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How Forum for Democracy uses climate change to fend off migrants

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## **Introduction:**

The Netherlands has been quite anti far-right parties after WW2, as the Dutch population understood the causes of fascisms with their neighbours and were not intending on experiencing such circumstances again (de Jonge, 2021, p. 123). However, right-wing parties are quite prominent nowadays and heavily supported as is clear from PVV's (Party for Freedom) electoral victory and even higher virtual figures, as they would garnish even more votes were re-elections to take place right now (Ipsos.com). This was not the case many years ago, as the general public was vastly against strong far-right ideals. The behaviour of the centre mainstream parties is what caused predecessors of the FVD (Forum for Democracy), the LPF (List Pim Fortuyn) and PVV, to step into the limelight with differing views (de Jonge, 2021). Mainly the topic of migration caused much political commotion. Originally, CDA (Christian Democratic Appeal) and VVD (People's Party for Freedom and Democracy) had hard anti-immigration policies whereas PvdA (Labour) was more accepting of multicultural society. Due to the purple coalitions (red left-wing parties and blue right-wing parties) no party had a clear policy on immigration. The VVD and PvdA kept growing closer to the CDA in their policies because they wanted to stay near the historically largest party in terms of political ideals to ensure participation in future coalitions (p. 128). Convening on the topic of migration was especially important since CDA had gone to the neutral side of morality arguments, allowing abortion and same-sex marriage, so the only policy fields which parties could differ on was migration. 'Depillarisation' led to the politicisation of new issues, to which political parties can shape the narrative surrounding this topic and respond to activity affiliated to the topic (p. 118). As all mainstream political parties provided similar immigration stances, there were no alternative parties to differentiate between, leaving the electorate confused in who their vote should go out to. At the time, Pim Fortuyn presented a staunch anti-immigration policy which won the LPF many votes, whereas now FVD seems to be utilizing nativist, exclusionist, and racist ideals, as well as rejection of liberal democracy and the corrupt 'elite', in favour of the 'pure people' to win votes (p. 3). The party hereby taps into fears brought on by structural and societal changes to win over votes (p. 4). FVD as a right-wing populist party (RWPP) is deemed the successor of parties such as LPF and PVV (p. 192).

As a successor to the LPF, FVD could follow in Fortuyn's footsteps and attempt to distinguish itself from its predecessors by combining its immigration narrative to the contemporarily salient topic of the environment and climate issue. As will be explained later in this article, the contemporary topic of the environment can be spun to apply to numerous

political party's narratives. As climate change has become a salient politicised topic in present times, this article proposes an answer to the question: *What, if any, is the relationship between FVD's immigration policy and its environmental policy?* To answer this question, first a literature review will provide insight to existing right-wing environmentalism and immigration stances, as well as their possible intersections. The analysis approach is explained in the methodology section, as well as a background to FVD as a political party and case study. The analysis presents and discusses our findings of the media research. To conclude, this article finds that FVD distinguishes between environmental and immigration topics with no direct connection between them existing. An indirect link was found through globalisation and economic topics, as both would lead to economic problems and are caused by globalisation. This answer will aid further research in understanding the environmental positions taken by contemporary far-right.

### **Literature review and theoretical framework:**

To understand how environmental topics could be used in immigration narratives, we must first understand the environmental and immigration discussions independently and combined. The end of this section will provide conceptualizations for right-wing environmentalism and immigration rhetoric. The ideas surrounding nature and environmentalism will provide a basis for conceptualizations with which to analyse FVD's policies.

#### *Environmentalisms*

First, the right-wings environmentalist rhetoric, also called environmentalisms, will be explained. The far-right perspective of nature varies per actors, yet climate scepticism is a prominent narrative among the far-right (Forchtner, 2019). The political right focus on the protection of the status quo, as contemporary society has allowed for fossil fuel profits which the right has benefited from (p. 2). Climate change solutions would bring with them industrial changes (think of bio-fuels or electric vehicles), thereby destroying societal and economic structures which the right built their wealth off of (Daggett, 2018, pp. 27, 30). The far-right is therefore predominantly ethno-nationalist and authoritarian as a strong state is required in order to maintain the ethnic status quo. However, climate scepticism is multi-faceted, with far-right actors questioning the scientific evidence presented to explain climate change's effects and causes, the way climate change is utilized as a narrative to further societal change, and the way private and public spheres should respond to climate change. Rejection of climate change

among far-right is common, but not a given fact. Paradoxically, environmental policies (biodiversity, plastic-and air-pollution) seem to be accepted, whereas climate change policies are mainly rejected. This happens due to the abstract idea of the climate not being a physical being which the far-right can see deteriorating, whereas pollution and nature are more tangible concepts and thus accepted. Climate change is still used as symbolic divider between the nation and others though (Forchtner, 2019, p. 3). As well, sometimes Climate change itself is not disregarded, only the anthropocentric influence and causes are (p. 4). Sustainability goals are also rejected for economic incentives, as renewable energy is often seen as too costly to be worth the transition and are claimed to damage the environment, as well as making the nation reliable on foreign resources and intelligence. (p. 5). There also seems to be a connection between xenophobic ideologies and climate-change scepticism. The far-right often depicts the nation as one people connected to their national “land”. Far-right actors view nature as a pure and untouched being which should be protected from outsiders who would taint nature (p. 7). However, an ethno-nationalist point of view of a connection between nation and nature could but does not necessarily lead to care for the natural environment, but merely rejection of an outside force (p. 6).

Aside from views on nature’s natural owner and dangers, Kulin, Sevä and Sunlap (2021) describes the different views on the rejection of ecological damage appearing as trend, attribution, and impact scepticism. Trend scepticism is the denial of climate change as a real-world change of the global climate, with attribution scepticism not denying the existence of climate change but questioning its human causes which therefore would not require human intervention. Impact scepticism attempts to hide the urgency of climate change by stating that it has no noticeable impact on human survivability, thus nothing has to be done (p. 1112). These three denials are often a linear line of reasoning, as if trend scepticism is dismissed, the following denials will attempt to undermine the effects and causes of climate change to rid humanity of responsibility. These narratives of denial can originate from fossil fuel institutions resisting change, as well as from feelings of resistance to rule-pushing on national citizens by global elites (Moore and Roberts, 2022, p. 56). If denial is unbelievable, conspiracies are not an uncommon tool used to undermine scientific facts (Pew Research Center, 2016). Despite climate denial, adaptation to unaccepted consequences of climate change are still carried out, such as stricter immigration policies due to influxes of migrants (Moore & Roberts, 2022, p. 58). Even if a right-wing party were to accept climate change as a fact of reality, its narrative would be spun to promote a nationalist protection of land (Kulin et al., 2021, p. 1112). These

varying responses highlight how far-right sees climate change and its consequences as merely social and not scientific ecological issues, thus allowing for it to be used to fit multiple narratives.

### *Immigration*

Lutz and Bischnau (2023) explain the many misconceptions which the far-right hold. Many narratives of the far-right point to the finite space available in the country, not allowing for any more people. Far-right narratives overestimate the number of immigrants entering the country, which makes them believe they are ‘flooding’ the country and reducing the spread of resources and wealth (p. 675). Any increase in population would lead to a reduction of goods per person, thus any outsiders must be halted to ensure proper living standards for the natives. Additionally, the demographic and socio-economic status of those immigrating into the country are misconceived as less educated and poorer, holding strong religious salencies, and as mere healthcare leeches instead of desperate people requiring humanitarian aid. Immigrants are also blamed for job losses, decreasing quality of social services and increasing crime rates (p. 676). Despite receiving information contradicting these misperceptions, far-right wing parties turn to conspiracies like the Great Replacement theory, as elites “use immigration to alter the ethnocultural composition of their societies” (p. 677). Therefore, natives feel a group-centric threat is upon them, leading to xenophobic sentiments towards immigrants. The native group, based off ethnicity or nationality, then “denigrates the out-group and cast one’s in-group in an exceedingly positive light” (p. 679). To combat dangers from outsiders, the in-group intends to preserve its economic and social self-interest by stating the immigrant is not deserving of the country’s economic or social welfare (p. 680). The aforementioned increases in perceived crime leads to ingroup solidarity, as this social cohesion provides social protection. All these narratives are spread quickly and easily by far-right parties over (social) media (p. 681).

