



Strategic normalisation by the right-wing extremist movement

September 2026

Cover caption

A sticker of the 'White Lives Matter' movement on a lamp post in the city centre of Eindhoven. The group is responsible for actions such as the projection of racist slogans on the City Hall of Eindhoven in 2023. The movement has objectives which are contrary to the values of our democratic legal order. Right-wing extremists put stickers in visible places among stickers with an innocent message.

Executive summary

This analytical report, based on open sources and AIVD intelligence, describes how right-wing extremists attempt to normalise their ideology. Over the past years right-wing extremists have gained deeper access to various social domains and the discussions being held there. With this analysis the NCTV and the AIVD would like to increase the knowledge and awareness of the normalisation being carried out by part of the Dutch right-wing extremists, so that organisations, institutions, and society can increase their resilience against this phenomenon.

Central to the right-wing extremist ideology are supposed white supremacy and hatred of people with a migration background and those with different beliefs. The right-wing extremist landscape in the Netherlands consists of loosely organised networks of individuals and groups that are active both online and offline. These groups often consist of a few dozen members, of which usually only a few are also core members. These are the leaders and the more active members who initiate and attend activities. Additionally, right-wing extremists can reach a large audience online without formal organisation or physical meetings. Because of this, influencers and content creators are becoming more important within the right-wing extremist landscape.

Particularly, core members of right-wing extremist groups and some other influential right-wing extremists purposefully carry out a normalisation strategy, though this strategy is not worked out in organised detail nor is it carried out in strict coordination. Other right-wing extremists are often aware of the goal of this broader strategy: to make the ideology, and the extremists themselves, broadly acceptable. The principle of the strategy is metapolitics: influencing cultural, intellectual, political, and public domains. Right-wing extremists who purposefully work on normalising their ideology partake in façade politics: they present a veiled version of their ideas, making them appear more acceptable to a larger group of people. They are aware that there is more room to actually realise their ideas if these ideas are more widely accepted.

The ideology of right-wing extremists is in contradiction with the values of our democratic legal order. These values form the foundation of our free society in which people with different opinions, beliefs, and cultural backgrounds live together in freedom and equality. In normalising their ideology, right-wing extremists aim to dismantle the democratic legal order and instead establish a white ethnostate. Right-wing extremists misuse our democratic legal order and the fundamental rights it provides, such as freedom of speech and right to protest, for their own anti-democratic goals. They use these democratic means to bring about social polarisation and undermine various democratic processes.

The process of normalisation is additionally facilitated by the further spreading and frequently repeating of the message. As people continue to be confronted with right-wing extremist messages and symbolism in various domains, the initial resilience to these may decrease. Additionally, individuals who are susceptible to right-wing extremist ideas will be more likely to adopt them if they are repeatedly exposed to them. The risk of this occurring is larger under the circumstance of a veiled version of the ideology, because the initial resilience against it is lower to begin with.

Strategic normalisation by right-wing extremists happens through various activities:

- **Influencing the online debate and propaganda in the public domain.** Both public and semi-public online spaces are used to spread large amounts of overtly and covertly racist messages. This is done in many forms, such as through text, quotes, photos, videos, cartoons, and memes. Right-wing extremists also spread disinformation and conspiracy theories, such as the 'Great Replacement' theory. Offline they spread their ideas through stickers and graffiti or through public manifestations that generate attention.
- **Joining and hijacking protests.** These often concern protests against immigration policy or proposed asylum seekers' centres. When right-wing extremists can freely join protests they get access to an additional platform to freely spread their ideas. This provides added legitimacy to their opinion during the protest and in the related online discourse, as well as afterwards through any possible media and political attention.
- **International cooperation and rapprochement with the far right.** The mixing of right-wing extremists and far right politicians, opinion makers, and influencers at (international) gatherings also contributes to the normalisation of right-

wing extremist ideas, especially if the extremist principles are not contradicted or are embraced by participants who are not right-wing extremists themselves. Adopting right-wing extremist terminology provides right-wing extremists with a platform where they can present themselves as legitimate discussion partner and further spread their ideology.

- **Influencing political parties from the inside.** Right-wing extremists in the Netherlands not only join political parties, but also try to hold positions within these parties. For this they focus on parties at the far right of the political spectrum.

It is not the case that *all* right-wing extremists who are involved in the above-mentioned activities do this because they purposefully want to contribute to normalising their ideology. Nonetheless, these activities can lead to the normalisation of right-wing extremist ideas, whether this was the intended goal or not.

Right-wing extremists claim space in both the public and political domain and misuse these for their own goals. Resilience against this phenomenon is of vital importance to prevent our democratic legal order from insidiously being dismantled by extremists.

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Caption

During a protest against immigration policy by the organisation 'Mars voor veilig Nederland' (March for a safe Netherlands) someone holds up a sign calling for a halt to the Great Replacement. This is a conspiracy theory positing that a left-wing or Jewish 'elite' is purposefully pursuing a 'mass immigration' policy in order to 'replace' the white Dutch population

1. Introduction

In 2018 the AIVD first reported that parts of the right-wing extremist movement in the Netherlands prioritised the spread and normalisation of their ideas.¹ These right-wing extremists, for example, wanted to start a cultural revolution towards a society in which 'the white race' is viewed as superior to other 'races' and where inequality on the basis of skin colour is considered a logical consequence. In threat assessments and annual reports since 2022 both the NCTV and the AIVD have addressed the threat stemming from the normalisation of right-wing extremist ideas to the democratic legal order.² This analysis describes the way in which right-wing extremists attempt to normalise their ideas and increase their influence. They often do this by putting up a façade: to the outside world they pretend to be less extreme than they really are. They target all parts of society, thereby insidiously threatening the democratic legal order. After all, right-wing extremist ideas are in contradiction with fundamental rights such as equal treatment under the law and the prohibition of discrimination that form the foundation of the democratic legal order. Right-wing extremists incite intolerance, discrimination, and dehumanisation and fuel social polarisation. This affects the social and political stability of the Netherlands, which is one of the six national security interests.

In the past years the AIVD and NCTV have seen that the right-wing extremist strategy aimed at normalising their ideas has led to increased access to various social domains and the discussions that are held there. They participate in online debates, are present at protests and meetings, organise themselves within university campuses, and try to influence political parties.

With this analysis the NCTV and the AIVD want to increase knowledge and awareness of the strategy of normalisation by right-wing extremists and the possible consequences of this, so that organisations, institutions, and society can increase their resilience against this phenomenon. The analysis is based on both open sources (including academic literature, media reports, and government publications) and AIVD intelligence.

In most Western democracies, political views on matters such as national identity, migration, and Islam amongst broad layers of society have changed as a result of various social, economic, cultural, and political developments.³ This report is not an analysis of the Dutch social and political debate on such themes. The fact that right-wing extremists also take up a position on these topics does not mean that every outspoken opinion on the political right should be qualified as extremist. Animated discussions on sensitive topics are part of free and open debate and contribute to a lively and healthy democracy.



Caption

The windows of the D66 party office were smashed after an anti-immigration protest got out of control, and right-wing extremist expressions were chanted and destruction of property was caused.

2. Undermining the democratic legal order and national security by right-wing extremism

In the following chapter the central principles of (right-wing) extremism, the democratic legal order, and (strategic) normalisation are explained, as well as how these terms relate to each other.

