

Research Report

Introduction

INACH has years of monitoring experience. Much of our efforts focus on illegal hate speech since it can be reported and removed by platforms. However, in our monitoring work, we frequently encounter borderline content: content that contains hateful or discriminatory elements but does not meet the legal threshold for illegal hate speech. Conspiracy theories are particularly problematic in this respect. They often combine disinformation with hostility towards particular communities, while remaining carefully framed so that individual posts are not necessarily unlawful.

The danger lies in their cumulative and systemic impact. Repeated exposure can normalise prejudice, reinforce harmful stereotypes and present minority groups as threats to society, national identity or public safety. Conspiracy narratives can also create an enabling environment for more explicit hatred by gradually shifting the boundaries of what is considered acceptable. When amplified by recommendation systems, coordinated networks or influential accounts, seemingly borderline posts can reach large audiences and contribute to hostility, polarisation and, in some cases, offline discrimination or violence. Assessing harm solely on the basis of whether individual posts are illegal therefore overlooks the broader effects of repeated, interconnected and algorithmically amplified narratives.

In the Netherlands we frequently see content mentioning two conspiracy theories: The *Great Replacement* (*omvolking*) and *Islamisation* (*islamisering*) conspiracy theories portray migration and demographic change as a deliberate process through which the native population and national culture are being replaced by Muslims or migrants, often with the alleged support of political elites. They are dangerous because they spread disinformation, reduce diverse communities to a collective threat, and normalise hostility towards Muslims, refugees and migrants. By presenting coexistence as an existential struggle, these narratives can justify

exclusionary policies, intensify social polarisation and create an environment in which discrimination, harassment and even violence are seen as legitimate forms of “self-defence.”

We therefore aim to gain a clearer understanding of how frequently these narratives are circulated, how toxic the surrounding discourse is, which platforms and accounts contribute most to their dissemination, and how these narratives overlap with and reinforce other forms of anti-Muslim and anti-migrant hostility.

Methodology

Using the EOOH dashboard, we examined how frequently the terms *omvolking* and *islamisering* appeared within two broader datasets, how toxic the surrounding content was, and the extent to which the two terms overlapped. We included co-occurrence in the analysis because initial observations showed that *omvolking* and *islamisering* frequently appeared together or within closely connected discussions.

The EOOH dashboard uses baseline channels that collect content related to specific issues and assess its toxicity. For this analysis, we examined the baseline channels on anti-immigration and anti-refugee hatred and on anti-Muslim hatred. Within these channels, we filtered the data to cover a six-month period from March to September 2026. The analysis included Dutch-language content from X, Meta, TikTok and YouTube.

In a third search, we added the term *remigratie* (“remigration”). This term was included because it frequently functions as the proposed political response to the threats constructed through *omvolking* and *islamisering*. While *omvolking* presents demographic change as the deliberate replacement of the existing population and *islamisering* frames Islam and Muslims as a cultural or religious threat, *remigratie* translates these narratives into an exclusionary policy demand centred on the removal or return of migrants and, in some uses, people with a migration background. Examining the three terms together therefore helps reveal how conspiracy-based interpretations of social change can become connected to concrete political demands and solutions.

Results

Channel on anti-immigration / anti refugee hate

This dataset contains 132,585 posts in Dutch. Analyzing messages from March 01, 2026 to August 30, 2026. of which 21,202 (16.0%) are toxic. Most data was collected from Twitter (77%), Facebook (16%) and Youtube (4%). The average toxicity score is 0.24. 0.7% of posts have a toxicity score of 0.8 or higher. Messages with high toxicity are more frequent on Twitter (61.0%). Toxicity often involves Politics (90%). About 25% of the toxic messages contain violent language. Keywords frequently found in toxic messages include: europa, gelukszoekers, bevolking, onzin, israel.