Anguino (2021) explains the manner in which immigrants are given prejudiced meanings through the connotation inherent in the term “Illegal”. Indeed, the term “illegal” gives immigrants the connotation of criminality, as well as a parasitic alien who free rides on the economy and is unlawfully in the country (p. 94). The term is socially constructed, as the connotation accompanied with an “illegal” changes per context. (p. 95). To exemplify this contextualization through a contemporary example, the Israel-Gaza war is waged over Hamas’ October 7<sup>th</sup> attack, with the context being Israel’s furthering land grabbing from Palestinian citizens due to the Gazans living on supposed Israeli land, pinning the name “illegal” on

Palestinians (“Who are Israeli settlers, and why do they live on Palestinian lands?”, Al Jazeera). However, historically the Jews were seen as “illegals” in English colonized Palestinian lands, highlighting the importance of contextual time and space. (Anguino, 2021, p. 95). Over time, “illegality” starts to take on its own meanings and pass them on indiscriminately to those deemed illegal. As such, because immigrants are deemed “aliens”, a subconscious connotation of illegality is placed on them. This leads to immigrants receiving harsher treatments once in the country, as well as stricter immigration policies by far-right parties to halt them from entering in the first place (p. 96). Therefore, the term “illegal” is a socially concocted, dehumanizing term which causes racist and ethnic hatred by allowing bigotry through semantics.

### **Intersections**

Rydgren (2018) provides a general overview of how the far-right parties utilize environmentalisms in their immigration policies. Far-right parties utilize myths about the nation’s past glory to call upon ethnonationalism. To achieve this glory once again, the nation must return to traditional values and its ethnically pure and homogenous people. These narratives also have populist twists to them, as they state elites are causing this denigration of the nation through internationalization, thus pitting the nation against the global sphere. The far-right parties thus feel entitled to protect the ethnic majority’s culture by removing outsiders, mainly implying Muslims, as “immigrants from Muslim countries are singled out as particularly threatening, allegedly because they have the least in common with the native population, are the least inclined to assimilate, and are potentially tied to Islamist terrorism”. Some far right ideologies are expressed in monism, which is the strong proposition of cultural difference. Far-right political parties utilize monism as right-wing extremism, which opposes pluralist democratic values, instead preferring ethnocracy of the nation’s natural ethnic majority (p. 2). This is not unlike PVV party leader’s Wilders idea of removing the right to vote or take office from those with a dual nationality (“Wilders: dubbele nationaliteit? Niet meer stemmen”, 2018). The far right has not only focused on economic politics, but on sociocultural politics as well. Their political attention lies in this case on maintaining inequalities based on ethnicity or immigration status to benefit the native people (Rydgren, 2018, p. 3). A contemporary example is the French Nouvelle Droite. Based off Gramsci’s “cultural hegemony”, the French new right encourages ethnopluralism. This idea proposes the separation of ethnicities to maintain a nation’s unique characteristics, as ethnic intermixing leads to cultural extinction. The goal is not to remove a foreign culture, merely to preserve your

own national culture. The invasion of immigrants thus provides a threat to this purity (p. 4). The 'invasion' of immigrants is deemed responsible for these threats to ethnonational identity.

Perhaps the most renowned use of environmentalisms by the far-right is Nazi Germany's National Socialist (NaSo) party. Aspirations for a racially pure nation in balance with nature alongside rejection of modernity's industrialism and urbanization combined to form the *völkisch* movement (Staudenmaier, 2018, p. 4), an "ethnocentric populism with nature mysticism" which advocated for a return to the land and reconnection to nature. NaSo ecology connected nationalism, racism, and environmentalism, with monism presenting the Nordic race as superior, thus prohibiting race-mixing as it was deemed unnatural (pp. 5-6). The NaSo also used Blood and Soil rhetoric, which saw the population as equal and part of national nature, which meant humanity ought to follow the laws of nature. Whoever rejected this was against nature and thus enemies of the nation. By creating a narrative that modernism was harming nature, and thus the population, the NaSo movement garnered many followers with environmentalist aspirations (p. 11). However, the party's environmentalist and techno-industrial policies were highly contradictory. Environmental policies were often weakened due to mechanical incentives during implementation and the face of green NaSo fell by 1942 (pp. 15, 18). The example of Nazi German environmentalism shows even policy fields characterized by saving the planet can be utilized by the worst movements, as "genocide developed into a necessity under the cloak of environmental protection". We must therefore be on the lookout for improper uses of environmentalist narratives to avoid repeating history (pp. 14-15).

Taylor (2020) discusses some of the far-right environmentalisms present in the United States. One of the narratives present in the U.S. states that overpopulation is the cause of environmental crises. However, the blame is either placed on all of humanity or merely on the non-westerner's pollution. This attribution of blame on West and non-West or only on non-West avoids the responsibility of environmental degradation brought on by Western overconsumption. These narratives use environmental discourses to invigorate their anti-immigration policies, as far-right narratives unjustly demonize non-Westerners for destroying the planet (p. 277). The reasoning which blames all of humanity for environmental degradation aligns with deep ecology, a philosophy which presents humanity as a pest to nature's well-being. It states humanity's removal is not unbeneficial for nature's survival and flourishing. Similarly, this is combined with white supremacist thought, where the natural white European culture is undergoing genocide by 'invasive' immigrants. (p. 278). This ethnopluralist thinking

is rooted in Nazi Blood and Soil rhetoric, as every ethnic group has its own separate place to live on equal terms with other groups. This is meant to preserve the groups genetic and cultural purity from outsiders who could taint or destroy them (p. 279).

Check and Jasken (2021) describe more specifically how the U.S.-Mexico border crossing has been utilized for far-right environmentalisms. The “No Más Cruces en la Frontera”, translated “no more crosses/crossing at the border” advertisement blames the deaths of migrants at the border on the migrants. The migrants are deemed outsiders and inadmissible to the country due to the natural environment warding them off (p. 26). By using the ghosts of the dead migrants, the ads use spirituality and mysticism of nature to argue that crossing the border is against the will of nature, insofar that even the supernatural warn against attempting such feats. The forces of nature also include depictions of Godly intervention, showing that God’s force of nature stops the migrants from crossing the border. The spirituality of Christianity is meant to call upon Mexican Catholicism to respects God’s nature and refrain from crossing the border. Doing otherwise is deemed unnatural and against God’s will. The hostility of the natural landscape is also used to naturalize the death of a crossing migrant, as the desert he must cross kills him due to dehydration. The rhetoric created by this advertisement is that the natural world stops people from crossing, hence crossing natural defences is unwise and should not be attempted (p. 32).