Key points

- Inequality and white supremacy are central to right-wing extremism. Right-wing extremist ideas incite intolerance, discrimination, dehumanisation, and hatred towards certain groups. This calls into the question the principle of equality, as described in Article 1 of the Dutch Constitution.
- Right-wing extremist ideas are in contradiction with the democratic legal order. This democratic legal order consists first of a political system, the democratic state under the rule of law, and also the free society in which citizens with various cultural backgrounds, religions, and lifestyles coexist in equality and peace.
- The threat posed by right-wing extremism is manifold. There is a chance that one or several Dutch individuals active in online right-wing terrorist environments will resort to terrorist violence. Additionally there are right-wing extremists who do not shy away from using violence, such as during protests. Most right-wing extremists in the Netherlands do not intent to use violence, but their actions do insidiously undermine the democratic legal order.
- Various right-wing extremist organisations and influencers strategically try to normalise their ideology.

(Right-wing) extremism

Extremism refers to a willingness based on ideological motivations to carry out non-violent and/or violent activities that undermine the democratic legal order.⁴ Violence may target persons and objects. Examples of non-violent activities are systematic hatemongering, spreading fear, spreading disinformation, demonising and intimidation, rejecting laws and legislation, and attempting to establish a parallel society in which the authority of the Dutch government and legal system are rejected. Inequality and white superiority are core to right-wing extremism. Additionally, racism, ultranationalism, anti-semitism, xenophobia (including hatred of Muslims), aversion to 'the left', hatred of foreign (cultural) elements, misogyny and abhorrence of LGBTQI+ persons are also characteristic of right-wing extremism. These topics have various degrees of prominence within the different right-wing extremist subcultures.

The democratic legal order

The democratic legal order consists first of a political system, being the democratic state under the rule of law, in which the relationship between the state and its citizens is organised. This is called the vertical dimension of the democratic legal order. Important in the democratic state under the rule of law are institutions such as political representation, public administration, and the judiciary. Academic freedom and a free media are also of great importance to the functioning of the democratic state. The democratic legal order also has a horizontal dimension: a free society. This speaks to the relationships between citizens: a society with equal rights and duties, such as we have in the Netherlands.⁵ In a free society, citizens with different cultural backgrounds, religions, and lifestyles coexist in equality and peace and there is an open debate in which people are allowed to thoroughly disagree with each other.

Undermining the democratic legal order and national security by right-wing extremism

The democratic state, with its rule of law and free society, as well as the citizens, (professional) groups, and institutions that shape it may be a target for extremist actors. The values on which the democratic legal order is based stand in stark contrast to right-wing extremist ideas. All activities stemming from this ideology are a potential threat to the rights and freedoms of groups in society and as such to the free society. The democratic legal order can be damaged when it is not sufficiently resilient against such activities. Depending on the impact of the damage, this may constitute a threat to national security in that it affects the social and political stability.⁶

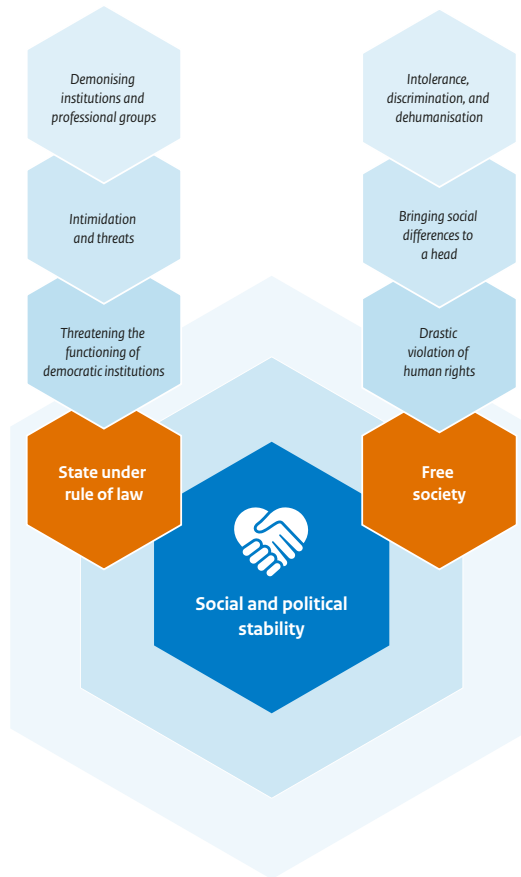


Figure 1: Normalisation as a threat to the democratic legal order

The threat posed by right-wing extremism is manifold. First, there is the threat of (terrorist) violence. It is estimated that there are several hundred Dutch individuals active in right-wing terrorist online environments. There is a possibility that one or several of them will resort to carrying out an attack. Additionally, there are groups and individuals who do not shy away from using violence, which usually manifests itself in protests. However, most right-wing extremists in the Netherlands are not focused on acts of violence but on spreading their ideology. In this way the right-wing extremist ideology becomes normalised and the influence of right-wing extremists increases. This non-violent approach of undermining the democratic legal order is different from that of a terrorist attack or extremist violence. A large-scale attack often causes a shock wave in society, the most extreme effects of which often subside eventually. Non-violent extremism threatens the democratic legal order in a more insidious manner, and in the long term the ultimate undermining effect to the democratic legal order and the free society can be more substantial than the impact of a terrorist attack. If right-wing extremists succeed in putting their ideas into practice, the relations between individuals in society will fundamentally change and the safeguards of the democratic state under the rule of law will be lost. In the worst case scenario, this could be an irreversible development. The ultimate goal of right-wing extremists is the establishment of a white ethnostate, a country where there is only room for their kind of white people with a European ethnicity.

(Strategic) normalisation

Normalisation of ideology occurs when ideas which previously were considered unacceptable or even taboo become more acceptable in society. The process of normalisation is often shown through the Overton window (figure 2).

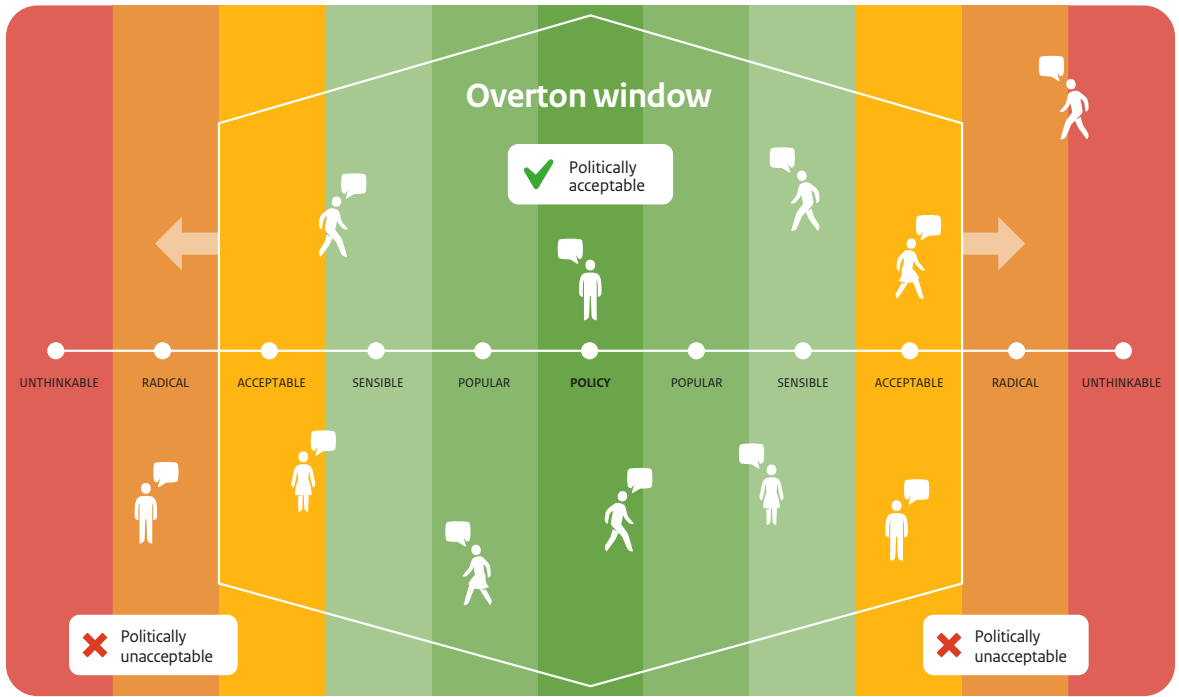


Figure 2: The Overton window

The Overton window is a theoretical model which shows (political) ideas that at a certain moment in time are widely accepted in society and ideas which are deemed less acceptable or unacceptable. The window is thus a reflection of the dominant norms and values in society at the time.⁷ Adherents of ideas that fall outside of the scope of this window do not have as much access to the social debate with their beliefs and are therefore less visible and influential.

