.

5. Named Entities/Actors Referenced

Mentions include VVD and Dilan Yeşilgöz (in "grenscontroles" replies), Frans Weisglas, CDA, BBB, Ursula (EU context), and Dutch media brands (RTL Nieuws, nrc.nl, de Volkskrant, Trouw). Group references such as moslims appear in "leger wordt ingezet". These anchors situate crime-linked rhetoric within party politics, EU policy, and media cycles.

6. Account-Level Activity: Top Posters and Cross-Keyword Recurrence

High-frequency posting is term-specific: for example, grok and nrc.nl/volkskrant.nl/trouw.nl under "grenscontroles"; nicothenu under "Strafbaar stellen illegaliteit"; and small clusters (3–5 posts) for Criminele asielzoekers. Within this slice, no single handle clearly dominates across multiple different terms.

7. Polarity Profile and Central Tendency (interpreted using Textgain's methodology on polarization)

Polarity ranges are broad but cluster near neutral for most terms, consistent with strategic tone-management. Examples:

- – "grenscontroles" –0.9 to 0.8, *most between 0.0 and 0.1*.
- – "Criminele asielzoekers" –0.6 to 0.5, *most between –0.4 and 0.1*.
- – "Strafbaar stellen illegaliteit" –0.6 to 0.7, *most between 0.0 and 0.1*.
- – "straatterroristen" –0.4 to 0.6, *most between 0.0 and 0.1*.
- – "zero-tolerance" –0.2 to 0.5, *most between 0.0 and 0.1*.

8. Content Analysis of the Most Polarizing Post(s)

- – **Score and Metadata** *(account, date, platform)*
  Platforms: Twitter/X hosts ≈88.9 percent of most-polarizing exemplars; YouTube hosts ≈11.1 percent (1 of 9).

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Accounts (set across exemplars): Karinkaatj, De CFO Podcast, nicothenu, avignonnimes, RealShowstopper, FlemishLionDen, Habundia, @HandhavingDev, NickvB785824.

Dates: 5 June, 8 June, 23 June, 30 June, 3 July, 13 July, 15 July, 17 July, 30 July 2025.

Scores and accounts: −0.9 ("grenscontroles", Karinkaatj, 8 June 2025, Twitter/X); −0.7 ("schizofrene situatie", De CFO Podcast, 30 July 2025, YouTube); −0.6 ("Strafbaar stellen illegaliteit", nicothenu, 3 July 2025, Twitter/X); −0.533 ("Criminele asielzoekers", avignonnimes, 17 July 2025, Twitter/X); −0.4 ("straatterroristen", RealShowstopper, 5 June 2025, Twitter/X); −0.3 ("leger wordt ingezet", FlemishLionDen, 23 June 2025, Twitter/X); −0.2 (two posts for "zero-tolerance", Habundia 30 June 2025, @HandhavingDev 15 July 2025, Twitter/X); 0.0 ("schaal 9 moet de straat op", NickvB785824, 13 July 2025, Twitter/X).

Platforms (share for exemplars): Twitter/X ≈ 88.9 percent (8 of 9 posts), YouTube ≈ 11.1 percent (1 of 9). Reddit, Facebook, TikTok, Instagram, traditional media do not host a "most polarizing" exemplar in this set.

- **Narrative Devices and Framing** *(us–them, dehumanisation, threat or decline framing, references to tradition or a "Golden Age")*

The exemplars concentrate on us-versus-them dichotomies, criminalization and border-security frames, and delegitimization of political actors or groups. Examples include out-group labeling ("Turkse straatterroristen"), historical-repression spectres tied to grenscontroles (*"straks over razzia's"*), and conditional militarization rhetoric ("tenzij het leger wordt ingezet tegen migranten en moslims"). Dehumanizing elements and threat-to-society appeals surface most clearly under "straatterroristen", "Criminele asielzoekers", and "grenscontroles".

- **Calls to Action and Mobilisation Cues** *(presence and count)*

Explicit imperatives are rare. One exemplar contains a direct imperative policy cue: "schaal 9 moet de straat op" (Twitter/X, 13 July 2025, NickvB785824). All other exemplars emphasize boundary-drawing, delegitimization, alarm, or policy preference without issuing direct mobilization commands. Count: 1 of 9 exemplar posts (≈11.1 percent) contains an explicit call to action.

9. Temporal Patterns and Event Alignment (date clusters or spikes)

Most polarizing exemplars cluster in June and July 2025 with dates spanning 5, 8, 23, 30 June and 3, 13, 15, 17, 30 July. This indicates episodic spikes aligned with policy or media moments rather than a single-day surge.

10. Platform Distribution of the Most Polarizing Posts

Considering one or more exemplars per active term, Twitter/X is the primary locus (≈88.9 percent), with a single YouTube exemplar ("schizofrene situatie"). No other platform hosts a most-polarizing item in this slice.

11. Illustrative Examples

- "Nu gaat het over grenscontroles. Straks over razzia's" — grenscontroles, Twitter/X (−0.9).
- "Hij laat het vuile werk over aan de Turkse straatterroristen" — straatterroristen, Twitter/X (−0.4).
- "schaal 9 moet de straat op" — schaal 9…, Twitter/X (0.0).
- "Ik zie liever mijn geld naar het koningshuis … dan naar criminele asielzoekers" — Criminele asielzoekers, Twitter/X (−0.533).