Hultman, Björk, and Viinikka (2020) provide a contemporary example of a far-right party utilizing aforementioned environmentalism in its immigration rhetoric. The authors examine the Swedish Democrat party (SD), who are a national-socialist party rooted in Nazi ideology, with staunch anti-immigration policies, as well as Nazi-esque ethnonationalist ideas of the national landscape and nature (p. 123). The SD mixes anti-elitist and climate denialist ideals, as they state scientists are merely furthering their own agendas by serving the elites, thereby implying climate change does not exist (p. 125). The SD makes use of attribution denialism by questioning anthropocentric global warming, the palpable effects of climate change, and the validity of the predicted severity of global effects due to climate change. (pp. 124-127). Conversely, the SD also positions climate change as solely a national issue by shaping it as an ethno-nationalist “love for the homeland” which comes before the love for other countries. Although a call is made onto ethno-nationalism, no connection with immigration is made, thereby further highlighting how the environmental narrative can be moulded to fit into any given narrative (p. 129). This is clear when the environmental policies are connected to effect on the industry, trade, and labour market, and not merely to immigration

(p. 130). SD exemplifies that environmental discourses are manipulated to fit the actors' narratives, to which the curiosity rises is other parties follow similar tactics.

### **Conceptual framework**

The above-mentioned relationship between environmentalism and immigration is the narrative we will be searching for; thus proper conceptualizations must be given to narrow our investigations. Environment is a broad term with multiple topics encompassed within its definitions. We turn to the Dutch Ministry of Agriculture, Nature, and Food Quality to provide the topics applicable to the Dutch national setting, therefore also applicable to FVD. The ministry describes environment as multiple factors, most important being farmer's use of manure and pesticides, alongside climate change, flora, fauna, and fisheries, and CO2. Nature is conceptualized in a similar way, encompassing the plants and animals on a plot of land, as well as the land itself (Rijksoverheid.nl, n.d.). When searching for environmental policies, one or more of these topics must therefore be involved.

To conceptualize immigration, we again inquire the Dutch government. The government specifies four different reasons for migration: for work, for education, for love, or for asylum to flee war or violence (Rijksoverheid.nl, n.d.). FVD's policy and media posts have undertones of or sometimes overt racism, while the literature is focussed on ethnically divergent migrants. Most migrants fleeing from war-torn countries are from ethnically different places such as East-Asia or Africa ("Herkomstlanden van vluchtelingen", n.d.). These migrants are often asylum seekers, which is defined as people who seek refuge in a country due to dangers in their home country ("Asiel en migratie in de EU: feiten en cijfers", 2023). Asylum migration from non-western countries seems to be what the FVD's largest concern (Immigratie & remigratie, n.d.). However, it is unclear which if the factor of asylum seeker or non-western heritage is most important, so this paper will be focus on characteristics of immigration by asylum seekers and those of non-western descent.

### **The case of FVD**

To examine if FVD is possible of holding such far-right beliefs, we must understand if the party is far-right. Kessenich and van der Brug (2022) explain that people vote for radical right populist parties because they are loser of globalization and are unhappy with current state of affairs. Far-right populists provide policies to solve the voter's problems, often blaming immigrants or elites for causing the nation's problems. Other parties offer no such quick and easy fixes thus votes go to the right-wing populists.

As mentioned before, FVD are deemed successors of earlier far-right parties LPF (List Pim Fortuyn) and PVV (Party for Freedom). To understand how the FVD is a standalone party, the FVD's right-wing position will be explained. Starting as a political party in 2016 and led by Thierry Baudet, Forum for Democracy quickly joined the Dutch house of Representatives with 1.8% of the votes garnering them two seats in 2017. They made large gains in the Provincial elections, winning 15% of the votes (De Jonge, 2021, p. 286). This quick rise to political power was aided by the FVD's quick and efficient use of (social) media to spread its messages to and communicate with the public (pp. 290-292). The party attempts to garner a large membership by using ideology to create collective identities which appeal to the general public. The group they are trying to create is highly selective of mainly like-minded people (p. 293). FVD's main rhetoric is strengthening and reclaiming Dutch sovereignty, mainly from the EU. Their ideology is centred around "nativism, authoritarianism, and populism", with hints of extremism in their messaging. For example, they subscribe to conspiracies such as the aforementioned Great Replacement theory, as Baudet sees white Dutch populations being ethnically diluted. FVD also believes and spreads Covid-19 theories about the virus itself and the lockdowns to combat it, claiming they are falsehoods created by elites with the intent to control the population (p. 288; Tunderman, year, pp. 520-521).

In an incident concerning the FVD youth organisation, the youngsters branch was uncovered to have shared right-wing extremist messages via online chats. Besides the individual messengers being expelled from the youth group, the organization was not reprimanded ("Forum voor Democratie royeert drie leden om 'onacceptabele uitingen'", 2020). Due to these extremist messages, calls arose for the youth organisation's disbandment to prevent any further bad publicity. These call however were dismissed by Baudet, causing public opinion of FVD to fall. The youth group mirrors its adult counterpart in spreading antisemitic, homophobic, authoritarian, and racist ideals, but the youth group was simply more vocal and direct about its intentions (de Jonge, year, p. 287; Kessenich & van der Brug, 2022). This classifies FVD as a populist right-wing party (de Jonge, year, p. 288). However, Forchtner (2020, p. 3) states that right-wing populists is only a small part of a broader continuum of right-wing actors, thus we will label FVD as such to examine its far-right features more accurately and not become bottlenecked in our analysis due to variations in definitions.

### **Methodology:**

To analyse the possible connection in FVD's policies, we draw upon the method of content analysis as described by Halperin and Heath (pp. 373-388). This method allows for a variety of sources to be analysed. With this allowance, we will be taking inspiration from Mccright and Dunlap (2011) who examine "conservative talk radio, Websites, television news, and newspapers". With this example, as well as an exemplary list of official, cultural, and personal document examples provided by Halperin and Heath (p. 374), this article will analyse the FVD's 2023 political election programme, Spotify podcasts, and social media posts from X (formerly Twitter). Through content analysis we will be able to discover the meaning of the text and make connections between the policy fields, allowing for connections between environment and immigration to be examined.

The chosen timeframe will be from 01-11-2023 up to and including 05-05-2024. It starts from the 1<sup>st</sup> of November as political parties were heavily campaigning this month, as the House of Representatives re-election was held on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of November. Analysing the month of November will allow for the fiercest and most prominent political stances to be shown as parties attempt to win over the constituencies. FVD especially often uses social media to convey its messaging, thus social media posts from this time provide valuable information to understand the party's core narratives. The timeframe runs up until the 5<sup>th</sup> of May which is Dutch Liberation Day. Liberation Day is chosen as a final point as this day holds much national weight, as it commemorates the Netherlands' liberation from Nazi occupation. At the time, there were rumours and anxieties of protestors appearing on the Dam in Amsterdam against the Israeli-Palestine war, as this aforementioned war has been drawn in parallel to the genocide which took place in WW2 (UN, 2024). FVD is nationalistic and xenophobic, thus any form of foreign protest distracting from the importance of the Dutch WW2 memorials could act as an opportunity to paint protestors for non-western ideals in a negative light as they infringe on nationalist ideals. Therefore, the 5<sup>th</sup> of May serves as the last large opportunity in which immigration narratives are most likely to appear.

X provides an enormous amount of possible content to analyse, so only some posts from each month will be considered in the analysis. We will be examining 5 posts per month based on the coding framework. With this analytical approach being applied over the months November 2023 up to and including May 2024, from each of the 7 months 5 posts will be selected, leaving us with 40 posts to analyse. This does not mean once the allocated 5 posts per month have been chosen the remaining posts in the month will be skipped. The remaining posts will also be examined in order to determine the major and overarching themes and narratives

which the party is conveying. All posts will be examined, yet only few will make it into the coding frame as illustrative examples of larger ongoing narratives.