Because of a variety of factors, the Overton window shifts over time. This is in part through independent social, economic, political, or technological developments, and partially through conscious actions aimed at changing societal beliefs. This latter development is called *strategic normalisation*: a conscious effort to make the unacceptable, acceptable. The government can take the lead in this development (e.g. wearing a seat belt in the car or anti-smoking campaigns), but groups in society can also do this (e.g. in the past regarding women's suffrage). Often normalisation happens through a combination of independent factors and the strategic actions of lobby and action groups, non-governmental organisations, and the government.⁸

Normalisation of certain ideas can lead to a democratic legal order that is healthier and better functioning, for example when the ideas that are normalised promote equality between citizens. On the other hand there is the normalisation of ideas which undermine the democratic legal order, such as inciting intolerance, discrimination, dehumanisation, and hatred. In this way the principle of equality, as described in Article 1 of the Dutch Constitution, is under threat. Various right-wing extremist organisations and influencers consciously aim for the normalisation of such ideas. Chapter 4 describes how they do this.



Caption

An anti-immigration protest at the Malieveld in The Hague results in large riots in which flags calling for remigration were carried.

3. The right-wing extremist landscape in the Netherlands

The right-wing extremist movement in the Netherlands is diverse and takes multiple forms. Until the beginning of the 21st century, the movement consisted mostly of smaller groups, including skinheads, who adhered to the Nazi ideology and attempted to disseminate this narrative through small-scale actions. With the development of online right-wing extremism persons and groups had the opportunity to use the internet and social media to spread right-wing extremist ideas. At the same time, the ideology changed. This chapter will look more closely at these developments.

Key points

- Over the past decades, the right-wing extremist landscape has changed significantly. The online world has become much bigger and more important.
- Additionally, the identitarian movement has become prominent in Europe, including in the Netherlands. Modern right-wing extremism shows increasingly stronger international connections.
- This movement places the emphasis on culture and identity rather than 'race' in order to come across as more acceptable. In reality, many identitarians are convinced of 'white superiority' and show their aversion to other cultures and religions, as well as white individuals with a different belief system than theirs, such as feminists and LGBTQI+ individuals.
- The nonviolent strategy of normalisation can lead to violent incidents. Individuals willing to use violence can feel emboldened to turn their ideology into violent actions.

A renewed sound: the rise of the identitarian movement

The right-wing extremist landscape changed around 2015.⁹ In the right-wing extremist narrative, migration and the Islam became increasingly important topics, in part due to the rise of ISIS around 2014, jihadist attacks in Europe, and the influx of refugees to Europe around 2015. Traditional Nazis remained a fringe group. At the same time in the Netherlands and other European countries, the identitarian movement came to the fore. This movement publicly opposes the perceived Islamisation of Western countries, influences by other cultures than the 'native culture', and the consequential perceived 'downfall' of the European civilisation. The identitarian movement consciously emphasises cultural identity rather than biological 'race'. They wield a broad concept of identity, in which, in addition to culture, ancestry and ethnicity play a role. This is referred to as ethnonationalism. Identitarians often paint a picture in which different ethnicities are considered equal, but they advocate a segregation whereby each ethnicity lives in their 'own' country. However, they also often make denigrating and discriminating statements about other ethnicities and view European ethnicities as superior. As a result of this shift towards the identitarian narrative, the right-wing extremist movement has grown. After all, explicit racial doctrine is associated with Nazi Germany and talking about 'cultural identity' is considered less of a sensitive issue in society. However, adherents of the identitarian movement also express themselves in racist and antisemitic statements. The movement focuses on recruiting minors and young adults. Furthermore, their campaigns are media savvy and strengthen the sense of brotherhood and masculinity. The movement has gained traction in several countries.

'Alt-right' coming through from the US

Around 2015 an international right-wing extremist movement emerged that originated from the United States and became known under the euphemism 'alt-right' (meant as: 'alternative' right). This movement offers an alternative to Nazi groups by enabling white people to develop a pro-white identity, without having to identify as 'racist' or Nazi. However, the 'alt-right' ideology is just an 'intellectual' repackaging of the ideology that is based on perceived white supremacy and racial thinking. The 'alt-right' movement consists of separate groups and influential individuals (including online influencers) who have varying right-wing extremist ideas. The common denominator is the thought that white people are under threat from other 'races'. Besides this, the 'alt-right' attaches value to so-called intellect and an impeccable appearance.

From the start, ‘alt-right’ followers have been very savvy with the internet and social media. In the Netherlands the movement was mainly represented by the right-wing extremist group Erkenbrand.

Growing importance of internet and social media

From around 2020 onward the importance of the online component has grown rapidly. The number of websites and social media channels where right-wing extremist content is shared has grown significantly. This enables right-wing extremists to reach a large audience without the need for formal organisation or physical meetings.¹⁰ Because of this, influencers and content creators have become increasingly important within right-wing extremism. Additionally, the function of content-based filtering algorithms is important. The purpose of these algorithms is to retain the attention of users for as long as possible. Also a significant factor in this is the lack of adequate moderation.¹¹ As a result of all this it has become a lot easier to get exposed to (also unsolicited) extremist content on social media. Gaming platforms are also a factor in this. In particular minors, who frequently visit these platforms, can be exposed to extremist content here.¹²

The offline landscape is changing

Additionally over the past years there have been some developments with regard to right-wing extremist groups in the Netherlands that also meet in person. New groups have been set up, and other groups have become smaller and less active. Right-wing extremist groups often consist of a few dozen members, with only a few individuals that are core members: these are the leaders and the more active members who initiate and attend activities. Where before there used to be a lot of competition between the groups, they now cooperate with each other more. The right-wing extremist landscape in the Netherlands increasingly consists of loosely organised networks of individuals and groups that are active both online and offline.

Currently in 2026 there are various active offline groups the AIVD considers to be right-wing extremist, including White Lives Matter (WLM), the *Geuzenbond*, the Greater Netherlands Student Association (*Groot-Nederlandse Studentenvereniging*, GNSV) established by the *Geuzenbond*, the Active Club Dietsland (ACD), *Wolvenrad*, and *Voorpost*. Some of these groups can be considered as Nazi groups. They glorify Hitler Germany, are very antisemitic and emphasise the alleged racial differences, whereby the ‘white’ race is viewed as superior. Other groups can be considered ethnonationalistic. Although racism is also prevalent in these groups, in public the members mainly emphasise cultural differences between people and religions and oppose perceived threats to the ‘Dutch identity’. Ultimately, right-wing extremist groups usually have a mixture of right-wing extremist ideas, that often originate in Nazism.¹³ Thus, cultural and racial narratives are often concurrent.