12. Implications for Democratic Discourse and Risk Indicators

The combination of platform concentration on Twitter/X, criminalization and border-security framing, and sporadic imperatives indicates a high-intensity narrative environment where exclusionary claims can normalize under a neutral tone. For early warning, weight: (i) border-control spikes under "grenscontroles", (ii) criminal labels attached to asylum seekers, (iii) references to historical repression (*"razzia's"*), and (iv) any rise in explicit mobilization verbs beyond the current low baseline.
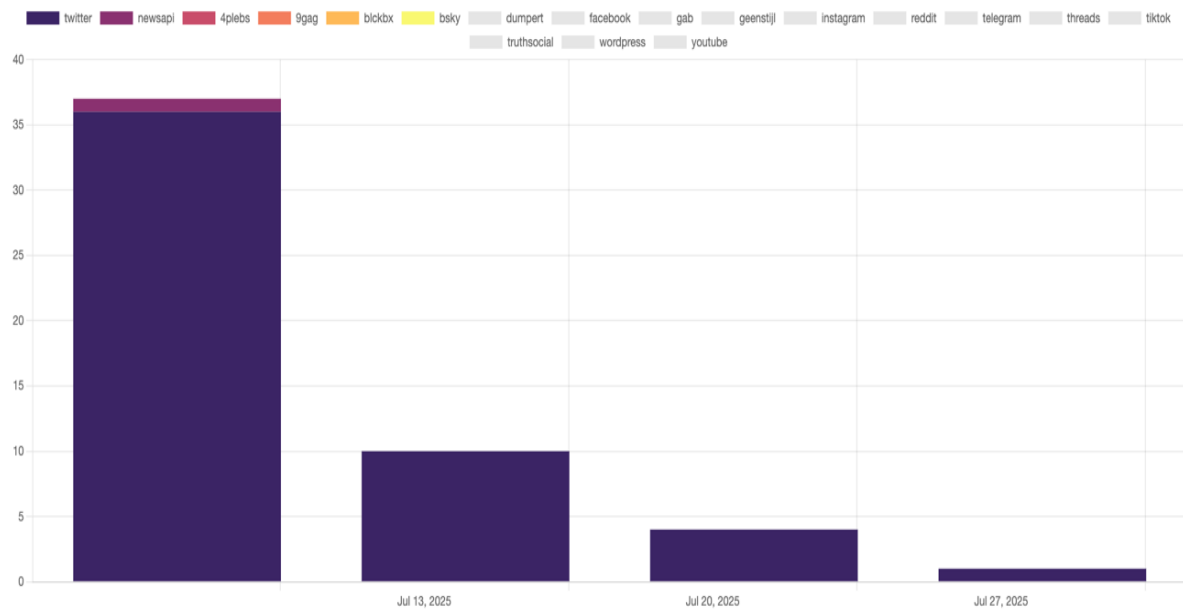
13. Who Dis I Dashboard analysis and correlating words

In the section below, we have included a series graphs showing the number of posts per platform featuring a certain term. Below you will see a list of associated words that tend to appear alongside the selected word, as well as the polarity of the posts. Before each dataset, the keyword used in the scraping will be stated.

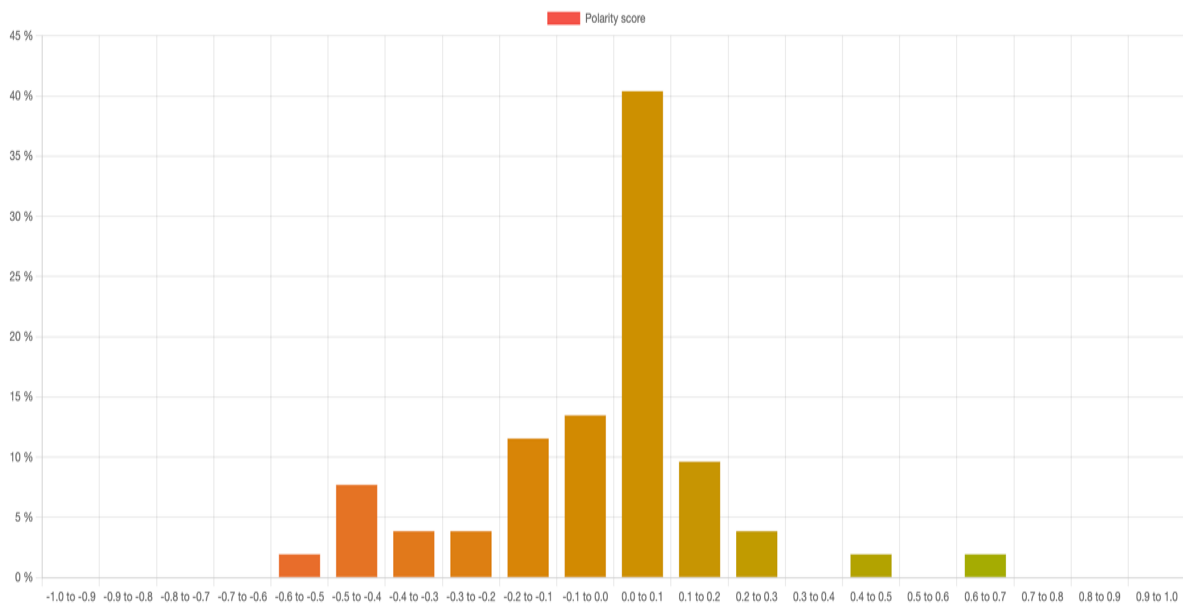**Strafbaar stellen illegaliteit**

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Counts by platform

Top keywords associated with it are: baar, stellen, illegaliteit, cda, gaat.
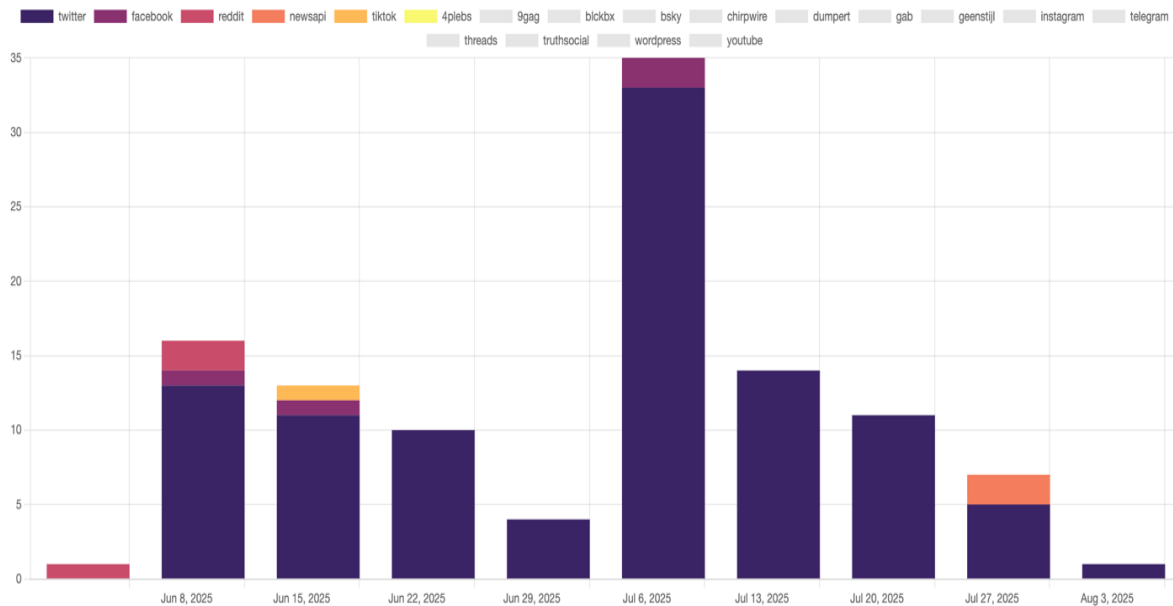
Below see the polarity percentages:

Polarities percentages (-1 - very negative, 1 - very postive)

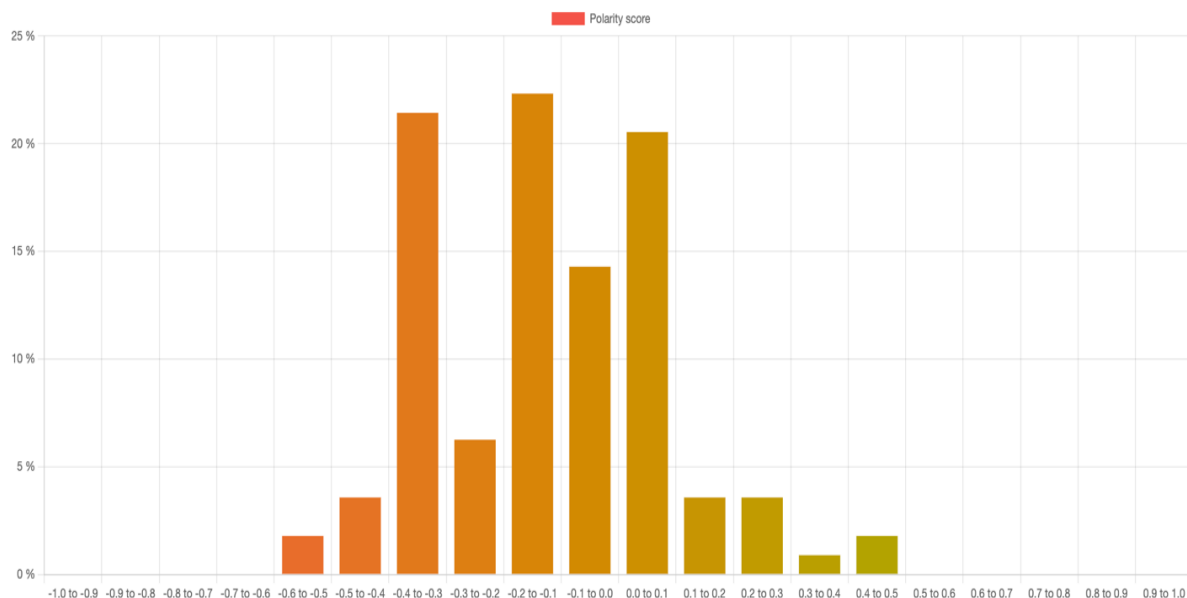### Criminele azielzoekers

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Counts by platform

Top keywords associated with it are: criminele, asielzoekers, illegalen, nederland, uitzetten.

Below see the polarity percentages.

Polarities percentages (-1 - very negative, 1 - very postive)

Neutral Rise of Crime/Safety Index terms
1. Overview of Volume and Coverage
Across the corpus (1 June–1 August 2025), crime and safety neutral terms total 18,481 posts, led by "terrorisme" (6,250), "slachtoffer" (4,896), "defensie" (3,104), "criminaliteit" (1,476), and "misdaad" (1,043). Mid- and lower-volume terms include "steekpartijen" (245), "explosies" (233), "liquidaties" (99), "georganiseerde criminaliteit" (58), "Digitale veiligheid" (74), "gewelddadiger" (75), "jeugdcriminaliteit" (44), "politiegegevens" (20), and "veiligheidsbeleving" (13). Three entries record zero hits in this period: "spionageactiviteiten die gericht zijn tegen de Nederlandse staat", "Versobering van het gevangenisregime", and "verspreiding van massavernietigingswapens".

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2. Distribution of Mentions by Platform (Overall Share)

Across all tracked mentions, the conversation predominantly unfolded on Twitter/X, which carried ≈66.1 percent of posts containing the listed terms (12,221/18,481). Facebook accounted for ≈12.6 percent (2,333/18,481), YouTube for ≈8.0 percent (1,477/18,481), Traditional online media for ≈6.5 percent (1,208/18,481), Reddit for ≈4.2 percent (768/18,481), Instagram for ≈1.3 percent (232/18,481), TikTok for ≈1.0 percent (182/18,481), Telegram for ≈0.3 percent (52/18,481), and Gab for ≈0.05 percent (9/18,481). 4chan, Truth Social, and 9gag register no activity in this slice.

3. Platform-Specific Contribution

Twitter/X is dominant for the highest-volume terms – "terrorisme" 5,214/6,250, "slachtoffer" 2,739/4,896, "criminaliteit" 984/1,476, "defensie" 1,714/3,104—while YouTube leads "misdaad" 449/1,043 and is material for "defensie" 319/3,104. Traditional media online features strongly under "explosies" 70/233 and "defensie" 492/3,104. Reddit is visible for "slachtoffer" 244/4,896 and "criminaliteit" 102/1,476. Instagram and TikTok appear at low levels across several terms, with TikTok peaking under "slachtoffer" 67/4,896.

4. Lexical Co-occurrence Analysis: Neutral versus Polarizing Terms (from "Other Terms Used in Connection" with the keywords)

Co-terms blend neutral connectors (*mensen, jaar, gaat*) with security, geopolitical, and culture-war anchors. Examples include "defensie" co-occurring with *nederland, oorlog*, "slachtoffer" with *kinderen, gaza, israël, moslims*, "criminaliteit" with *illegalen, immigratie*, and "steekpartijen" with *moslims, verkrachtingen, sharia*. Even though the headwords are neutral, the co-lexicon frequently tilts polarizing, pairing routine reporting with threat, blame, or moral-panic overlays.

5. Named Entities/Actors Referenced

Media brands recur among top posters (nrc.nl, hln.be, demorgen.be, nieuwsblad.be, Omroep Brabant, De Telegraaf). Institutional or political actors also surface, including Eerste Kamer (as @Eerstekamer under "georganiseerde criminaliteit"). Group references such as moslims and country anchors (Israël, Oekraïne) appear in several co-term lists and polarizing exemplars.

6. Account-Level Activity: Top Posters and Cross-Keyword Recurrence

Several handles recur across different terms, notably grok (top for "slachtoffer" and active under "politiegegevens"), and media accounts such as nrc.nl across "defensie", "openbare orde", and "slachtoffer". DeTEd39003 features prominently in both "slachtoffer" and "criminaliteit". Most other high-frequency posters are term-specific rather than cross-term drivers.