There are not as many podcasts as twitter posts, yet they are posted weekly meaning there are 27 podcasts in the period from 11-2023 up to and including 05-2024. This may seem like a lot, however not every podcast touches upon any of the topics in the coding frame or does so only partially. Adequate podcast episodes were filtered for by searching for the indicators surrounding environment and immigration in podcast transcripts, leaving only 4 podcasts from between an hour to an hour and a half long, providing around five and a half hours of content available for analysis. This allows for more specified and intricate analysis when the topics are mentioned. If (a section of) a podcast does not mention any of the coding frame topics, it will be omitted from the analysis as it will provide no information to answer our research question. The party programme will be read completely as well, although the sections on Migration and Environment will be read most thoroughly as these are most useful to our research.

All sources will be analysed in the context of a sentence, paragraph, or text, to determine if it connects immigration with nature, or if it discusses any of the topics in a separate context. To look for the presence of these topics, the coding frame (appendix 1) is provided. During analysis of the FVD sources, the party often seems to depict globalisation as an independent connector between Immigration and Environment topics. Additionally, the economic factor has often been used as an explanation to reduce immigration and environmental expenditures. Thus, associations between Immigration and Environment will be examined, with Economic and Globalisation allowing for an additional explanation for non-associations (as a sort of control variables). By utilizing the open coding principle (Halperin and heath, 2020, p. 380), Globalisation and Economic were added as an examinable category in the coding frame (appendix 1). The coding frame will remain directed on searching for mentions of environmental and immigration topics. However, accompanied mentions of economic or globalisation topics will now also be considered to provide further explanation of FVD rhetoric and act as mediating variables for the environment-immigration association.

The categories in the coding frame are intended to capture the common narratives from far-right actors and will be as follows. Environment will encompass climate denialism, statements concerning CO<sub>2</sub>, nitrogen, sustainability, and general environmental regulations, and ethnonationalism due to the connection of the people with the land or environment. To

search for immigration narratives, we search for variations of immigrants, migrants, refugees, etc. alongside narratives fitting with ethnopluralist ideals. These are for example cultural deterioration due to outside cultures, the replacement of one nation's population by the immigration of another population and mentions of safety infringements from criminal migrants. The economic topic will draw inspiration from the misconceptions surrounding immigration (Lutz & Bitschnau, 2023), as well as keep an eye out for mentions of economic consequences from environmental or immigration policies. The globalisation topic focuses on mentions of EU and multi- or international organizations removing national sovereignty, as is often named cause for immigration and environmental policies. The connections found will be based on the topic they discuss and draw associations with. The codes for the categories are ENV for environment, IMMI for immigration, ECON for economic, and GLOB for globalisation. For example, if a text only covers immigration, the excerpt will be coded IMMI. If connections with immigration and globalisation are drawn, the coding will read IMMI + GLOB. The appendix is illustrative to avoid becoming excessively long.

## **Analysis**

### ***X posts***

During the analysis of the varying sources, there were instances of immigration and environmental narratives being interlinked. The FVD's party programme explains how immigration leads to degradation of the environment, as long-term construction of housing requires for plots of nature to be destroyed in order for living spaces to be erected there (p. 40). This narrative was repeated on X, highlighting its importance to FVD (Forum voor Democratie, 23 April 2024). Immigration is blamed for the increased pressure on the housing market which the small Dutch landscape cannot manage. Additionally, FVD's X (formerly Twitter) page provides examples of immigration and environmental narratives being interlinked. On April 26<sup>th</sup>, FVD reposted a speech by Eva Vlaardingen, a speaker at the Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) in Hungary (cpachungary.com). Here, she said white people were being 'lessened' by means of diversity (Forum voor Democratie, 2024), which fits which closely echoes the narrative of the Great Replacement. Thierry Baudet came on the right-wing news programme Ongehoord Nederland TV (Unheard Netherlands TV, 24 February 2024), where he discussed Pim Fortuyn's inspiration to him and 'Omvolking', which Baudet describes as "replacing one population group with another". Baudet states Omvolking is happening to the Dutch and European populations due to immigration of Arab and African descendants which

would spell the end of Europe. As is hinted at in the video clip, these narratives closely relate to Nazi-Germany's "Omvolkung", which intended to re-germanise the population to prevent the death of the (white) peoples (Hannah Arendt Insituut, n.d.). These examples highlight the immigration having negative effects on the environment and the 'natural order' of (white) societies.

### ***Party programme***

Although the aforementioned examples provide an argument that FVD connects immigration and environmentalism, this connection seems to be a mere highlight compared to the evidence collected showing the full FVD rhetoric. When examining the political party programme, the sections discussing national sovereignty and foreign affairs more explicitly state that immigration of non-westerners is caused by the globalisation taking place in the Netherlands (FVD, 2023, p. 11; p. 92). Immigration of westerners due to international university students is also mentioned but is criticised less severely (p. 77). The environment on the other hand is mainly connected to its economic consequences. Climate denialism allows for FVD to claim sustainability targets are unnecessary and are merely costing the Dutch citizenry money without any noticeable advantages (p. 81). FVD also feels for the Dutch farmers. Dutch farming is one of the most profitable sectors in the Netherlands, however the nitrogen regulations are imposed by the Southern states in the EU are actively deteriorating this profit to reduce Dutch international market positions (p. 84).

The narratives of climate denialism and reduction in immigration both seem to mainly stem from economic points of view. EU climate change regulations requires a change from fossil fuel usage to more sustainable sources of energy, such as wind-turbines and solar panels (p. 13). The Dutch government then incentivizes these plans through economic stimulants in the form of subsidies for electrical vehicles and in-home boilers, being reimbursed for excessive energy produced by solar powers which is returned to the electrical grid, and tax increases on gasoline and in-home gas usage. FVD does not believe in anthropocentric climate change, thus does not believe that humanity is to blame for any global changes and should therefore not have to change its way of living (FVD, 2024). FVD's section on immigration is quite explicit in its reasoning, stating that increased levels of immigration from non-westerners lead to increases in crime and pressure on the welfare state. This would increase government spending on police and unemployment benefits to a sum of €19 billion a year. For these reasons FVD want to halt non-western immigration for ten years and commence with remigration of

immigrants to their country of heritage (FVD, p. 28). These two courses of action cost the Dutch treasury large sums of money which FVD believes could be spent in more appropriate and effective manners. Therefore, the pushback against these initiatives mainly manifests itself in economic terms (p. 52).

The X posts containing environmental and/or immigration topics support this claim. Occasionally the blame of environmental and immigration regulations was placed on the government of Rutte IV, whereas the EU is presented as the cause for many varying issues aside from solely immigration and environmental policies (Fvd, 2023). However, in most cases the EU is made the initiator of the globalising implementation of environmental or immigration regulations. FvD states these regulations have harmful negative effects on the Dutch economy as they are not tailored to the needs and wants of the Dutch citizenry. For example, because the policies are incompatible with Dutch farming standards, one of the strongest economic sectors in the Netherlands has to be strongly reduced to be acceptable by EU regulation standards, thereby massively impacting the Netherlands' export profits and thus the national GDP (FvD, 2024).

### ***Podcasts***

The FvD podcast "Forum Inside" adds more nuance to the party's rhetoric. In "Vrijheid in het Voorland" (Freedom in the Country), the hosts discuss certain issues which can and are blamed on immigration, such as a lack of housing and decreased quality of healthcare. Yet, these issues are linked to non-libertarian and corporatist government action, thereby exemplifying the varying causes for these factors. Additionally, immigration was absent when mentioning causes for reductions in resources, wealth, and jobs (Baudet, Dekker, Kerseboom, & Valentine, 2023, 19:10, 23:39), as the hosts highlighted economic factors.