In addition, modern right-wing extremism shows increasingly stronger international connections. Examples of this are the global network of ‘Active Clubs’, of which the ACD is a part, and the European identitarian movement. That movement currently cooperates under banners such as ‘Action Radar Europe’ and ‘Save Europe Act’ and also refers to itself as generation remigration. The *Geuzenbond* was also part of this.

Inequality and white superiority are the focus of the ideology

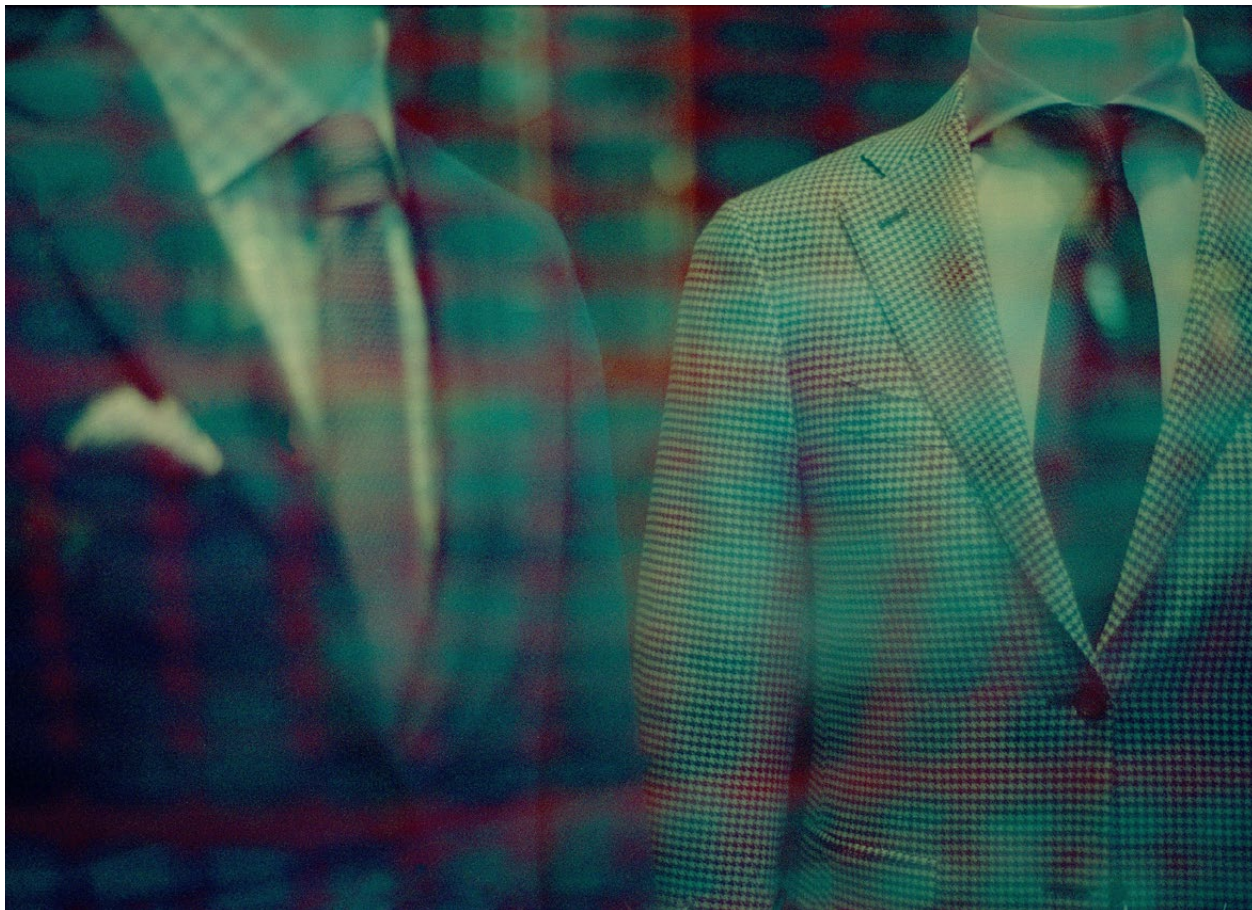
Right-wing extremists are convinced of the superiority of the ‘white race’, or in veiled ethnonationalist terms, the ‘Western cultural identity’. Their goal is a white ethnostate in which there is no, or very little, room for other cultures or ‘races’. WLM wants the Netherlands to be at least 99% ‘white’ with the remaining 1% having only a temporary status and a subservient role to ‘white people’. The *Geuzenbond* wants a homogeneous Dutch nation in the region where it was historically based. Yet another group states that ‘the white race is superior to all’ and that ‘abortion within their own race is considered murder – but a necessity when it comes to other races’. Right-wing extremist rhetoric is filled with pride in what they view as their ‘own’ people, culture, and history and filled with abhorrence and hatred towards other cultures and people, and they are spoken of in dehumanising terms. This aversion also applies to white people that have different beliefs, often referred to as ‘left-wing’ or ‘(Cultural) Marxist’.¹⁴ According to them they are traitors towards the Dutch people.

A popular narrative among right-wing extremists focuses on what they call the ‘Great Replacement’, a conspiracy theory that maintains that a left-wing or Jewish ‘elite’ knowingly implements a policy of ‘mass immigration’ in order to ‘replace’

the white Dutch population (see section 4.2.1., text box “Great Replacement” as an example of successful normalisation).¹⁵ Right-wing extremists position the white man as a victim in the Great Replacement conspiracy theory. According to them the white race is robbed of their culture and identity and threatened in their existence in their ‘own country’. Right-wing extremists refer to this as ‘white genocide’. In doing so, they put an extremist spin on the concerns amongst citizens who feel displaced in a changing society. Their solution to the ‘Great Replacement’ is ‘remigration’, a euphemism that in their view amounts to the forced deportation of peoples of a different culture, religion, or ‘race’ (see also section 4.2.3. text box ‘Remigration as ‘solution’ to replacement’). Right-wing extremists also capitalise on the increased popularity of conservative gender roles and masculinity. They detest feminists, LGBTQI+ individuals, and people who enter into interracial marriages. Right-wing extremists claim that these groups prevent reproduction and ‘racial purity’.

Fascination for violence, but a nonviolent strategy

Right-wing extremists often believe that ultimately a conflict will be necessary in order to protect their own people and culture or to be able to bring about a white ethnostate. Martial arts are therefore popular among right-wing extremists. The Active Clubs, which have been set up in various Western countries, revolve around training and mixed martial arts matches as well as ideological education. However, the current right-wing extremist scene is mainly focused on nonviolent extremism, namely spreading and normalising their narrative. Most of them therefore reject the use of violence, at least for the time being, because it could be detrimental to the normalisation of their narrative. They endeavour to influence society in a nonviolent manner and thereby want to gradually prepare society for their ultimate ideal: a white ethnostate. To this end they strategically target various groups in society. Some will emphasise activities in public in order to disseminate the ideology, while others attempt to join organisations and political parties in order to influence these from the inside out. Moreover, this nonviolent strategy may also increase the use of violence. If right-wing extremist ideas become more broadly accepted, individuals who are willing to use violence may feel emboldened to turn their thoughts into violent action. Also, normalisation of the ideology that propagates the idea of a big threat to its ‘own’ people can increase the feeling of a need for action amongst individuals willing to use violence.



Caption

Right-wing extremists try to present themselves as legitimate participants in the debate in order to normalise their ideology.