7. Polarity Profile and Central Tendency (interpreted using Textgain's methodology on polarization)

Polarity ranges are broad but cluster near neutral ("most between 0.0 and 0.1") for most terms. Extremes of −1 appear under "defensie", "slachtoffer" (eight posts), "misdaad", "explosies", "terrorisme" (ten posts), and "verkrachting". Other ranges include "criminaliteit" −0.9 to 0.9, "georganiseerde criminaliteit" −0.6 to 0.7, "steekpartijen" −0.8 to 0.9, "Digitale veiligheid" −0.2 to 0.4. As a reading note: polarity is not toxicity; near-neutral clusters can mask exclusionary or demeaning content, and positive polarity can accompany affirming framings of harmful narratives.

8. Content Analysis of the Most Polarizing Post(s)

– **Score and Metadata** (account, date, platform)

Platforms: Twitter/X ≈ 82.1 percent of "most polarizing" exemplars (32/39), Facebook ≈ 10.3 percent (4/39), YouTube ≈ 7.7 percent (3/39).

Accounts (set across exemplars): @keerhettij, @RobbySaere9821, @AndreVeerm89369, @reconciderens, @PeterVinke47190, @businessamnl, @sjaak_jacq, @t_lidul, Freko Imaredjo, @OkkiPepernoot, @hwiersema, @SBO_Veiligheid, @VincentPrast, @politie_feijenoord, @John70481780, @joahn12458, @PatFT_1, @CCCoderAI, @HC4Lkickz, @CLLaBeruchteBCL, plus multiple distinct accounts under "slachtoffer" and "terrorisme" where the most-polarizing sets comprise several posts.

Dates (consolidated): 5 June, 6 June, 8 June, 10 June, 12 June, 14 June, 15 June, 17 June, 19 June, 23 June, 27 June, 28 June, 30 June, 3 July, 5 July, 8 July, 10 July, 12 July, 13 July, 15 July, 17 July, 18 July, 19 July, 20 July, 23 July, 26 July, 28 July, 30 July, 31 July 2025.

– **Narrative Devices and Framing** (us–them, dehumanisation, threat or decline framing, references to tradition or a "Golden Age")

Even with neutral headwords, the sharpest exemplars deploy us-versus-them dichotomies, criminalization, security, and geopolitical blame frames. Illustratively, "steekpartijen" couples

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broad social harm with out-group targeting, "slachtoffer" threads mix victim language with Israel–Gaza and religion frames, "criminaliteit" links to illegalen/immigratie, and "explosies" politicizes responsibility attribution. Some items maintain a reportorial tone (for example "politiegegevens") while replies or comments introduce polarizing overlays.

– **Calls to Action and Mobilisation Cues** *(presence and count)*

Explicit imperative mobilization does not appear in the "most polarizing" exemplars for this slice. Instead, posts rely on punitive framing, delegitimization, or normative judgments ("moet gestraft worden", "wie stop dit"), without issuing direct action commands. Count: 0 of 39 exemplars contain an explicit call to action.

9. Temporal Patterns and Event Alignment (date clusters or spikes)

The "most polarizing" exemplars cluster in June and July 2025, notably around early June (5, 8, 10, 12) and late July (26, 28, 30–31), suggesting episodic spikes aligned with news cycles and high-salience geopolitical events rather than a single-day surge.

10. Platform Distribution of the Most Polarizing Posts

Considering one or more exemplars per active term, Twitter/X is the primary locus (≈82 percent), with Facebook (≈10 percent) and YouTube (≈8 percent) hosting the remaining exemplars. Other platforms do not host a "most polarizing" post in this slice.

11. Illustrative Examples (short excerpts, where relevant)

– Ja terwijl mensen die echt ziek zijn … Geld gaat … naar defensie en immigratie" — defensie, Twitter/X (–1).
– "Veiligheidsbeleving verbeteren? … NSB praktijken … nepmoslim" — veiligheidsbeleving, Twitter/X (–0.167).
– "Gruwelijk … wie stop dit …" — misdaad, Facebook (–1).
– "Weet je waarom je niet op hen stemt … sharia …" — steekpartijen, Twitter/X (–0.8).
– "Alle aanwijzingen wijzen … naar Oekraïne …" — explosies, Twitter/X (–1).

12. Implications for Democratic Discourse and Risk Indicators

The combination of platform concentration on Twitter/X, security and geopolitical overlays on neutral lexicon, and repeated extreme polarity under high-volume terms indicates a high-intensity narrative environment. For early warning, weight: (i) neutral-term threads with extreme polarity (for example –1 clusters under "terrorisme", "slachtoffer", "misdaad"), (ii) recurring amplifiers such as grok and major media accounts, (iii) event-linked spikes around late July, and (iv) any emergence of explicit mobilization imperatives beyond the current zero baseline.

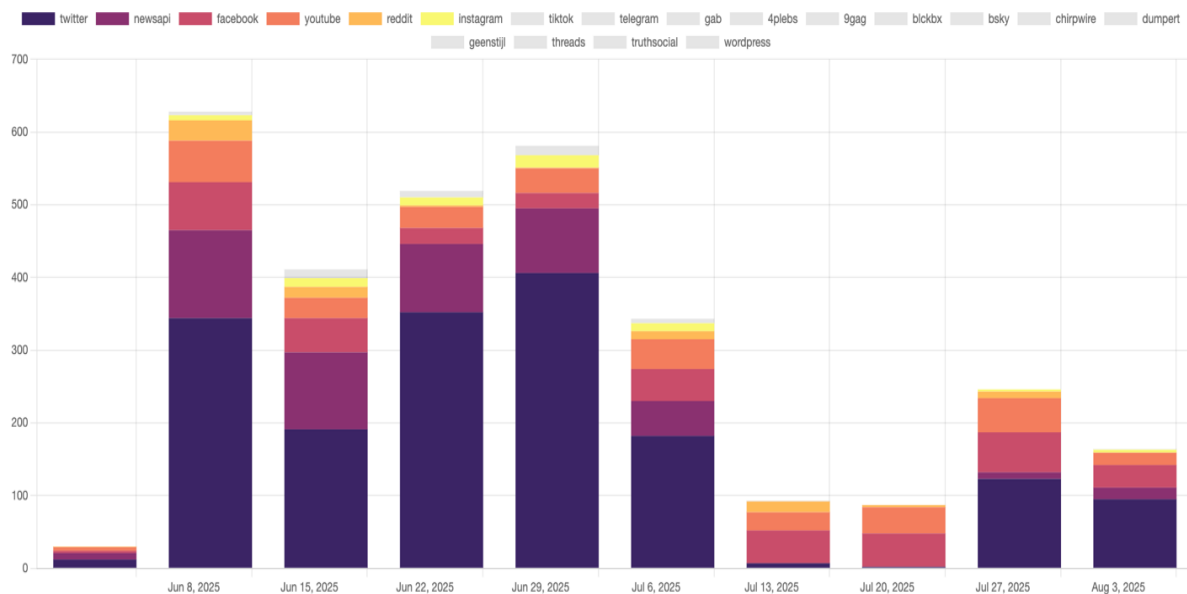## 13. Who Dis I Dashboard analysis and correlating words