Later on in the podcast, the hosts discuss South Africa as a failed state filled with corruption and high criminality, as well as unemployment, illiteracy rates and racism towards white people which are said to have risen after the removal of the Apartheid state (2023, 35:12). This implies that the white racist Apartheid state was a beneficial practice for South-Africa and the removal of this racist government is the cause of South-Africa's domestic ethnic turmoil. However, FVD states the richer Capetown is provided less policing on gang violence by the central ANC-party state government due to the Capetown being governed by a non-ANC municipal government (2023, 41:43). This narrative does embellish pre-1991 Apartheid government, but it does not blame immigration for the current qualms of the state. Instead, the

historical globalisation South-Africa has gone through is blamed (2023, 42:37). The hosts state the redeeming factor of South-Africa is a village that is praised for its safety, independence from outsiders and central energy suppliers, as well as maintaining historically white imperialist history and norms (45:29). Although the overarching rhetoric is about state failure, the podcast hosts imply Black-led governments are racist towards whites, thus those who are (historically) white are doing better currently, as they have done so in the past.

In “Forum Inside LIVE special: nog één week tot de verkiezingen!” (Baudet, Dekker, Dessing, Jansen, & Van Houwelingen, 2023), Baudet starts by listing problems in the Netherlands, such as climate change initiatives costing the government too much money, shutting off national gas supplies which lead to higher energy rates, expensive starter homes meaning young people are forced to stay at home, decreased purchasing power meaning less groceries and such can be bought, and immigration allowing large quantities of migrants into the country. The EU is given partial blame for these problems as Europe-wide policy implementations did not allow for legislation fit for the Dutch population (0:37). The climate and migration policies in particular are said to be very expensive government programmes which are upheld to the detriment of the population, as they do not benefit from this and must pay for these programmes through high taxes on gasoline, for example. Here, environmental and immigration topics are valued by their economic consequences on Dutch citizens (20:50). Therefore, FVD wants to change this by leaving the EU as it regulates the Netherlands (2023, 23:54). Yet again, immigration and environmentalism are treated as mediating factors in the larger issue of globalisation and economic consequences.

In “Mismanagement en militairen” (Baudet, Dekker, & Geersing, 2023), Baudet explains the reasoning for FVD’s climate scepticism Brings up government files from 2017 in which natural landscapes called the Natura 2000 are given rankings for their environmental condition. From these files can be gathered that almost all natural landscapes in the Netherlands are classified as being in ‘good’ to ‘excellent’ condition. For this reason, FVD is climate sceptic as there is evidence to refute the government’s narrative of environmental decay due to the government’s own reports classifying nature as unbothered (2023, 7:16). “Tunnelvisie en propaganda” (Baudet, Dekker, Vonhoff, & De Vos, 2024) builds on this line of reasoning. The hosts discuss a meeting with “the leading Dutch climate scientist” in which FVD present the scientist with evidence that the model which he created to predict the climate seems to contradict real world findings, to which the hosts imply the model is useless. Despite having his model disproven, the scientist still believes that humanity should go down this road (2024,

22:54). However, FVD believes that due to climate change being a weaker threat to human life than was previously thought, no action should be taken. Further research showed this scientist's model was focused on particular details to present the environment as declining, to which FVD argue that when looking at the bigger picture one can see nature is in a stable condition. FVD therefore presents science-based evidence that increased levels of Nitrogen in the air do not lead to negative effects on animal life or nature. The hosts state that when counter evidence such as this is presented, it is dismissed and the instated rhetoric remains the leading one, with other critiques being rejected with strong conviction (2024, 34:48). This unwavering loyalty to a dogma which is proven false does not sit well with the party, as they feel farmers and others in society are unfairly and unnecessarily hounded by climate regulations (2024, 31:53).

## **Conclusion**

Many of the indicators in the immigration topic are independently discussed and not always linked to environmentalisms, but often to global and economic factors. Globalization would allow the immigrants through the borders, leading to losses of housing and wealth, as well as increasing criminality. Likewise, environmental issues are often linked to globalisation, as in the eyes of the FVD multinational organizations such as the EU place illogical regulations on the Netherlands, the costs of which are then dropped on the Dutch taxpayer. Both topics therefore seem to be caused by globalisation, with the main criticism being given to the EU, after which the consequences of international policies are felt as negative economic outcomes.

Here, a difference in importance and severity per topic is found. During the analysis, it became apparent that both topics received varying levels of salience, as FVD placed more emphasis on consequences of immigration than environmental ones. When the environmental topic was discussed, it existed mainly of climate denialism and scepticism, accompanied by displeasure that the Netherlands spends such large sums of money on a problem FVD believes does not exist. However, immigration is treated as the end of Dutch society and an ever-increasing threat caused by the open borders of globalisation, as is evident from Eva Vlaardingen's speech making references and alarming for white population decreases through immigration (De Nooijer, 2024). Due to the denial of one issue and the salience of another, both topics were unlikely to be directly related. As well, both topics were often discussed in conjunction with one of the other topics, meaning immigration and environmentalists were often not independent issues but often subjects in larger, multi-topic narratives. During the

analysis, we found only three mentions of any sort of environmental and immigration relationship which we were searching for. These were Eva Vlaardingen (De Nooijer, 2024) and Thierry Baudet's (FVD, 2024) statements about the ethno-nationalist Great Replacement conspiracy theory, as well as the electoral programme (2023, p. 40) and X post on April 23<sup>rd</sup> (FVD, 2024) discussing the reduction of nature to accommodate more immigrants. Therefore, although these are narratives which prove that a relationship between immigration and environmentalisms do exist, they are only a small part of an otherwise globalist and economic rhetoric.

In answering the research question “what, if any, is the relationship between FVD's immigration policy and its environmental policy?”, this paper concludes that there is a weak direct relationship between the two topics. Instead, both topics are treated more as policy fields with which to criticise trends of globalisation due to its national economic drawbacks than as independent topics which are problems in and of themselves.

With the conclusion that the relationship between immigration and environmentalisms is weak, we can ask what the reason is that globalisation is blamed for causing increased environmental and immigration spending, resulting in economic losses. Most apparent in FVD's immigration and climate narrative is the complete exclusion of climate migrants mainly due to seeing climate as non-existent. This means FVD does not see environmental degradation due to climate change as a reason to emigrate to other countries. Although this is true, as climate change itself is not a direct cause for immigration, climate change does exacerbate already existing tensions in social, economic, environmental, or political spheres (McAdam, 2012).

This rejection of climate change thus implies FVD does not see migration to the Netherlands for any reason as a justifiable. Instead, the party believes the sole reason people migrate to the Netherlands is because they intend to leach off the government's overly easily attained social safety net (FVD, 2023, p. 42). Migrants are thus named “gelukszoekers” (Jongeren FVD, 2023) which translate to “luck seekers”. This phrase holds a connotation that migrants are merely hoping to somehow enter the Netherlands and live off welfare while adding nothing to the country. This form of connotating language is similar to aforementioned “illegals” used in the United States (Anguino, 2021). What adds salt to the wound for far-right parties such as FVD is the fact that up until recently refugees from war-torn or unstable countries were given priority to social housing over Dutch population. These plans have since been removed by the new right-wing coalition which touts PVV as the electoral winner (“Dit

zijn de belangrijke plannen en voornemens uit het coalitieakkoord”, 2024). Among the FVD and other right-wing parties the circling sentiment is that “hard work must pay” (FVD, 2023, p. 7; p. 43), thus the right feels they are being frauded by paying for social security with hard-earned money while these luck-seekers are simply given their shelter and food for free. This thinking is a misconception from the far right as was previously mentioned (Lutz & Bitschnau, 2023).