4. Strategic normalisation by right-wing extremists in the Netherlands

Broadly speaking, right-wing extremists in the Netherlands are aware of the positive effects of the normalisation of their ideology. Particularly, core members of right-wing extremist groups and some other influential right-wing extremists purposefully employ a normalisation strategy, though this strategy has not been worked out in detail nor is it carried out in strict coordination. Other right-wing extremists are often generally aware of the goal of the strategy: to make the ideology, and the extremists themselves, seem acceptable. They are aware of and actively use terms such as ‘normalisation’, ‘Overton window’, and ‘metapolitics’ with regards to their ideology. In this chapter, we will detail various activities by right-wing extremists that could lead to the normalisation of their ideology. In part, these activities stem from an active strategy aimed at normalisation.

Key points

- Metapolitics - influencing the cultural, intellectual, political, and public domains - is the starting point for strategic normalisation.
- Frequent repetition of their ideas can reduce the initial resilience against extremist messages and symbolism.
- Right-wing extremists who aim for normalisation partake in façade politics; they often present a veiled version of their ideas, in order to appear more acceptable. Purposefully shifting the focus from ‘race’ to culture and identity is an example of this.
- Strategic normalisation by right-wing extremists happens through various domains: influencing the online debate, spreading propaganda in the public space, and during protests. They also work together internationally with like-minded groups and individuals, sometimes approaching far right political parties and attempting to influence political parties from the inside.

4.1 Metapolitics as a starting point for normalisation

The core idea of metapolitics is that political ideas have to be broadly embedded in society before political change can occur.¹⁶ That is why metapolitics requires focussing on influencing the cultural, intellectual, political and public domains, including the media, social media environments, and schooling. Of itself, metapolitics is a deeply democratically embedded method to affect change. However, it becomes problematic if it is used by extremists to undermine the democratic system.

Right-wing extremists who focus on the normalisation of their ideology aim to realise this through a loosely organised, (inter)national network of right-wing extremist actors and sympathisers who, sometimes from the inside, attempt to influence various domains. There they focus on online environments, groups, associations, political parties, institutions, and companies. In order for this to succeed they first have to make their ideas part of the debate that is being held in these domains. They can do this by being active themselves in these domains or have others promote their ideas. The presence and normalisation of extremist ideas within one domain may lead to the spreading of these ideas to other domains. The spread of right-wing extremist ideas online can spread to offline domains when traditional media reports on this, politicians refer to them in debates, or social media users take these ideas with them in their daily conversations with friends, family, or colleagues.¹⁷ The frequent repetition of right-wing extremist ideas is also an important factor in this. As people continue to be repeatedly exposed to right-wing extremist messages and symbolism in various domains, the initial resilience to these may decrease. People who are susceptible to right-wing extremist ideas are more likely to adopt and then further spread them when they are repeatedly exposed to them.¹⁸

When right-wing extremist ideas find broad support in society, political change can also gradually be achieved. This does not require an absolute majority. After all, a lack of criticism of and resistance against right-wing extremist ideology contributes to the increase of its political influence.

It follows from the principle of metapolitics that they strive for normalisation in various ways. The following section will explain various tactics of strategic normalisation, namely: influencing the online debate, propaganda activities in the physical space, joining and hijacking demonstrations, seeking international cooperation and rapprochement with the far right, and influencing political parties from the inside. The methods are described here as tactics. However, this does not mean that all right-wing extremists involved in these activities do so to purposefully contribute to normalisation. Not every right-wing extremist protester at a protest will be there for strategic reasons (see 4.2.3). The same is true for right-wing extremists who spread memes on the internet (see 4.2.1). This is however generally the case if a right-wing extremist purposefully conceals their ideology when seeking rapprochement with a political party (see 4.2.4 and 4.2.5). Nevertheless these activities, whether carried out as conscious strategic actions or not, contribute to the normalisation of right-wing extremist ideology.

4.2 Tactics of strategic normalisation

There is a broad range of tactics for strategic normalisation. This takes place both online and in the ‘real’ world. Sometimes the extremist message is communicated explicitly, and at other times is brought veiled and more subtly. Some right-wing extremists are easily recognised through their clothing, expressions, and conduct, while others adjust their style to the environment they wish to influence.

‘Blend into your surroundings’

The originally US right-wing extremist movement White Lives Matter is explicit in its manual regarding the need to blend into one's surroundings: ‘You need to understand what locals find approachable (e.g. in Southern American states, people wear jeans and shirts –if you show up in all black you will not blend in). Looking anti-social (e.g. military gear, politically charged flags, wearing skull masks or using slurs) will likely result in rejection of the pro-White message by most White people you meet that day. Absolutely do not perform roman salutes [a term for the Nazi salute] in exoteric activism environment. You must have a positive impact on the people that you engage with and path [sic] the way for them to develop pro-White sentiments step-by-step.’

Obfuscation of the message

Still, the unfiltered version of right-wing extremist thinking deters many people. After all, it is a message of white superiority, racism, hatred, and violence. People who propagate such messages are less accepted in the cultural, intellectual, and public domains, will be barred from the mainstream social debate, and as such have less influence within society. Right-wing extremists who focus on normalisation are aware of this and therefore often present their ideas in a veiled form. It is in effect façade politics: outwardly people present themselves as moderate, but in closed circles they express themselves much more extremely.

An important adjustment is for instance shifting the focus in the right-wing extremist narrative from ‘race’ to culture and identity. This opens the doors to various domains with arguments that listeners are more likely to agree with than arguments that presume the supposed biological superiority of the ‘white race’.¹⁹ With this shift in focus right-wing extremists latch on to themes that are already topic of debate. Examples are the changes to what are seen as ‘Dutch traditions’ or the perceived over-the-top diversity and inclusivity policies. Right-wing extremists get involved in discussions surrounding a more neutral approach to Christian holidays. They link this in part to the perceived ‘Islamisation’ of our country

which threatens our society. Genuine feelings of displacement amongst citizens are abused to make racist or xenophobic messages more attractive to more people. Once right-wing extremists have obtained access to certain domains and the debate there, it gives them the opportunity to also disseminate their more extreme ideas.

Culture and identity versus ‘race’

An example of this shifting frame is the way in which the Greater Netherlands Student Association (*Groot Nederlandse Studentenvereniging*, GNSV), founded by the right-wing extremist *Geuzenbond*, presents itself to the outside world. The GNSV presents itself as a student association with a ‘conservative national philosophy of life’ that considers Flanders and the Netherlands as one people. In this framework it organises ‘nationalist’ gatherings and events for its members and ‘right-wing’ students, focussing on history and culture. With this, they do not have an outward facing extremist profile. Behind the scenes, however, it becomes clear that its actual ideas are different than the GNSV presents to the world. They view Flemish and Dutch people as one people, and as a ‘white’ people. Multiple (core) members of the GNSV have also made very racist statements about the Dutch identity. In this framework the GNSV also attaches great importance to the ‘remigration’ of Dutch and Flemish people with a non-Western migration background. Within the association, they are aware of the importance of presenting their ideology in the most acceptable way possible so as to come across as moderate. By purposefully playing into cultural and identity questions, this association has been granted a place within university campuses to recruit members and organise activities. Membership of this group is thereby normalised, while in reality the underlying ideas and ideological ambitions are right-wing extremist.

4.2.1 Influencing the online debate

Right-wing extremists spread their ideology both in the virtual and physical world. The virtual world is particularly international. A lot of content is in English and the influencing of the societal debate is transnational. In private and public online platforms, large amounts of veiled and openly racist messages are spread and repeated in all kinds of forms, such as videos, texts, quotes, photos, cartoons, memes etcetera. Right-wing extremists present an appealing digital counterculture focused on lifestyle, youth culture, and aesthetics. An example of this is female influencers who combine their videos on dating and relationships with statements on the ‘invasion’ of Europe by migrants and the supposed dangers of the Islam.²⁰ Right-wing extremists influence online discussions to propagate their own ideas and fuel polarisation through sowing discord and diving communities.²¹ The spread of conspiracy theories and disinformation helps right-wing extremists in influencing the online debate because it creates confusion and it makes it more difficult for people to separate fact from fiction.