In the section below, we have included a series graphs showing the number of posts per platform featuring a certain term. Below you will see a list of associated words that tend to appear alongside the selected word, as well as the polarity of the posts. Before each dataset, the keyword used in the scraping will be stated.
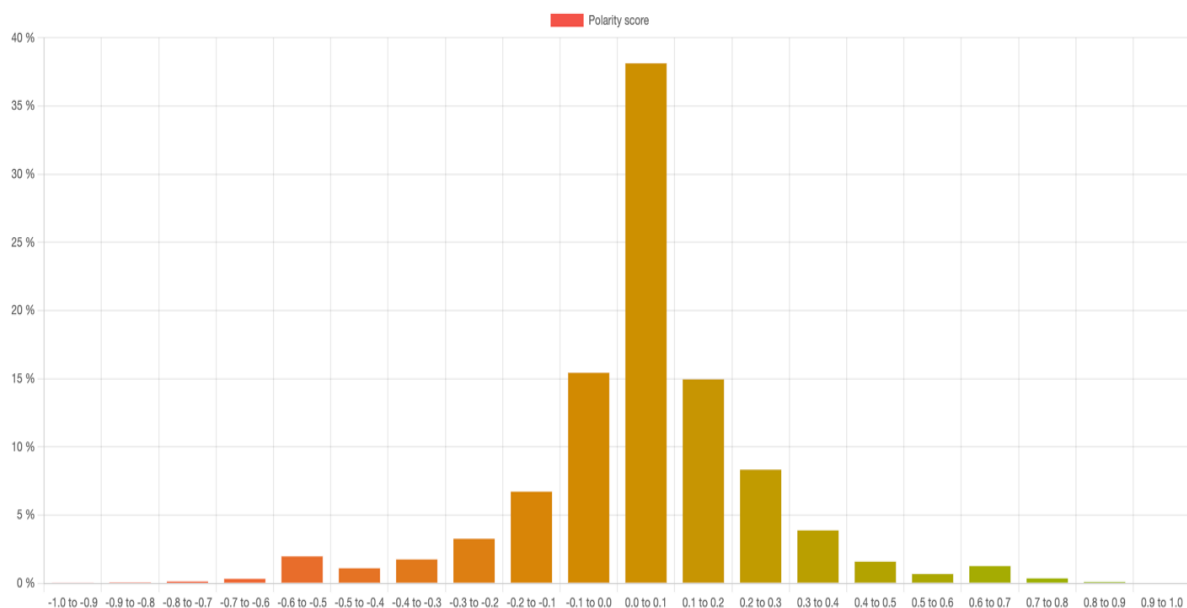
Defensie

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Counts by platform

Top keywords associated with it are: defensie, nederland, gaat, jaar, mensen.

Below see the polarity percentages:

Polarities percentages (-1 - very negative, 1 - very postive)

5.4 Algorithmic Amplification

Following the findings from the previous section, it should also be mentioned that in the setting up process of the 2 different accounts took about 1 hour for each. When setting up the accounts for Twitter/X, we noticed a considerable time difference, meaning that it took longer to create a decidedly Left-Wing account that followed only other Left-Wing accounts compared to setting up a Right-Wing one. We noticed time differences for the other platforms as well, but none as noticeable as Twitter/X. This difference can be explained by the different algorithms, agendas and purposes behind each platform.

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Underneath we provide a short examination of factors that may influence and guide, in some cases, the type of content that the algorithms and the user-base of the platforms seem to favor, as well as some analysis on the possible consequences of the algorithm's preference towards specific posts.

Twitter/X:

Several factors may heavily influence the findings on Twitter. Firstly, the intentions of the CEO of Twitter, Elon Musk. He has made his ideological opposition toward certain progressive and left-wing notions, such as "the woke virus" publicly known[lv]. Secondly, the built-in Twitter Ai Grok, that can interact with users and respond to questions and statements is intentionally programmed to be "politically neutral" according to Musk[lvi]. The presence of Grok on the platform may encourage both more discussions around politically conservative opinions, conspiracy theories and right-wing subjects in general. Alternatively, it may also encourage people to engage in absurd conversations without a specific political agenda.

However, it should be noted that the number of top hashtags in the right-wind sphere: **113**, far outpaces the number of top hashtags in the left-wing sphere: **60**. This shows a clear algorithmic and user-base preference towards right-wing and even far-right content and statements, marking Twitter as an outlier among social media platforms. This is further supported by a study done on the 2024 US Presidential Election, which shows that X's algorithm favors high popularity users and right-leaning accounts experiencing a high degree of exposure inequality, meaning that their posts were recommended far more on the user's "For you" timeline[lvii].

Instagram:

The largest number of posts created was on the #stopfossielesubsidies hashtag, largely carried out by activist groups such as Extinction Rebellion Nl or Milieudfensie. This may show a particular algorithmic and user-base preference towards the topic of climate change. However, the significance and the intensity of the events taking place in September 2023 should not be discredited. Many news outlets, media personalities and entities were commenting on the A12 blockades[lviii]. Ultimately, while there was a time difference between how long it took to set up a Left-Wing ecosystem versus how long it took to set up a Right-Wing ecosystem, Instagram may not be as politically oriented or as dialogue-focused as Twitter. These facts do not deduct form the algorithm's capacity to promote misinformation or harmful narratives for the sake of virality, but this tendency is not as observable or as preferential as it in the case of other platforms, such as Twitter.

Consequently, our research on Twitter and Instagram has shown that there is an extremely high likelihood that the algorithms selectively increase the visibility, reach and distribution of certain posts or actors, thus influencing public attention, general perceptions and pervasive narratives that occupy our digital spaces. Particularly in the case if Twitter, there is a visible, provable and known preference for right-wing posts, hashtags and actors. The platform's algorithm artificially increases the visibility and popularity of such posts, potentially spreading misinformation, harmful narratives or dangerous ideas for the sake of on-platform engagement and virality.