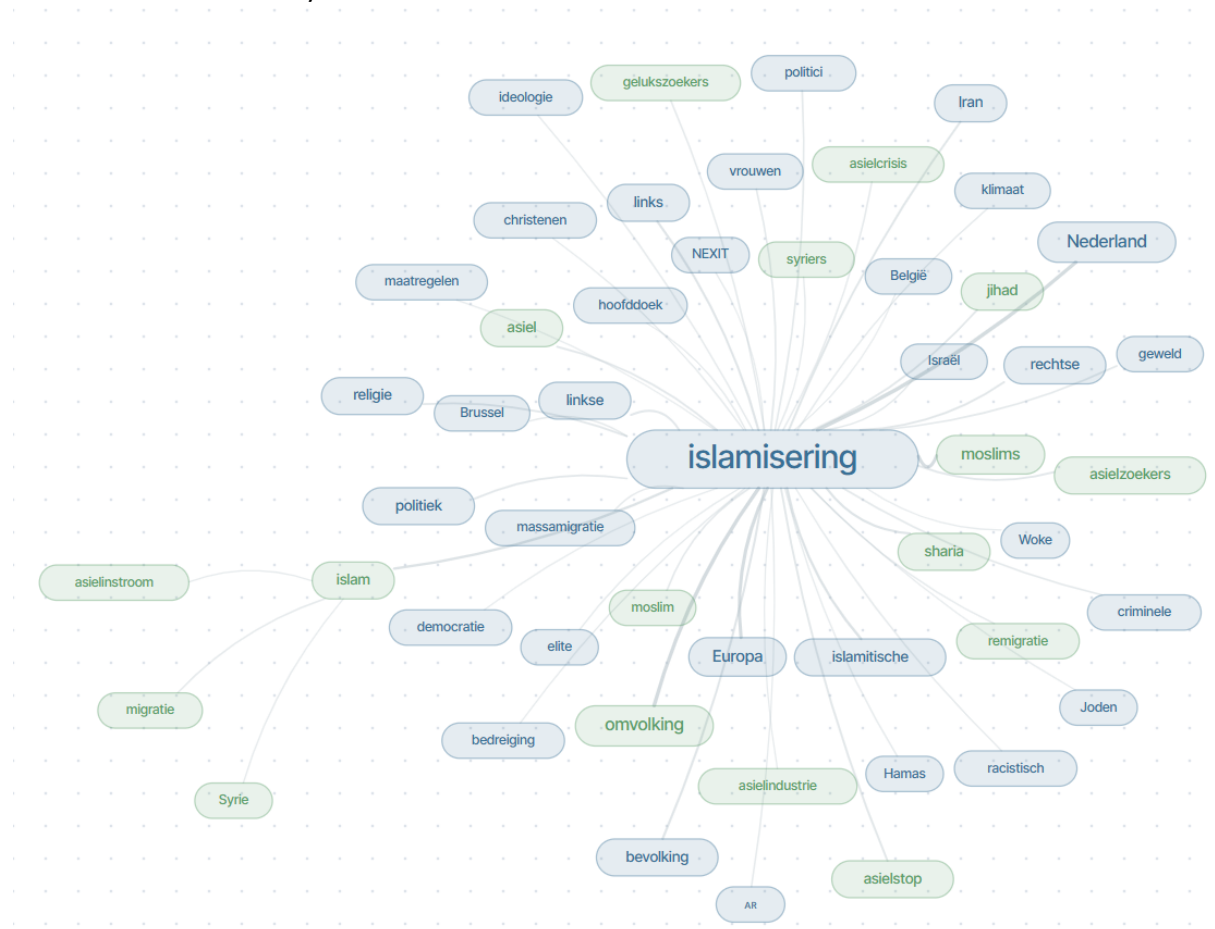
Filtering with the word 'islamisering' produced the following statistics:

This dataset contains 320 posts, of which 249 (77.8%) are toxic. Most data was collected from Twitter (81%), Facebook (12%) and Youtube (5%). The average toxicity score is 0.56. 2.2% of posts have a toxicity score of 0.8 or higher. Messages with high toxicity are more frequent on Facebook (42.9%). Toxicity often involves Religion (100%). About 23% of the toxic messages contain violent language. Keywords frequently found in toxic messages include: europa, omvolking, sharia, gelukszoekers, bevolking.



Fig. 1 Here you can see the word cloud on islamisation (islamisering). According to this word cloud islamisering is mentioned 390 times and the Great Replacement 107. It shows that often the two concepts are mentioned together.

Fig. 2 Below one can see the word web. It gives an indication of how often the word islamisation is used in concurrence with other words. A clear immigration narrative is connected to *islamiseren* with words like *massamigratie* (mass immigration), *asielzoekers* (asylum seekers), *asielindustrie* (asylum industry), *asielcrisis* (asylum crisis) and *asielinstroom* (asylum influx).



We also filtered the same channel with '*omvolking*' (see Fig. 3). This dataset contains 1,124 posts, of which 467 (41.5%) are toxic. Most data was collected from Twitter (78%), Facebook (15%) and Youtube (6%). The average toxicity score is 0.49. 3.7% of posts have a toxicity score of 0.8 or higher. Messages with high toxicity are more frequent on Twitter (54.8%). Toxicity often involves Politics (100%). About 24% of the toxic messages contain violent language. Keywords frequently found in toxic messages include: europa, omvolking, complottheorie, bevolking, gelukszoekers. The word *omvolking* was mentioned 1396 times and *islamiseren* 103 times.