Nevertheless, globalisation is given the fault for the mass immigration, while environmental policies are blamed on globalist EU, which strip the country of its sovereignty and wealth due to FVD claims of the Netherlands’ large GDP payments to the EU, only for it to pass on costly environmental regulations and force the country to accept immigrants. Therefore, an indirect connection through globalisation and economic factors exists between immigration and environment, however there is no direct connection between immigration and right-wing environmentalism without conspiracy theories getting involved, such as the Great Replacement theory. Instead, the party follows logical reasoning based off empirical, although now outdated, government reports to support its environmental rhetoric while strongly focusing on the economic and social effect of immigration.

## **Discussion**

The research brought forth sources which all originated from late-2023 to May 2024 due to time constraints for this research, thus being quite centred around one specific timeframe. In this approach, perhaps some policy aspects from earlier in the party’s existence were missed. To better understand the movement of far-right parties on the ideological sphere, a broader analysis of the FvD’s policies could prove insightful. Additionally, it would be interesting to examine how FVD’s views stack up to other right-wing parties, such as recent electoral winner PVV. By finding differences and similarities between the parties, effects of (far-)right policies can be examined. Lastly, it seems important to examine how close current far-right narratives are to former fascist or extremist groups narratives, as Baudet and Vlaardingen’s Nazi-esque rhetoric was a rare occurrence yet remain are dangerous ideals. The aforementioned SD already showed signs of being rooted in NaSo ideology (Hultman et al. 2020), with the AfD in Germany also producing Nazi-sounding policies and narratives (Klikauer, 2020). Occurrences of these parties should be investigated, and their societal impacts understood to prevent history from repeating itself.

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## Appendix

### Appendix 1: Coding frame

- **Environment**
  - Climate (denialism)
    - Anthropocentric cause denial
    - CO2 restrictions
  - Pro-Farmers
    - Manure allowance
    - Livestock
    - Pesticide use
  - Ethno-nationalism
    - (White) society
    - Native people
- **Immigration** (the people vs the 'others')
  - Ethno-pluralism
    - Aliens / Islam 'invaders'
    - Overpopulation
    - Forms of othering/ Racism
    - Great Replacement
    - Cultural deterioration
  - Safety (immigration)
    - Terrorism
    - Crime
    - Securitization
- **Economic**
  - Decreased wages
  - Decreased employment opportunities
  - No productivity from immigrants
  - Deservingness of immigrants
  - Leaches of welfare/ Humanitarian Aid
- **Globalisation**
  - EU/Nexit
  - Globalisation

- Multinationals
- Global elites
- Sovereignty

Appendix 2A: coding of FvD electoral programme

Category	Indicators	Coding	Source
Environment	Multi-lateralism; Sovereignty; Immigration; Climate; EU; Wealth; Nexit	ENV + IMMI + GLOB + ECON	<p><i>“Forum voor Democratie is tegenstander van supranationale organisaties, omdat die onze soevereiniteit ... ondermijnen”.</i></p> <p><i>“... zij ontnemt ons de mogelijkheid om onze grenzen te beschermen en ons immigratiebeleid vorm te geven.”</i></p> <p><i>“Op het gebied van landbouw, visserij, ... klimaat- en energiebeleid, ... bepaalt de Europese Unie eveneens steeds meer facetten van ons leven.”</i></p> <p><i>“Voor het behoud van ... onze welvaart acht Forum voor Democratie ... de Europese Unie te verlaten”</i></p> <p>FvD blames supranational organisations such as the EU for removing the Netherlands’ sovereignty over their immigration and environmental policies. To maintain its wealth, FvD proposes the Netherlands leave the EU.</p> <p>(FvD, 2023, p. 13)</p>
	Immigration; Housing; Environment; Farmers	ENV + IMMI	<p><i>“Het is niet wenselijk dat ons hele land wordt volgebouwd en dat kostbare natuur en landbouwgrond wordt opgegeven ten behoeve van de alsmaar voortgaande immigratie.”</i></p> <p>Immigration is blamed for the increasing pressure on the Dutch housing market. As more plains have to be prepared for increasing housing demand, FvD connects the immigration as extra and unnecessary pressure for housing as a cause for Dutch landscape deterioration.</p> <p>(FvD, 2023, p. 40)</p>

	Climate; Immi- gration; Wealth	ENV + IMMI + ECON	<p><i>“Door te stoppen met peperduur klimaatbeleid (en) de massale immigratie van kansarmen ... komen vele miljarden vrij.”</i></p> <p>By discontinuing climate and immigration policies, billions would become available for better, more useful social goals.</p> <p>(FvD, 2023, p. 53)</p>
	Climate denialism; Wealth	ENV + ECON	<p><i>“Er is geen sprake van een klimaatcrisis”</i></p> <p><i>“De huidige klimaatdoelen ... hebben een groot negatief effect op onze welvaart.”</i></p> <p>Climate change is not existent, thus not an issue we should spend money on. By doing so, FvD states we are harming our wealth.</p> <p>(FvD, 2023, p. 81)</p>
	Nitrogen restrictions; EU; Wealth	ENV + GLOB + ECON	<p><i>“Met de absurde stikstofregels maakt het kabinet boeren het werken onmogelijk.”</i></p> <p><i>“Het Europese visserijbeleid is bovendien zeer nadelig voor onze eigen vissersvloot. De Mediterrane landen zijn bezig om een van onze meest innovatieve sectoren kapot te reguleren, omwille van hun eigen concurrentiepositie op de Europese markt.”</i></p> <p>The nitrogen restrictions placed on the Netherlands by the EU is harming the Dutch farmer’s global market position, thereby harming Dutch income and wealth.</p> <p>(FvD, 2023, p. 84)</p>
Immigration	Sover- eignty; multi- lateralism Immigration	IMMI + GLOB	<p><i>“De afgelopen decennia zijn diverse supranationale organisaties opgericht die onze soevereiniteit ernstig hebben ingeperkt”</i></p> <p><i>“... het VN-vluchtelingenverdrag dat ons dwingt tot het opnemen van migranten.”</i></p>

			<p>The supranational organisations which the Netherlands is part of have taken away its sovereignty and forced the country to accept immigrants against its will.</p> <p>(FvD, 2023, p. 10)</p>
<p>Immigration; Wealth; Racism; Safety; Great Replacement;</p>	<p>IMMI + ECON</p>	<p><i>“(Heel lang is er) veel te hoge instroom van kansarme immigranten en asielzoekers uit niet-westerse landen. Dat heeft enorme impact op onze samenleving. Het zet onze welvaart onder druk, holt de verzorgingsstaat uit, leidt tot verloedering van ons onderwijs, tot onveiligheid op straat en het ondermijnt onze culturele identiteit. Voortzetting van dit beleid zou ertoe leiden dat in 2050 tot 40% procent van de Nederlandse bevolking allochtoon is. De kosten van dit beleid zijn astronomisch: over 1995-2019 gemiddeld ca. € 19 miljard per jaar”</i></p> <p><i>“Illegaliteit wordt strafbaar.”</i></p> <p>Non-western immigrants destroy the (welfare) state and cause criminality. Increasing amounts of immigration lead to the replacement of the natives and cost the state billions each year.</p> <p>(FvD, 2023, p. 28)</p>	
<p>Wealth; Immigrants</p>	<p>IMMI + ECON</p>	<p><i>“Toegang tot sociale zekerheid voor immigranten moet sterk worden beperkt. Sociale rechten zijn geen kadootje...”</i></p> <p>Social security should not be given to immigrants, as they have not deserved them and will therefore simply leach off the Dutch state.</p> <p>(FvD, 2023, p. 43)</p>	