The international right-wing extremist online landscape fans the flames of the extremist ideology. Right-wing extremists light the fire, but social media and its algorithms ensure a rapid spread. Through this, a limited group of right-wing extremists is able to gain a much larger online influence than you would expect based on their numbers. Particularly on public social media platforms such as TikTok and X it is easy for people to knowingly or unknowingly be exposed to right-wing extremist ideas. Right-wing extremists online often use veiled and coded language, such as words, numbers, and seemingly innocent pictures with hidden messages. For example, extremist messages are presented covertly in the form of short videos or memes intended to be funny.²² In their cultural form, they fit well within online culture, while criticism on the content can be countered by stating it was ‘just a joke’. In this way right-wing extremists bypass the usual online obstacle of moderation and prevent uninitiated ‘meddlers’ such as parents, authorities, or content moderators from interfering. Following that dynamic, because of the way algorithms work and because of their own interests, young people online may be redirected to more extreme content.²³ On mainstream platforms, implicit extremist content is increasingly taking the place of explicit extremist content.²⁴ Importantly, this development does depend on the extent to which content moderation is carried out by the platform. If that moderation is less strict, there is more room for extremist content.

The ‘Great Replacement’ as example of successful normalisation

A prominent narrative spread online is the ‘Great Replacement’ conspiracy theory. This conspiracy theory became popular amongst right-wing extremists because of the book ‘Le Grand Remplacement’ by French author Renaud Camus from 2011, but has historic roots in older nationalist, antisemitic, and Nazi beliefs. The theory claims that a ‘left’ or ‘Jewish elite’ is secretly trying to ‘replace’ the original white population of the Netherlands with migrants, in order to ‘replace’ the population. Various core elements of right-wing extremism come together in this theory: white superiority, xenophobia, perceived threat to ‘Dutch culture’, conspiracy theories, antisemitism, and an aversion of a supposed ‘leftist elite’. It is possible that this is why the theory is so widely accepted amongst right-wing extremists. The theory additionally has a lot of potential to find support outside of right-wing extremist circles. That is because it is related to an important social topic that many citizens are concerned about: migration. Moreover, the Netherlands is actually undergoing demographic change as a result of migration.²⁵

Over the past years the term ‘Great Replacement’ is being used in mainstream media and the political debate too. Because of this, the conspiracy theory reaches more people. In a survey by *Kieskompas*/ANP from 2024, 15% of respondents responded positively to the question whether they believed that part of the political elite is purposefully trying to replace the original Dutch population with non-Western immigrants.²⁶ The term ‘Great Replacement’ becomes more diffuse as it is normalised: for some, the term will refer more to ‘mass migration’ than a sinister plot by a ‘left-wing elite’ or ‘Jewish elite’. This does not matter to right-wing extremists. They view the term becoming acceptable as successful normalisation of their ideology. It provides them access to the societal debate, which allows them to gain visibility and influence.

4.2.2 Propaganda in the public domain

Another way to achieve normalisation is focusing on public spaces. In part, this happens rather subtly. For example, right-wing extremists put stickers on buildings and objects such as lampposts and traffic lights. Some stickers have QR-codes that lead to websites about right-wing extremist ideas. The content can vary from very explicit to implicit right-wing extremism. Related messages and symbols in the public domain take the form of banners and graffiti. In this way right-wing extremists purposefully want to confront unsuspecting bystanders with extremist messages.

This type of small-scale expressions stand in contrast to other manifestations in the public space that sometimes generate a lot of media attention, playing into the normalisation of right-wing extremist ideology. A decade or so ago the media frequently wrote about efforts undertaken by the group *Identitair Verzet* (Identitarian Resistance) that would use the roofs of mosques and other buildings to criticise Islam.²⁷ More recent examples are the projections of slogans by WLM, including on the Erasmus Bridge in Rotterdam during New Year’s Eve of 2022–2023. These projections could be seen live on TV. The actions of WLM were additionally broadly discussed in the Dutch media.

Projections on the Erasmus Bridge on New Year's Eve 2022-2023

On New Year's Eve of 2022-2023 the right-wing extremist group WLM projected multiple slogans on the Erasmus Bridge during the live screening of the national countdown moment. They projected statements such as 'White Lives Matter', 'Vrolijk Blank 2023' (Happy White 2023), and 'Zwarte Piet deed niets verkeerd' (Black Pete did nothing wrong), but also 'Europe: the last battle' - a reference to a 2017 Nazi, antisemitic film - and 'We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children'. This phrase is also known as '14' or the '14 words'. The text, written by American Nazi David Lane (1938-2007), is one of the most popular right-wing extremist slogans and fits within the Great Replacement conspiracy theory. The chosen moment, the location, and the live screening of the display on TV generated a lot of attention in the press and social media. There were discussions regarding the question whether the projected texts were racist or not. The more extreme statements were often not recognised or even trivialised.

WLM Netherlands states in their manifesto that 'we can only win if we normalise the "movement"'. By playing into cultural and identity questions and given the extensive attention that the display generated, the WLM movement succeeded in reaching a larger group of sympathisers. In (online) social discussions, non-extremist individuals also stick up for the movement and express sympathy for WLM's actions. WLM is still active as a right-wing extremist organisation, although such high-profile actions have not occurred in the past years. Some (core) members of WLM do take part in protests and events without being excluded by organisers or other participants. Extreme statements by core members of the movement made in public or made public by others, such as calling the Holocaust into question, glorification of Hitler, antisemitism, and dismissing non-white 'races' as 'dirty primitive animals' and 'apes' do not appear to get in the way of positive effects of their displays.

4.2.3 Joining and hijacking protests

Right-wing extremists are frequently present at protests about topics that fit with their narrative. Part of these protests can clearly be considered in light of strategic normalisation, such as (inter)national demonstrations relating to the remigration narrative (see section 4.2.4). Right-wing extremist groups and influencers take part in these and further spread their message through social media channels. Other protests are not direct manifestations of strategic normalisation, but the presence of right-wing extremists and their public statements surrounding such protests could contribute to normalisation.

Right-wing extremists often join protests against immigration policy or the establishment of an asylum seekers' centre at a certain location. They can sometimes be recognised as right-wing extremist through flags and slogans against local government's proposals to open an asylum seekers' centre. They film their actions and publish these videos on their social media. Right-wing extremist organisations constantly make opportunistic use of unrest and fear in society in order to increase the reach of their narrative. That is why they latch onto incidents and events in which they see an opportunity to spread and normalise their message or to organise or join protests. When right-wing extremists are present at protests without clear resistance, objection, or disapproval from other protesters, openly expressing their extremist ideas during or after the protest, their presence and statements can gain in legitimacy. After all, they are given the opportunity to present themselves as an acceptable participant in these protests and the accompanying social debate, both online and offline.