With the filtering words *omvolking* and *remigratie* (see fig. 5). *Omvolking* was mentioned 1389 times, *remigratie* 169 and *islamiseren* 124. This dataset contains 1,847 posts, of which 617 (33.4%) are toxic. Most data was collected from Twitter (80%), Facebook (13%) and Youtube (5%). The average toxicity score is 0.41. 2.8% of posts have a toxicity score of 0.8 or higher. Messages with high toxicity are more frequent on Twitter (56.9%). Toxicity often involves Politics (98%). About 27% of the toxic messages contain violent language. Keywords frequently found in toxic messages include: *europa*, *omvolking*, *bevolking*, *complottheorie*, *gelukszoekers*.



Fig. 5 Omvolking & Remigratie

Channel on anti muslim hate

This dataset contains 283,349 posts, of which 70,845 (25.0%) are toxic. Most data was collected from Twitter (82%), Facebook (13%) and Youtube (3%). The average toxicity score is 0.32. 1.6% of posts have a toxicity score of 0.8 or higher. Messages with high toxicity are more frequent on Twitter (78.7%). Toxicity often involves Racism (66%). About 23% of the toxic messages contain violent language. Keywords frequently found in toxic messages include: europa, hamas, iran, israel, islamitische.

While filtering with search word *omvolking*, the following statistics were obtained:

Analyzing messages from March 01, 2026 to August 30, 2026. This dataset contains 2,180 posts, of which 880 (40.4%) are toxic. Most data was collected from Twitter (90%), Facebook (7%) and Youtube (2%). The average toxicity score is 0.50. 3.9% of posts have a toxicity score of 0.8 or higher. Messages with high toxicity are more frequent on Twitter (66.3%). Toxicity often involves Politics (100%). About 17% of the toxic messages contain violent language. Keywords frequently found in toxic messages include: europa, omvolking, hamas, islamieten, israel. *Omvolking* was mentioned 2613 times and *islamisering* 267 times in the word cloud below (Fig.6).