6. Patterns and Connections Across Issues

Purpose: Zoom out. What threads connect these seemingly different debates? What can that tell us about the agendas of the 'fire starters'?

Contents:
- Do we see (hard without accounts names from WhoDis II dashboard) any overlapping actors/accounts across issue areas? (will use WhoDis I in combination with desk research)
- Shared narrative DNA: threat, purity, tradition, sovereignty
- Differences in left-wing vs. right-wing polarization strategies

Timing and coordination: do certain narratives surge together?

This subsection will examine the correlation between online and offline events and occurrences and the symbiosis between them. We will achieve this by looking at the data showing the timing and coordination; specifically, the number of posts that are created on social media, their timing and possible coordination with other accounts and actors who become active at the same or similar time.

Across our research, that data shows that more posts will be created because of specific events occurring offline. These occurrences will likely stimulate the algorithm, the user base or create traction for certain tags, all of which would increase the visibility of posts and discourse. This correlation
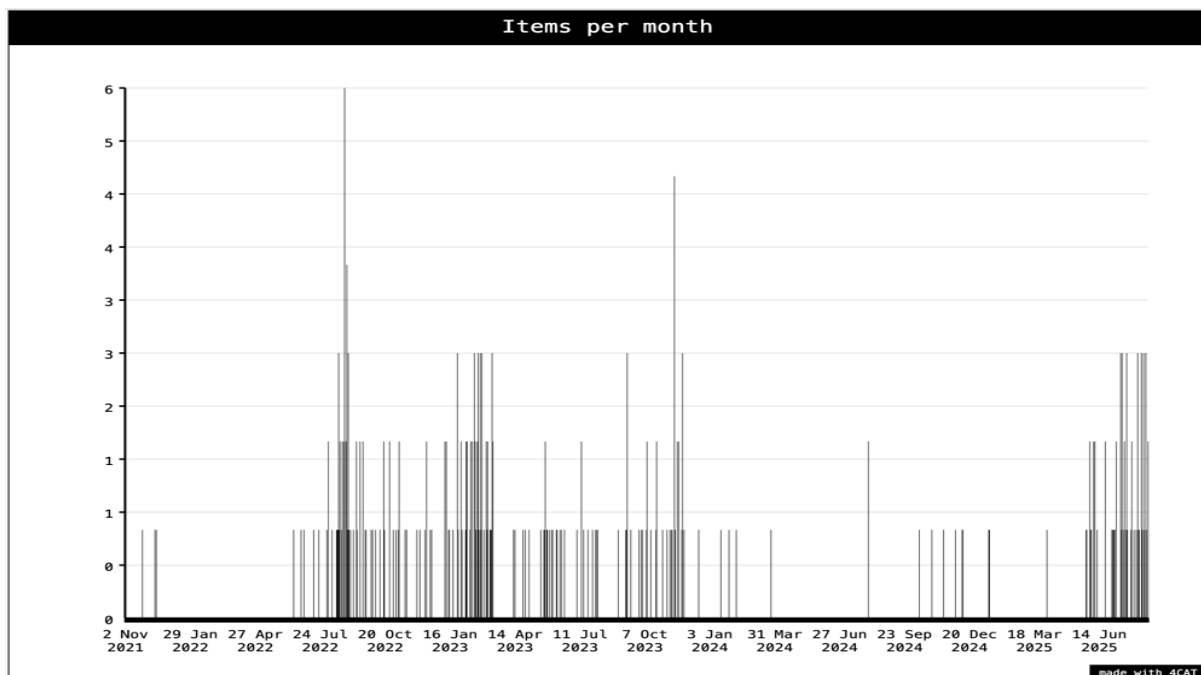
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between offline occurrences and online discourse shows a symbiosis between the two, wherein one side of the equation incentivizes or in certain cases, accelerates or further radicalizes the other.

In this case, the data was obtained by searching a specific hashtag on Instagram after the account was created according to the methodology laid out in section 5.2.5. Afterwards, the data was gathered through scrolling the results page using the Zeeschuimer and 4CAT tools respectively. To provide a complimentary perspective to our analysis of the Twitter/X data, in the case of Instagram we focusing on the number of posts created and the time of creation.
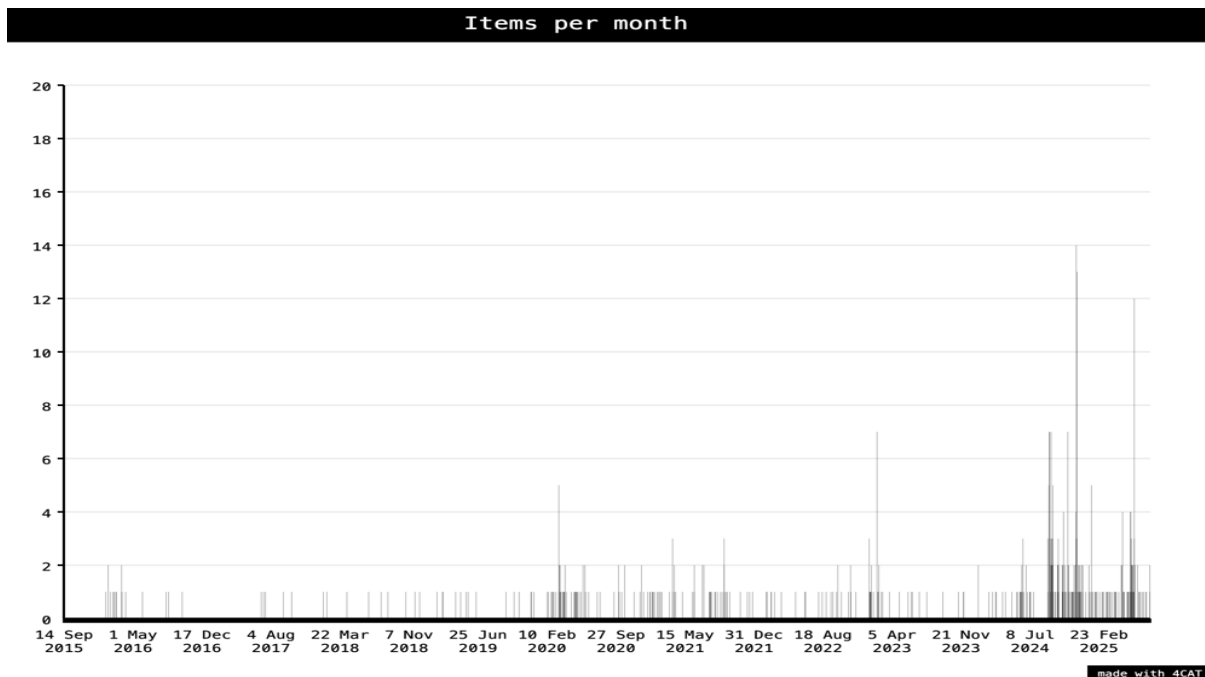
As a result of Instagram's search algorithm and our data gathering methods, there will be timeline discrepancies for the hashtags. This is due to them being filtered by popularity and relevance for each individual user, rather than chronologically. In this case, to ensure the relevance, we will examine the most recent spikes, in 2025. If there are no spikes in 2025, we will examine the overall most significant. Regardless, the phenomenon we are aiming to observe is the correlation between social media activity and real-life occurrences, such as speeches, news incidents, accidents, etc.