The protest at Malieveld on 20 September 2025: an outburst of right-wing extremist violence

On 20 September 2025 there was a large protest at the Malieveld in The Hague, against Dutch immigration policy. On social media, there were calls for participation through many different channels. On that day various groups came together at the Malieveld: citizens who wanted to protest peacefully, but also right-wing action groups, football hooligans, and individuals linked to right-wing extremist movements. Some of the protesters quickly turned against the police, causing widespread violence. After that, the groups moved into the city centre. There they caused property damage, including to the D66 party office which they attempted to set on fire. Those participating in the riots and destruction made Nazi, antisemitic, and right-wing extremist statements. Some acted out of ideological conviction, while others got swept up by the extremists. The riots were the biggest and most violent manifestation of right-wing extremism in the Netherlands in a long time. Misinformation played a role too. In a message posted by an account named 'Antifa Nederland' there were calls for a left-wing counterprotest. The message, which likely did not come from antifascists wanting to take action, and which according to a later statement by the posters was meant as satire, was interpreted as legitimate and spread amongst the organisation of the protest. This may have contributed to a larger turnout of right-wing extremists and hooligans. After the riots, both the media and politicians discussed the right-wing extremist extent of the violence, with some not mentioning this or strongly downplaying it. Statements by opinion makers and politicians can have a considerable influence on the opinions, statements, and behaviour of citizens.²⁸ Trivialising right-wing extremist involvement in violence can contribute to the normalisation of right-wing extremist ideas.

The participation of right-wing extremists in protests furthermore has a number of other undermining effects. They are in effect hijacking these protests. Protesting is an important way to voice democratic opinion. Protests for or against immigration policy contribute to a lively democracy. Through their presence, often unannounced and unwanted by the organisers, right-wing extremists discredit such protests. Organisers and participants run the risk of being associated with right-wing extremists and their ideology. Additionally, citizens may start avoiding public protests altogether. This can undermine the right to protest as an essential democratic means for realising change. Furthermore, if protests or online discussions on local policy devolve in intimidation and threats, (local) politicians may feel inhibited to share and act on their standpoints.²⁹ This too undermines the democratic legal order.

Violence at local anti-asylum protests

In spring 2026, a number of the anti-asylum protests led to violence against local government, police, emergency services, and the proposed asylum locations themselves. At the protests there was a mix of violent and non-violent protesters, some of whom also adhered to right-wing extremist or anti-institutional extremist ideologies. Right-wing extremists who strategically focus on the normalisation of their ideology generally consider the use of violence as counterproductive to their goal. Nevertheless, some of them used social media to spread the footage of escalated anti-asylum centre protests and expressed their support for these protests. After all these protests fit their aim to mobilise a social movement on a topic that is important to them. They used the apparent disturbances to emphasise the supposed need for their 'solution' to the 'Great Replacement', namely the large-scale departure of people with a migration background, which they frame as 'remigration' (see section 4.2.4).

4.2.4 International cooperation and rapprochement with the far right

Right-wing extremists that work to normalise their ideology seek a connection with like-minded individuals in other Western countries. They are aware of the importance of international cooperation for the promotion of their ideology. They work together in exchanging ideas, supporting each other financially, or marching through the streets of European cities with flags and banners together. They then post videos to social media and in this way contribute to the normalisation of their ideology. Leading international right-wing extremist figures frequently attend events of Dutch right-wing extremist groups. These are partially right-wing extremists who in their home country were sentenced for right-wing extremist offences or have entry bans for other Western countries for ‘spreading hate’.

A different, more concealed example are the conferences on topics related to the right-wing extremist narrative, such as the ‘remigration conference’ organised by European identitarian groups in 2025 and 2026. Concealment is an important tactic here. This concerns both topic and style. The conferences, that have been set up like countless other international conferences, are not immediately recognisable as right-wing extremist. In this way the organisers seek to reach a broader audience. Right-wing extremists purposefully seek out the company of far right politicians, opinion makers, and influencers. Right-wing extremists present themselves as acceptable discussion partners at such meetings and are often treated as such by other attendees. This contributes to the normalisation of both the extremists and their ideas, especially if it also provides them access to other discussion platforms, such as on TV programmes or podcasts, to spread their ideas.

Remigration as ‘solution’ to the Great Replacement

European right-wing extremists view ‘remigration’ as *the* solution to the ‘Great Replacement’ of the white European race. To right-wing extremists the term ‘remigration’ means the departure from Europe and North America of people with a non-Western migration background, regardless of their residence status or length of stay. Online, the narratives surrounding ‘remigration’ have strongly increased in the past years. In these narratives, particularly Muslim immigrants are painted as a demographic and cultural threat to ‘white’ European societies, and the Islam is described as inherently incompatible with Western values.³⁰

The term ‘remigration’, which unlike ‘Great Replacement’, is an official term that can also refer to a voluntary return to a country of origin, is purposefully used by right-wing extremists as a euphemism for forced expulsion of people on the basis of the colour of their skin or religion, because terms such as ‘deportation’ and ‘expulsion’ have a negative connotation for many people. Many online statements, for example, show this.³¹ In the right-wing extremist playbook, ‘remigration’ logically results in mass deportation, as many people with a migration background will not leave willingly.

On 17 May 2025 European identitarian right-wing extremist groups organised a conference on ‘Remigration’ in the Italian town Gallarate. The second edition took place in Portugal on 30 May 2026. Making the term ‘remigration’ mainstream is an explicit goal of the organisers of the conferences, who want ‘remigration’ to become a permanent part of European political policy.³² During the 2026 edition more concrete plans for achieving this were discussed. That is why these conferences invite far right influencers and politicians from various countries as speakers or participants. Several of them, including Dutch individuals, accepted this invitation. Additionally, various known Dutch right-wing extremists were also present.

4.2.5 Influencing political parties from the inside

The ‘remigration conferences’ are good examples of how right-wing extremists seek to gain proximity to far right political movements in Europe out of strategic considerations. However, the strategy goes further than that. Right-wing extremists in the Netherlands not only join political parties, but also try to hold positions within these parties. This so-called ‘entryism’ focusses on parties at the far right of the political spectrum. Following the principle of metapolitics, right-wing extremists attempt to take on jobs within these parties. They aim to influence these parties from the inside so they can work on their extremist policy goals. From a metapolitics point of view (semi-)government institutions and civic organisations may also be targets of conscious entryism by right-wing extremists.

The AIVD has established that right-wing extremists in the Netherlands have tried to openly and covertly join multiple far right parties. They do this by, where possible, becoming a member or actively filling a role within these parties, for example by obtaining a position on the municipal list of candidates. This interest right-wing extremists have in the political arena is not new, though their approach seems to be more efficient than before. Part of this is because of the fact that right-wing extremists feel bolstered because of similar movements in other countries.³³

In conclusion

In this analysis we described how right-wing extremists try to normalise their ideology. Right-wing extremists try to create a social climate of fear and intimidation by spreading hate propaganda and disinformation online and offline. In this way they insidiously undermine the democratic legal order, which can eventually damage the social and political stability of the Netherlands.³⁴

The undermining effect of the normalisation of right-wing extremist ideas partially depends on how resilient Dutch society is against such ideas. Right-wing extremists increasingly succeed in reaching more people with their message, and their ideology is legitimised within various domains. Conversely, right-wing extremists are also opposed by citizens who speak out against right-wing extremist ideas and by certain journalistic, academic, and political circles.

Currently, a majority of Dutch society still rejects right-wing extremist ideas, but it is necessary to maintain alertness. Through their rhetoric, right-wing extremists drive social polarization. This may contribute to various groups in society feeling less safe, and tensions between various societal groups can increase. Intimidation and threats can cause self-censorship or even the withdrawal of threatened (local) administrators, journalists, or scientists. Additionally, individuals willing to use violence can feel emboldened to translate their thoughts into violent actions.

The potential receptiveness for right-wing extremist ideas will increase when there are more societal and political developments that touch upon social security, well-being, and a sense of fully being included in our society.³⁵ Geopolitical crises and wars, typical for this current time, could have significant consequences for citizens. Many citizens do not have much faith that ‘politics’ can solve their problems.³⁶ Right-wing extremists play into this uncertainty and the genuine concerns of citizens about the consequences of these broad developments over which they often have no control.