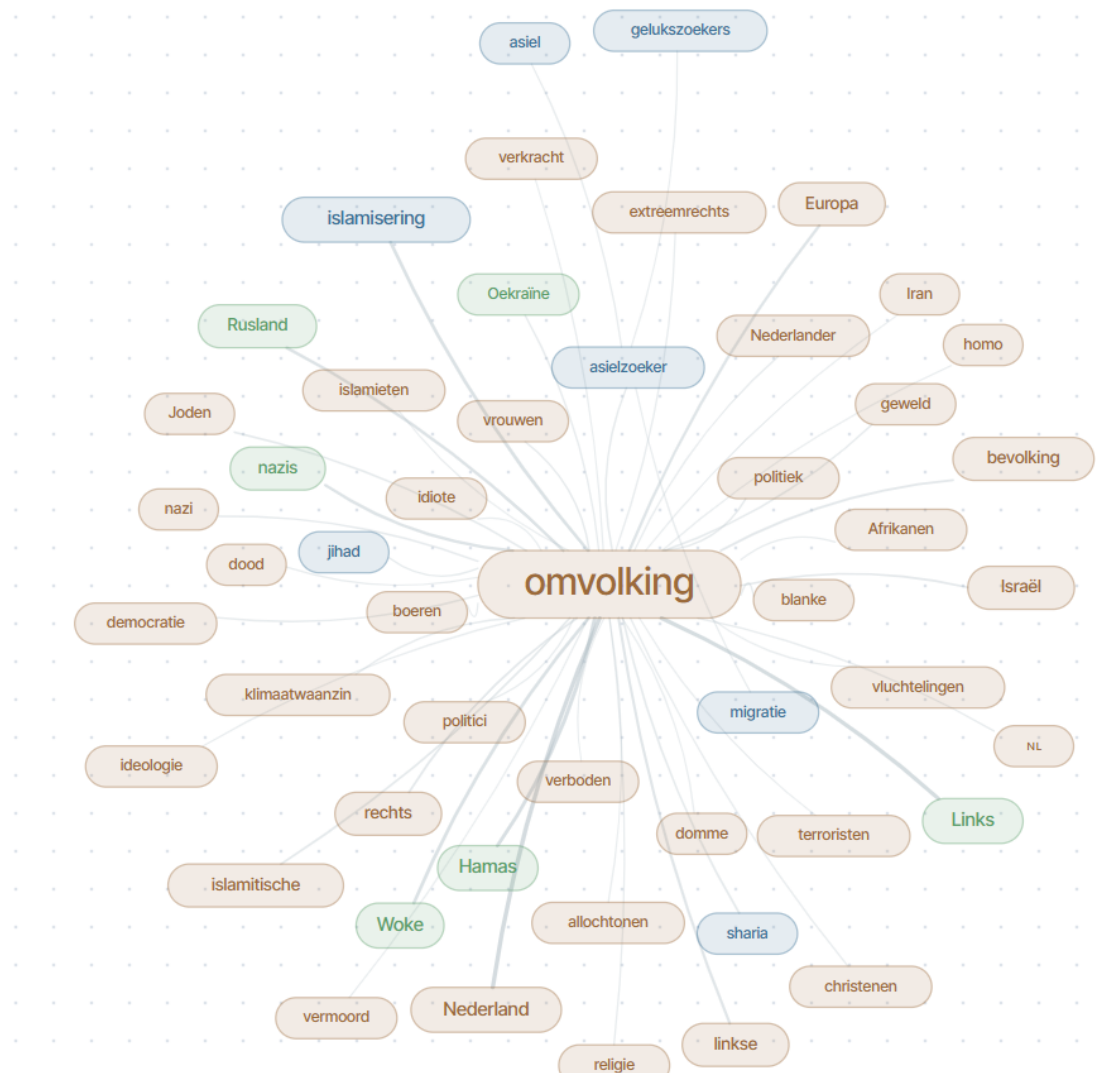


Fig. 6 Islamisering & Omvolking

In Figure 7, the word web shows what other words were frequently used in

combination with *omvolking*. Just as in the other channel we see here a narrative that connects the Great Replacement to muslims but also with immigration.

Fig. 7 Word Web



When filtering the data with the search word *islamising*, we obtained the following information:

Analyzing messages from March 01, 2026 to August 30, 2026. This dataset contains 2,788 posts, of which 2,038 (73.1%) are toxic. Most data was collected from Twitter (85%), Facebook (11%) and Youtube (3%). The average toxicity score is 0.55. 4.3% of posts have a toxicity score of 0.8 or higher. Messages with high toxicity are more frequent on Twitter (61.3%). Toxicity often involves Religion (100%). About 18% of the toxic messages contain violent language. Keywords frequently found in toxic messages include: *europa*, *omvolking*, *sharia*, *hamas*, *iran*. *islamiserig* was mentioned 3381 times in the filtered data (see Fig.8).

When filtering the data with the words *omvolking* and *remigratie*, we received the following statistics:

This dataset contains 3,096 posts, of which 1,172 (37.9%) are toxic. Most data was collected from Twitter (91%), Facebook (6%) and Youtube (2%). The average toxicity score is 0.46. 3.6% of posts have a toxicity score of 0.8 or higher. Messages with high toxicity are more frequent on Twitter (68.8%). Toxicity often involves Politics (93%). About 21% of the toxic messages contain violent language. Keywords frequently found in toxic messages include: *europa*, *omvolking*, *hamas*, *sharia*, *bevolking*. *Omvolking* was mentioned 2613 and *remigratie* 221 times and *islamiseren* 344 (see Fig. 10).



Fig 10 Toxic Messages and Violent Language

Analysis

Of all posts collected in the anti-immigrants and anti-refugees hate channel - 132,585 - 1,124 posts mentioned *omvolking* and 320 posts mentioned *islamiseren*, which is only about 1% of the dataset. Of all the posts collected in the anti-muslim hate channel - 283,349 - 4968 contained *omvolking* or *islamiseren*, which is not even 2% of the whole dataset. Although the terms *omvolking* and *islamiseren* appear in only a relatively small proportion of all posts collected, the conversations in which they occur are substantially more toxic than the overall discussions in the two broader monitoring channels:

- In the anti-immigrants hate channel, 16% contained toxic content while 77.8% was toxic when filtering with the word *islamiseren* in the channel. Filtering the same channel with the word *omvolking* has a toxicity percentage of more than 40%. And even with the two words together the toxicity is still higher, 33%.
- In the anti-muslim channel, 25% of the content was toxic but filtering with the word *omvolking* 40% was toxic and filtering with the word *islamiseren* 73% of the content was toxic. Filtering with the two words together still contained almost 38% toxic content.