Appendix 2B: X (formerly Twitter) posts

Category	Indicators	Coding	Source
Environment	Climate Denialism	ENV + ECON	<p><i>“Klimaatverandering is van alle tijden. Kijk naar de Vikingen op Groenland of de (Kleine) IJstijd. Ik maak me geen zorgen om het klimaat, maar om de miljarden die de overheid uitgeeft aan klimaatbeleid. Dat geld kunnen we beter steken in zorg, onderwijs of lastenverlichting.”</i></p> <p>Climate change is a phenomenon of all times, so we should not invest in climate regulation but instead healthcare, education, or lowering taxes. Climate change is seen as an economic issue, as it is a non-ecological one</p> <p>(<a href="https://twitter.com/lidewij_devos/status/1721591770381766905">https://twitter.com/lidewij_devos/status/1721591770381766905</a>).</p>
	Climate restrictions; Decreased wealth	ENV + ECON	<p><i>“Het klimaatfonds kost ons 35 miljard. € 2000 per Nederlander. Geld dat ook aan de publieke sector kan worden besteed, of als lastenverlichting kan worden teruggegeven aan de burger, dreigt op te gaan aan zinloos klimaatbeleid”</i></p> <p>The climate regulations cost Dutch citizens 35 billion per year which could be spent on other parts of public sector or as tax decreases</p> <p>(<a href="https://twitter.com/fvdemocratie/status/1737808374589239677">https://twitter.com/fvdemocratie/status/1737808374589239677</a>).</p>
	Climate; Profit	ENV + ECON	<p><i>“Jaarlijks worden in Nederland duizenden hectaren aan gezonde bossen gekapt. Zogenaamd om de natuur te herstellen (de ironie!), maar in werkelijkheid wordt er vooral veel geld aan verdiend. #FVD is voor het behoud van onze prachtige bossen en wil dat de massale bomenkap stopt!”</i></p>

			FvD is in favor of saving trees instead of seeing nature as an economic incentive, showcasing genuine concern for tangible forms of nature ( <a href="https://x.com/GideonvMeijeren/status/1752390075718008881">https://x.com/GideonvMeijeren/status/1752390075718008881</a> ).
	Anthropocentric climate denial; Farmers;	ENV + ECON	<p><i>“De Nederlandse boer ... moet het veld ruimen... omdat mensen dit land willen hebben om daar zonnepanelen op te zetten, om daar windturbines op te zetten. Het is gewoon ordinarie landjepik omdat zij meegaan in een absurd verhaal over ‘man-made global warming’; ik geloof wel dat het klimaat verandert maar niet dat de mens daar grote invloed (op heeft). ... wat wij aan het doen zijn kost ons gewoon de hele samenleving en de economie.”</i></p> <p>FvD denies anthropocentric climate change and thinks these policies are destroying society and the economy (<a href="https://x.com/fvdemocratie/status/1758120953832202634">https://x.com/fvdemocratie/status/1758120953832202634</a>).</p>
Immigration	Work migrants; EU; Employment opportunities	IMMI + GLOB	<p><i>“De EU wil het nóg makkelijker maken voor migranten uit Afrika om naar Europa te komen. ... Absurde plannen. En het zoveelste bewijs dat de EU actief Afrikaanse migratiestromen richting Europa organiseert”</i></p> <p>FvD is blaming the EU for allowing migrant workers to flood the workforce, presumably taking jobs from the natives (<a href="https://twitter.com/fvdemocratie/status/1724813121053704398">https://twitter.com/fvdemocratie/status/1724813121053704398</a>).</p>
	Decrease in wealth,	IMMI + ECON	<p><i>“In de periode van 1995-2019 heeft de massaimmigratie de belastingbetaler €400 miljard (!) gekost.”</i></p>

Asylum seekers		Over 24 years, mass-immigration has cost taxpayers 400 billion euros. FvD exemplifies the economic weight of mass immigration. ( <a href="https://twitter.com/FVDrenaissance/status/1734532208210165806">https://twitter.com/FVDrenaissance/status/1734532208210165806</a> ).
Asylum seekers; Crime	IMMI	<p><i>“Wéér iemand neergestoken door asielzoekers. Nu in Maarheeze, met invoering van de dwangwet straks in héél NL. Stop deze wet”</i></p> <p>Someone was stabbed by an asylum seeker. By initiating a law to equally spread asylum seekers over municipalities FvD predicts many more people will be stabbed</p> <p>(<a href="https://x.com/fvdemocratie/status/1749476008401465524">https://x.com/fvdemocratie/status/1749476008401465524</a>).</p>
Welfare leaches; Cultural deterioration; Asylum seekers; Crime	IMMI + ECON	<p><i>“€ 2.600 per asielzoeker per maand. Dat is het prijskaartje van een opvangplek. Het is natuurlijk al langer bekend dat gelukszoekers uit Afrika en het Midden-Oosten flink in de watten worden gelegd, ... bovenop de kosten van zo’n opvangplek ook nog allerlei andere kosten komen, zoals zorgkosten, de belasting van ons politieapparaat en ga zo maar door. Asielmigratie vernietigt niet alleen onze identiteit, maar ook (het laatste restant van) onze welvaart. We moeten kansloze immigranten niet verspreiden over al onze prachtige steden en dorpen, maar buiten onze landsgrenzen houden. ... De tientallen miljarden die we besparen, wil #FVD in de vorm van lastenverlichting teruggeven aan Nederlanders”</i></p> <p>Fvd sees asylum seekers as aid abusers who cost the Dutch their identity, culture, safety, and wealth. With the money saved on refusing immigrants, FvD intends to reduce taxes</p>

		( <a href="https://x.com/fvdemocratie/status/1747590735321329990">https://x.com/fvdemocratie/status/1747590735321329990</a> ).
Immigrants; Over- population, Decreased housing	IMMI + ECON	<p><i>“Eerst langer op een kamer wachten dan dat je studie duurt, daarna nog 13 jaar op de wachtlijst staan voor een sociale huurwoning. Als we onze jongeren nog een toekomst willen bieden, is het essentieel om de massale immigratie te stoppen en om Nederlanders weer op één te zetten”</i></p> <p>FvD blames the lack of housing on immigration, as waiting lists for social houses often last years. Immigrants are blamed for taking up living space in the Netherlands</p> <p>(<a href="https://x.com/FVDamsterdam/status/1759635633142743089">https://x.com/FVDamsterdam/status/1759635633142743089</a>).</p>
Great Replace- ment; cultural deterior- ation	IMMI	<p><i>“60 jaar geleden woonden er primair Nedelraddndrsers in Nederland. Nu is het 50/50 en over 30 jaar zullen hier primair Arabierne en Afirkanen wonen. Dat betekent dus dat de bevolking is vervangen, dat er een omvolking is plaatsgevonden.”</i></p> <p>On a new channel Ongehoord Nieuws (Unheard News), Baudet speaks of ‘omvolking’ (nation replacement) happening in the Netherlands, as the Dutch citizens and therefore society are being replaced by immigrants</p> <p>(<a href="https://x.com/fvdemocratie/status/1761380000660373766">https://x.com/fvdemocratie/status/1761380000660373766</a>).</p>
Immi- gration; Wealth; Healthcare leeches;	IMMI + GLOB + ECON	<p><i>“De massa-immigratie is een enorme last op onze samenleving. Dat merken we in het onderwijs, de zorg en al helemaal in onze eigen portemonnee. @pvanhouwelingen wil ons terugtrekken uit alle beklemmende internationale verdragen en een</i></p>

multi-lateralism		<p><i>#NEXIT realiseren om de controle over onze grenzen terug te pakken. #FVD</i></p> <p>International treaties allow for immigrants to come into the Netherlands and decrease education, healthcare, and wealth (<a href="https://x.com/fvdemocratie/status/1765742850262679634">https://x.com/fvdemocratie/status/1765742850262679634</a>).</p>
Sovereignty; asylum seekers	IMMI + GLOB	<p><i>“Door het Verdrag van Schengen is het lastig om controle te houden over onze grenzen en asielmigratie te stoppen. Het zou beter zijn om uit het verdrag te stappen en eventueel bilaterale overeenkomsten te sluiten.”</i></p> <p>FvD wants to stop asylum migration by leaving the Schengen treaty and thereby regain full control of its borders (<a href="https://x.com/fvdemocratie/status/1778056791571476482">https://x.com/fvdemocratie/status/1778056791571476482</a>).</p>