Timeline histograms per tag for right-wing posts

#asiestop: the graph shows considerable spikes in JUNE 2025. This increase likely correlates with a border incident in which about 50 Dutch residents decided to take it upon themselves to conduct border controls on cars entering the Netherlands, after being angered by a video of a German officer returning an asylum seeker[lix]

#grenscontroles: the graph shows considerable spikes around FEB 2025. This increase if posts being created likely correlates with a motion from Wilders that proposed all the Ukrainian refugees be repatriated in the event that a peace treaty is signed[lx]

It is, therefore, apparent that specific events may trigger a wave of posts made in support of the actors in the right-wing sphere. Alternatively, it could be speculated that these posts may also encourage the commission of further similar acts because of online encouragement and positive discourse or reinforcement. Nevertheless, there is an observable timing to the spikes. The coordination aspect will be explored through the different data set.

On the opposite side of the political spectrum, a similar phenomenon can be observed in the left-wing user base of Instagram.

Timeline histograms per tag for right-wing posts

#transrechten: the graph shows an increase around MARCH 2025. his increase likely correlates with the International Transgender visibility day on March 31st Leading up to this date, the Dutch Ministry of Interior and Kingdom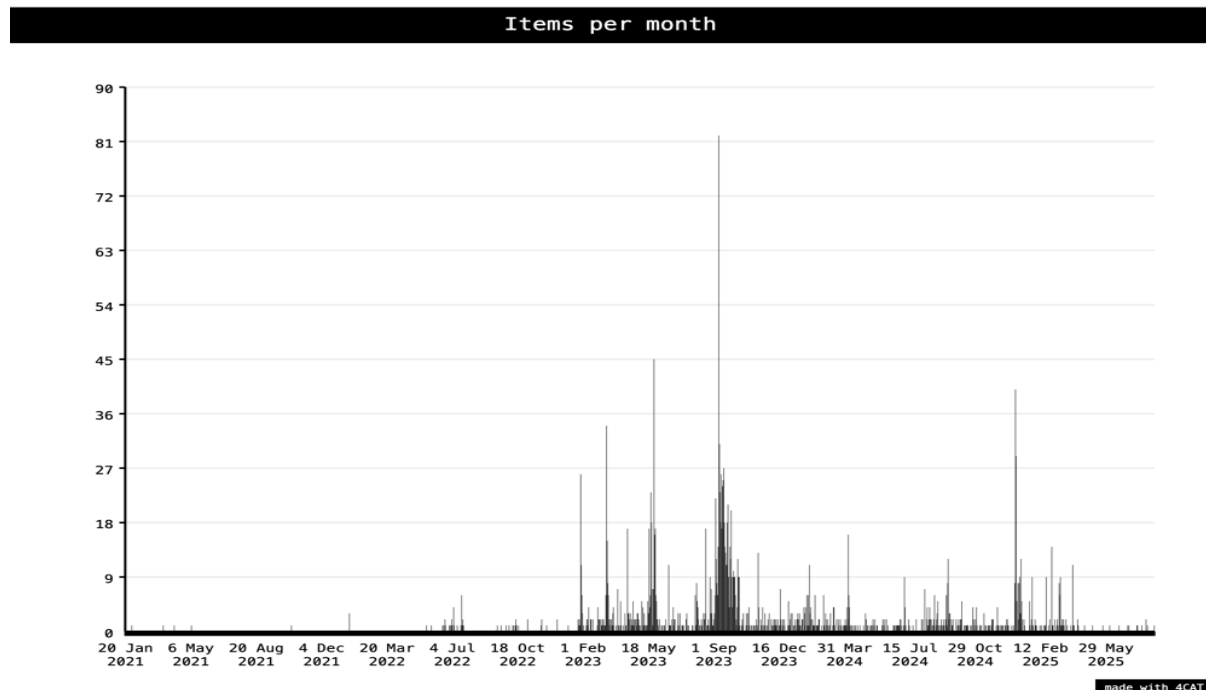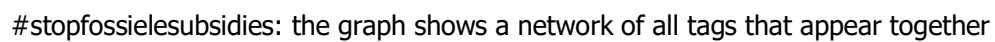 Relations (Het Nederlandse ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties) has also posted an official statement about the current state of trans righst[lxi]

#stopfossielesubsidies: the graph shows a considerable spike around SEPT 2023, a month famous for the A12 blockades carried out by the climate group Extinction Rebellion. We see similar spikes for MAY 2023, which also corresponds to highway blockades, intense news coverage and activity from the activist groups.

The data gathered on Instagram hashtags, shows that certain hashtags surge in popularity around specific dates and time periods which coincide with specific events. This is likely due to the hashtags being used by either actors or supporters as a tool to bring more attention to a certain subject matter. Furthermore, this subsection will also focus on the correlated words and tags. For the sake of simplicity, we have chosen two out of four: #stopfossielesubsidies and #asiestop. For these hashtags we will examine the correlated tags. Which tags tend to appear together with our chosen tags and what observations can be derived from this data, such as whether there are specific actors who are tagged in relation to these hashtags or if the tone of the conversation can be potentially discerned from the data.

In the case of the examined Instagram hashtags, #stopfossielesubsidies was by far the most widely used tag out of all and was correlated with the words "extinction rebellion", "climate rebellion" or "climateactivist". Likewise, #asiestop is often correlated with the words "ja21", "pvv" and "wilders".

#stopfossielesubsidies: the graph shows a network of all tags that appear together

#asiestop: the graph shows a network of all tags that appear together

The co-tag graphs for both #stopfossielesubsidies and #asiestop show a specific political association and affiliation. This can be further observed when examining the author-tag network. In this network, a line connects the author of a post to the specific tag whenever, that same author mentions it. Stronger lines signify more frequent mentions and posts.