In a free society there will always be extremist ideas. Our society and democratic system can handle a certain degree of extremist threat. But if extremism is not properly recognised or dealt with in society, the threat to our democratic legal order grows. It is therefore important to recognise the strategic normalisation by the right-wing extremist movement, and through that understanding curb their influence. This analysis aims to contribute to this.

Endnotes

- 1 AIVD, *Right-wing extremism in the Netherlands. A phenomenon in flux*, October 2018, page 19.
- 2 See: NCTV, *Terrorist Threat Assessment Netherlands*, from number 57 (November 2022); AIVD, *Annual Report*, from 2022.
- 3 Various factors contribute to this, such as the rise of social media, the rise of disinformation and conspiracy theories, statements by populist parties and the response of the established parties, but also the societal impact of various international events such as large jihadist terrorist attacks, the financial crisis starting in 2007, large migration flows as a result of the Syrian civil war from 2011, and the 2020-2023 Covid pandemic. See e.g.: C. Mudde, *The far right today*, 2019; C. Miller-Idriss, *Hate in the homeland*, 2022; J. Ebner, *Going Mainstream: How extremists are taking over*, 2023; V. Valentim, *The Normalization of the Radical Right*, Oxford 2024; T. Völker and D. Saldivia Gonzatti, 'Discourse Networks of the Far Right: How Far-Right Actors Become Mainstream in Public Debates', in *Political Communication* 41(2024); S. Rothut, H. Schulze, D. Rieger and B. Naderer, 'Mainstreaming as a meta-process: A systematic review and conceptual model of factors contributing to the mainstreaming of radical and extremist positions', *Communication Theory*, 2024 34(2), p. 49–59; A. Heinze and G. Off, 'Mainstreaming vs. normalisation: Towards more conceptual clarity on how mainstream parties legitimize the far right', *European Journal of Political Research*, 2026, p. 1–17.
- 4 For further information see: <https://www.aivd.nl/onderwerpen/aandachtsgebieden/extremisme>; <https://www.nctv.nl/onderwerpen/e/extremisme>.
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- 6 Analistennetwerk Nationale Veiligheid, *Themastudie Extremisme*, 2023; Analistennetwerk Nationale Veiligheid, *Leidraad risicobeoordeling Rijksbrede Risicoanalyse Nationale Veiligheid*, September 2022, p.37-45.
- 7 See e.g.: Miller-Idriss, *Hate in the homeland*, p. 45.; Rothut et al, 'Mainstreaming as a meta-process', p. 49–59.
- 8 Heinze and G. Off, 'Mainstreaming vs. normalisation', p. 1–17.
- 9 AIVD, *Right-wing extremism in the Netherlands. A phenomenon in flux*; NCTV, *De golfbewegingen van rechts-extremistisch geweld in West-Europa. Aard, ernst en omvang van de rechts-extremistische gewelds dreiging in West-Europa, inclusief Nederland*, October 2018.
- 10 Joe Mulhall, 'A post-organisational far right?', *Hope not Hate*, 2018.
- 11 R. van Wonderen et al., *Rechtsextremisme op sociale mediaplatforms? Ontwikkelingspaden en handelingsperspectieven*, 2023.
- 12 AIVD, *A web of hate. The online hold of extremism and terrorism on minors*, April 2025; NCTV, *Terrorist Threat Assessment Netherlands December 2023*, Thema section 'An evolving threat due to online radicalisation'.
- 13 For an overview of right-wing extremist currents, see: NCTV, *Memes as an online weapon. An analysis into the use of memes by the far right*, May 2024, Annex 3.
- 14 The 'Cultural Marxism' as used within the far right is a conspiracy theory which posits that there is a left-wing elite that wants to overthrow Western and traditional culture by imposing Marxist ideas. It is claimed that unlike classical Marxists, Cultural Marxists do not want to shake up the existing order through economic, but through cultural means. The existence of groups which stand up for minorities and equal rights are seen as part of an evil plan to oppress the 'Western and traditional culture'.
- 15 Within right-wing extremist environment there are various versions of narrative in which an underlying motive for this 'elite' is given. Examples are simply wanting to weaken the white population in order to be able to control them more easily, maintaining (political) power by getting 'left-wing' voters into the country, or a conspiracy with Arab regimes to subject Europe to the Islam in exchange for money or power. At its core, the Great Replacement Theory comes down to there being a deliberate agenda to replace the 'original' Dutch population with migrants.
- 16 See e.g. J. A. Ravndal, 'From Bombs to Books, and Back Again? Mapping Strategies of Right-Wing Revolutionary Resistance', *Studies in conflict & terrorism*, 2023 46(11), p. 2128–2129.; Miller-Idriss, *Hate in the homeland*, p. 129.; M. Sedgwick, *Key Thinkers of the radical right: Behind the new threat to liberal democracy*, 2019; A. Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks* (ed. J.A. Buttigieg and A. Callari), 2011.
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- 18 Miller-Idriss, *Hate in the homeland*, p. 47, 55–62.; Rothut et al. 'Mainstreaming as a meta-process', p. 49–59.
- 19 Among others T. van Dongen, 'Normalisation, Party Politics and Vigilantism: Why the Next Terrorist Wave will not be Right-Wing Extremist', *The International Centre for Counter-Terrorism, Evolutions in Counter-Terrorism* 2, November 2020, pp. 101–120; A. Floya, 'Cultural Racism or Racist Culture? Rethinking Racist Exclusions', *Economy and Society*, 1995 24(2), p. 279–301.
- 20 Eviane Leidig, *The women of the far right: social media influencers and online radicalization*, 2023.
- 21 Verweij Jonker Instituut/Textgain, *Rechtsextremisme op sociale mediaplatforms? Ontwikkelingspaden en handelingsperspectieven*, August 2023, p.49–52.; 'It's frightening': How far right is infiltrating everyday culture', *The Guardian*, 27 December 2025.
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- 23 AIVD, *A web of hate*, p.9.
- 24 Verweij Jonker Instituut/Textgain, *Rechtsextremisme op sociale mediaplatforms*, p.9.
- 25 *Gematigde groei. Rapport van de Staatscommissie Demografische Ontwikkelingen 2050*, 2024, in particular Chapter 1.

- 26 Kieskompas, 'Geloof in de omvolkingstheorie in Nederland', 2024.
- 27 AIVD, *Right-wing extremism in the Netherlands*.
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- 33 AIVD, *Annual Report 2025*, p.28.
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- 35 Rijksoverheid, *Bevorderen, Beschermen, Bestrijden. Nationale Extremismestrategie 2024-2029*, p 7, p. 25;
- 36 CBS, 'Vertrouwen in de politiek, 2016-2025', 12 May 2026.

The first part of the paper discusses the importance of understanding the local context in which a project is implemented. This includes a thorough analysis of the social, cultural, and economic factors that may influence the success or failure of the intervention. It is essential to engage with local stakeholders from the outset to ensure that the project is relevant and sustainable.

The second part of the paper explores the challenges faced by project managers in the field. These challenges often arise from a lack of resources, limited access to information, and the presence of conflicting interests. Effective communication and negotiation skills are therefore crucial for navigating these complexities.

The third part of the paper presents a case study of a community-based health intervention. This example illustrates the practical application of the principles discussed in the previous sections. It highlights the importance of building trust and capacity within the community to achieve lasting change.

In conclusion, the paper emphasizes the need for a holistic and participatory approach to project implementation. By understanding the local context, addressing the challenges, and engaging the community, project managers can increase the likelihood of successful outcomes.

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