Appendix 2C: Coded Podcasts

Category	Indicators	Coding	Source
Environment	CO2 restrictions	ENV	<p><i>“En daar is ook de boekpresentatie van Niemand In de cockpit, het nieuwe boek dat Ik heb gemaakt Samen met lieden bij de vos over het stikstof schandaal en dat is echt bijzonder gaaf. Ik ben er heel erg trots op, want wij hebben officiële overheidsdocumenten boven tafel gekregen uit waar de overheid zelf stelt dat het goed tot uitstekend gaat met alle natuurgebieden in Nederland, terwijl dezelfde overheid op dat moment de meest verschrikkelijke draconische maatregelen neemt om zogenaamd de natuur van de ware ondergang te redden.”</i></p> <p>Mention of “Niemand in de cockpit”, book about the actual state of the Netherland’s environment being in good shape, although governmental environmental rhetoric argues otherwise.</p> <p>(Baudet, Dekker, Kerseboom, Valentine, 2023, 2:14)</p>
	CO2 restrictions	ENV + ECON	<p><i>“Er is een soort antiauto atmosfeer ontstaan, antivooruitgang”</i></p> <p>Negative view on the restrictions placed on cars in inner cities, as FvD would welcome more cars to increase economic opportunities.</p>

		(Baudet, Dekker, Kerseboom, Valentine, 2023, 54:32)
Climate denialism	ENV + ECON	<p><i>“Dus je verplaatst Schiphol in de Noordzee maak je daar de grootste luchthaven ter wereld. Hyperloops daar naartoe.</i></p> <p><i>Je haalt al die dat gas uit de grond, van dat geld bouw je thorium kerncentrales waardoor je gewoon gratis energie hebt voor iedereen over 30 jaar. ... Als we die klimaatgekte nou niet hadden, hè?”</i></p> <p>Investing in environmentally damaging and environmentally sustainable transport and energy production for economic benefit, but it not possible due to “climate craze”.</p> <p>(Baudet, Dekker, Kerseboom, Valentine, 2023, 55:45)</p>
Climate denialism	ENV	<p><i>“Wij hebben alle officiële rapporten opgevraagd (van) 2017. Alle Natura 2000 gebieden krijgen van de regering zelf het stempel ‘goed’ tot ‘uitstekend’. En die rekenmodellen waarmee ze werken zijn die kloppen dus gewoon aantoonbaar niet”</i></p> <p>Mention of government reports showing there is no climate crisis, as nature is reported as being ‘good’ or ‘excellent’.</p> <p>(Baudet, Dekker, Geersing, 2023, 7:16)</p>
Climate denialism	ENV	<p><i>“Wij zijn nu op weg met een beleid van alfa 's en gamma's die zijn balve verstand hebben van techniek die denken zoals meneer Jetten CO2 en stikstof. Dat is een verstikkende</i></p>

		<p><i>deken. Het is een onvoorstelbaar, terwijl het voedingsstoffen zijn. Man weet niet waar hij het over heeft. Toch krijgt hij het parlement mee om meer dan 30 miljard (euro) te reserveren.”</i></p> <p>Blaming uneducated government officials for illogical policies on multiple topics, including the environment. This implies the ministers are investing in unnecessary environmental policies, as there is no climate crisis.</p> <p>(Baudet, Dekker, Geersing, 2023, 1:22:15)</p>
<p>CO2 restrictions; Mass immigration; Decrease in wealth; Decrease in housing; EU</p>	<p>ENV + IMMI + ECON + GLOB</p>	<p><i>“Dan beslissen wij met zijn allen of we doorgaan met de massale immigratie, met de onbetaalbare klimaatplannen, met het afsluiten van het Groninger gasveld, ... de onbetaalbare woningen voor onze starters, de krankzinnige koopkrachtdaling waardoor we geen boodschappen meer kunnen betalen ... gaan we voor Frans Timmermans die via de EU al dat beleid heeft opgelegd aan Nederland”</i></p> <p>FvD presents criticism on the individual issues of huge numbers of immigration, expensive climate plans, shutting off national gas supplies, expensive starter homes, decreased purchasing power. The EU partially caused these problems through Europe-wide policy implementations</p> <p>(Baudet, Dekker, Dessing, Jansen &amp; van Houwelingen, 2023, 00:37)</p>

	Farmers; CO2 restrictions	ENV	<p><i>“...het mag nooit zo zijn dat een boer niet meer kan boeren omdat die vanwege stikstof geen vergunning krijgt”</i></p> <p>FvD is against CO2 regulations, as it would restrict farmers from enacting their jobs effectively.</p> <p>(Baudet, Dekker, Dessing, Jansen &amp; van Houwelingen, 2023, 7:03)</p>
	Environmental regulations; International organisations	ENV + GLOB	<p><i>“Sustainable Development Goals, dat is geen propaganda, Dat is zelfs geen geologie, Dat is gewoon de werkelijkheid, Dat is de waarheid, hè, zo moet het zijn en Daarom wordt het nu op al die scholen verspreid.”</i></p> <p>The SDGs are being forced upon children as fact and reality according to the FvD., Although the podcast does not mention one specific actor in this instance, this narrative is presumably spread by the UN and supranational organisations.</p> <p>(Baudet, Dekker, Dessing, Jansen &amp; van Houwelingen, 2023, 1:03:14)</p>
Immigration	Cultural deterioration; EU	IMMI + GLOB	<p><i>“Dus zij zijn bezig met het uitvaardigen van regels die vanuit een abstracte redenering achter een bureau zijn ontstaan en die gelden van Portugal tot Noorwegen ... Dat werkt per definitie niet en dat werkt ook toe naar een soort eenvormigheid die die zou willen hè.”</i></p>

			<p>Discussion how the EU is implementing rules on a supranational scale which do not work for every individual country and therefore acts as a homogenizing, culturally diminishing action.</p> <p>(Baudet, Dekker, Kerseboom, Valentine, 2023, 31:20)</p>
	Ethno-pluralism;	IMMI + GLOB	<p><i>“Een land, een extreme corruptie, extreem geweld en extreem anti blank racisme. ... Een land waar het globalistische multiculturele project heeft gefaald.”</i></p> <p>Blaming South-Africa’s governmental failure on a multi-cultural globalisation project, implying mixing cultures leads to failed states and racism.</p> <p>(Baudet, Dekker, Kerseboom, Valentine, 2023, 33:10)</p>
	Overpopulation; Western immigration	IMMI + GLOB	<p><i>“...dan hebben we geld over om een studentenwoning te huren en dat gaat dus ten koste van de Nederlandse (studenten). Wij vinden het helemaal niet erg dat er buitenlandse studenten komen, (maar het) aantal moet ongeveer evenveel zijn als dat er weggaan. Dat is logisch in een klein land”</i></p> <p>No issue exists with foreign students entering the country, merely that it takes away housing from Dutch students is a problem.</p>

			(Baudet, Dekker, Dessing, Jansen & van Houwelingen, 2023, 15:26)
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