#stopfossielesubsidies: the graph shows a network connecting authors to tags

#asiestop: the graph shows a network connecting the authors to the tag

An inspection of the data shows that certain tags, frequently used by specific leading actors and in relation to other tags that exist in a similar discourse space, tend to gain traction and have spikes in popularity around specific occurrences. As such, it can be deduced that the symbiosis between online and offline discourse relies significantly on the amplification of offline discourses in the online sphere. This algorithmic amplification can result in a ripple effect, ensuring that one event or occurrence garners a significant amount of attention.

A similar phenomenon occurs on TikTok as well. In this case, we have access to the most liked comments corresponding to the specific tags. As most significant spikes with our Left-Wing tags have occurred either two years ago for #stopfossielesubsidies or during the International Trans Visibility Day for #transrechten, we have decided to conduct research only into the comments for #asiestop and #grenscontroles. This decision was taken to ensure that the data we procure and examine is relevant for the understanding of the current state of affairs as of the publishing date of the report in October 2025.

The data was scraped once again with the methodology outlined in section 5.2.5, namely by making a sock-puppet account, following politically relevant accounts and gathering data once a suitable number of relevant accounts were followed. The data was gathered using Zeeschuimer and analyzed using 4CAT. Our 4CAT analysis has provided us with a list of top comments under the tags examined below:

#asielstop: The vast majority of comments include some variation of "stem PVV" and references to the October 2025 Dutch elections.

#grenscontroles: The comments here also mention "Stem PVV", "Diep respect" ,"Top" and other comments showing approval for various posts. however, unlike on Instagram, the words most often correlated with this hashtag include "overheid", like emojis, and "goed".

From the TikTok comments, it is apparent that there are specific narratives being perpetually shared in echo-chambers. We have observed a lack of nuanced comments or opposing views. Rather, we have

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observed a positive loop of comments congratulating anti-immigrant and anti-asylum seekers narratives similar to the echo-chambers and loops formed on other platforms.

7. Conclusions and Implications

This research set out to answer four guiding questions: Who are the actors driving divisive narratives in the Netherlands? What motivates them? How are these messages constructed and disseminated? And what do these patterns reveal about vulnerabilities in the Dutch information ecosystem?

The Research Questions

The findings show that polarization in the Netherlands is not an organic by-product of public debate, but the outcome of deliberate and coordinated strategies deployed by networks seeking to reshape social norms, electoral behavior, and perceptions of democratic legitimacy. Using the Anti-Rights Diamond Model, the study identified a constellation of actors spanning four interdependent pillars—populist/electoral, propaganda/media-influencer, the ultra-conservative/theocratic, and oligarch/industry pillars—whose combined actions form a resilient and adaptive ecosystem.

Motivations across these pillars vary—from political opportunism and social media exploitation to moral conviction and financial gain—but converge on a shared narrative that social progress is an existential danger to Dutch identity and sovereignty. These messages are constructed through emotional storytelling, nostalgia, and fear, and are disseminated through mutually reinforcing channels—political statements, broadcast media, ideological evangelizers, and street mobilization—that together create a continuous feedback loop of outrage.

The study demonstrates that the Dutch anti-rights ecosystem functions less as a collection of isolated voices than as a strategically networked field that works under the radar to convert ideology into influence — with the ultimate goals being political power and financial gain.

Key Findings

Most Polarizing Topics: Across all monitored platforms and sources, themes of migration, crime, LGBTIQ+ rights, and reproductive rights were most successfully exploited for the purposes of polarization. While each carries its own vocabulary and imagery, all four are framed as manifestations of moral decline and threats to the traditional family, cultural cohesion, or public safety. Crime and safety debates were a particularly potent gateway issue—linking cultural and security concerns and providing justification for exclusionary or punitive policies. Together, these topics sustain a doom-mongering worldview centered on loss, insecurity, and restoration of order.

Most Influential Actors: The research identifies several core spheres of influence within the Dutch anti-rights landscape:

– Political amplification is provided by parties including PVV, FvD, SGP, and JA21.
– Media and influencer networks—such as Ongehoord Nederland, Wynia's Week, De Andere Krant, DDS, De Blauwe Tijger, and figures like Eva Vlaardingerbroek and Raisa Blommestijn—connect ideological content with public mobilization.
– Street-level actors such as Pegida Nederland and Erkenbrand sustain visibility through spectacle.
– Ideological infrastructure is anchored by organizations such as Civitas Christiana, Schreeuw om Leven, and Bijbels Beraad Man/Vrouw.
– Financial and logistical enablers, though less visible, are critical for operational continuity.

Most Effective Strategies: Three strategic patterns emerge as particularly effective:

– Cross-pillar coordination ensuring message coherence and reach.
– Algorithmic exploitation leveraging social media outrage cycles.
– Emotional framing and nostalgia invoking moral panic and a lost 'proper' Dutch past.

The Dutch Context in Comparative Perspective

The Dutch case mirrors broader European and global trends. The fusion of populist nationalism with religious traditionalism, the transnational circulation of anti-gender rhetoric, and the use of alternative

media ecosystems are consistent with developments elsewhere. Yet, the Netherlands exhibits distinctive characteristics that magnify these dynamics.

- The country's strong tradition of pluralism and open debate creates opportunities for manipulative actors to operate under the guise of free expression.
- The fragmented media landscape and high digital literacy make the public sphere vulnerable to rapid narrative diffusion.
- Limited regulatory oversight allows fringe outlets to gain legitimacy by occupying perceived "anti-establishment" space.
- The intersection between libertarian populism and confessional conservatism produces hybrid narratives that resonate across ideological boundaries.

These features position the Netherlands as both a microcosm of wider European polarization and a testing ground for narrative innovation within transnational anti-rights movements.

Vulnerabilities in the Information Ecosystem

The findings reveal structural vulnerabilities that enable polarizing narratives to thrive. The opacity of social-media algorithms and the blurring of boundaries between journalism, activism, and entertainment have weakened traditional gatekeeping. Furthermore, limited coordination between governmental, civil-society, and academic stakeholders constrains early detection and response capacity.

Addressing these vulnerabilities will require systemic responses:

- Enhance transparency and accountability of digital platforms.
- Invest in independent early-warning systems to monitor narrative shifts.
- Support civic and media literacy initiatives.
- Strengthen partnerships between government, research, and civil society to develop evidence-based interventions.

Polarization is not inevitable—it is a process that can be interrupted when the architecture sustaining it is clearly understood. By pinpointing how polarizing narratives are constructed, ignited, and legitimized, the WhoDis II project equips stakeholders in government, civil society, traditional media and academia with the expertise they need to create proactive policies and strategic communications.

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