This difference is particularly notable because the toxicity rate measures the content of the posts themselves, but does not reflect how often those posts were viewed, shared or liked. The potential reach and influence of these narratives may therefore be considerably greater than the number of original posts suggests. X/Twitter played a particularly significant role: it accounted for a large proportion of the relevant posts and displayed a higher toxicity rate than the other platforms monitored. This suggests that X is not only an important venue for the circulation of these narratives, but also for their more hostile and explicit articulation. The visualisations reveal strong mutual co-occurrence between the two concepts. *Omvolking* features prominently among the words associated with *islamiseren*, while *islamiseren* is similarly prominent in the discourse surrounding *omvolking*. Both are connected to terms such as *bevolking* (population), *Nederland*, *Europa*, *politiek*, *links*, *democratie*, *asielzoekers*, *moslims*, *migratie* and *remigratie*. This indicates that *omvolking* and *islamiseren* are not the subjects of two separate

conversations. Rather, they form part of a broader narrative system in which immigration, Islam, demographic change and national identity are presented as interconnected threats. Both concepts connect migration and asylum to perceived demographic, religious and cultural transformation. Their repeated co-occurrence suggests that anti-refugee and anti-Muslim narratives reinforce one another, rather than operating as separate forms of hostility. Despite this overlap, the surrounding vocabulary reveals distinct emphases. *Omvolking* predominantly provides a conspiracy-based demographic frame. It is associated with population change, asylum seekers, migration, white or Dutch identity, remigration, deportation and the alleged complicity of political elites. It also connects demographic change to criminality and sexual violence. *Islamisering*, by contrast, supplies a specifically religious and anti-Muslim interpretation of this alleged transformation. It is associated with Muslims, Islam, sharia, jihad, mosques, the Quran, terrorism, religious conflict and claims about the incompatibility of Islam with Dutch or European society. Put simply, *omvolking* constructs the alleged process, while *islamisering* identifies Islam and Muslims as its presumed outcome or beneficiary.

Several interconnected narrative clusters can be distinguished:

1. **Demographic threat:** Terms such as *bevolking*, *blanke*, *witte*, *Nederlander*, *gezinshereniging* and *massamigratie* portray migration as a process that changes, displaces or replaces the existing Dutch population.
2. **Religious and security threat:** References to *islam*, *moslims*, *sharia*, *jihad*, *terroristen* and *islamitische* associate Muslims with religious domination, extremism, insecurity and violence.
3. **Migration control:** Terms such as *asielzoekers*, *asielstop*, *vluchtelingen*, *remigratie*, *deportatie* and *illegalen* connect the perceived threat to concrete exclusionary policy demands. The narrative therefore moves from describing an alleged danger to proposing the exclusion, removal or forced return of particular groups.
4. **Political betrayal or complicity:** References to *links*, *linkse*, *elite*, *politici*, *Brussel*, *Europa* and *corruptie* suggest that demographic and cultural change is not understood as an ordinary social development, but as a deliberate project enabled—or even organised—by political elites.

5. **Civilisational and identity conflict:** Terms including *Nederland, Europa, christenen, democratie, vrouwen* and *mensenrechten* frame migration and Islam as threats to Dutch, European, Christian or democratic identity. Women's rights and minority rights are sometimes invoked selectively as evidence of the alleged incompatibility between Muslims and European society.

Adding remigration or in dutch *remigratie* to the analysis further demonstrates the interconnectedness of these narratives. *Omvolking* describes an alleged demographic process, *islamisering* gives that process a religious and cultural interpretation, and *remigratie* is presented as the political solution. Together, the three concepts form a coherent narrative chain: migration is portrayed as causing population replacement, population replacement as leading to the Islamisation of the Netherlands or Europe, and remigration as the necessary response. This connection is significant because it shows how conspiracy-based and discriminatory narratives can be translated into increasingly concrete demands for exclusionary policy.

Conclusion

Although the terms "omvolking" and "islamisering" occur in a relatively small share of the complete baseline dataset, they generated thousands of posts during the six-month period and were strongly associated with toxic discourse. The analysis indicates that the two narratives are closely interconnected. "Omvolking" primarily frames migration as deliberate demographic replacement, while "islamisering" presents the presumed outcome as the growing dominance of Islam and Muslims. Through their association with concepts such as mass migration, asylum seekers, sharia, jihad, remigration and political elites, the narratives connect anti-refugee hostility, anti-Muslim prejudice and conspiratorial distrust of democratic institutions.

At the same time, the presence of terms such as "conspiracy theory", "racist", "far right" and "nonsense" demonstrates that not all mentions endorse these ideas. The results should therefore be understood as evidence of the circulation and interconnection of the narratives, rather than as a direct measurement of public support. Manual analysis is required to distinguish endorsement from counter-

speech, news reporting and critical discussion.

The next most valuable step would be to compare how these terms developed month by month. That would reveal whether they form a constant background narrative or become more prominent around particular political events, protests, asylum-centre controversies or international conflicts.



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