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## Between Hope and Fear

Dutch population united in fear of hybrid threats and war, while strong divisions persist



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- Dutch people find common ground in fear of hybrid threats and war.
- The vast majority also agrees on how these hybrid threats and the threat of war should be handled. People desire protection of society against hybrid threats and war threat, as well as investments to improve the resilience and self-sufficiency of the Netherlands and Europe.
- Threat perception regarding migration, climate as well as democracy and the rule of law remains strongly divided, but the wish to prepare for the consequences of climate change remains widely shared.
- More than 20% of Dutch citizens see the political views of other Dutch citizens as the greatest threat: they fear the rise of political parties in various countries who discriminate against people based on their religion or race.
- A number of relevant policy changes by the current government have so far failed to stir much enthusiasm among the population. This concerns the use of development cooperation in service of Dutch interests and the reintroduction of Dutch border controls.

## Introduction<sup>1</sup>

Since 2022, the Clingendael Institute annually surveys what international developments the Dutch population perceives as most threatening and as most hope-inspiring.<sup>2</sup> A remarkable finding in the 2025 edition is that the threat of war is bringing Dutch citizens together. Not only do they share a fear of hybrid threats and war, but they are also united in their hope for greater resilience and for the achievement of a lasting ceasefire between Ukraine and Russia. Media coverage of cyberattacks<sup>3</sup>, hybrid and military threats<sup>4</sup>, speeches by political leaders such as NATO secretary general Mark Rutte<sup>5</sup>, and calls to put together an emergency package have made an impression on most Dutch citizens.

On the topics of migration, climate, as well as democracy and rule of law, however, the Dutch population remains strongly polarised. In fact, a proportion of the Dutch population has come to see the political views of other Dutch people as the greatest threat of all: the rise of political parties in various countries who discriminate against people based on their religion or race occupies the top position in their hierarchy of threats. The field research for this publication was conducted in December 2024, so the polarisation already existed before the inauguration of the US President Trump and before US Vice President J.D. Vance stated at the Munich Security Conference that he was more

concerned about “the threat from within” than the threats posed by Russia or China.<sup>6</sup>

## Unity amidst division

The attitudes of Dutch citizens were measured using two samples of more than 4000 respondents in December 2024.<sup>7</sup> Respondents were asked to rate (on a scale from 0 to 10) the impact that a large number of developments would have on the security and prosperity of the Netherlands, if these were to actually occur. Based on the average impact score that respondents assigned to the various developments, a threat hierarchy (see Table 1) and a hierarchy of hope (see Table 2) were prepared. Respondents were also asked to indicate whether they consider it likely (with a probability exceeding 75%) that a certain development will indeed occur within the next five years.

As in the past three years, we found that Dutch citizens are deeply divided with regard to international developments. In the Clingendael survey study, we conceptualise this schism as running between people who are strongly attached to borders and national culture, and people who are not; these are respectively referred to as *Somewheres* and *Anywheres*

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1 The authors are very grateful to Sasja Meijer and Sjoerd van der Steen of Onderzoeksinstituut Kieskompas for their data collection and processing, as well as to Peter Haasbroek, Saskia Legein, Bob Deen and René Cuperus for their peer review.

2 See the website of the [Clingendael Foreign Affairs Barometer](#) for the 2022, 2023 and 2024 editions of *Between Hope and Fear*.

3 See for instance <https://www.nctv.nl/onderwerpen/cybersecuritybeeld-nederland>.

4 See for instance <https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/documenten/rapporten/2024/12/06/tk-bijlage-1-dreigingsbeeld-hybride-en-militaire-dreigingen-na-cdinev>

5 [https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/opinions\\_231348.htm](https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/opinions_231348.htm)

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6 See for instance <https://securityconference.org/en/medialibrary/asset/the-speech-of-jd-vance-20250214-1817/>.

7 The data for this study was collected in December 2024. Both samples were obtained using the Kieskompas VIP Panel (4085 respondents for hope-inspiring developments and 4174 respondents for threatening developments). To ensure that the results are generalisable to citizens of the Netherlands entitled to vote, Kieskompas applied a weighting to the results. The results were weighted for sex, age, education, migration background, Nielsen region and voting behaviour, in order to render the data representative for the Netherlands with regard to these variables (within the used categories). This representativity extends to non-weighted variables and categories, but shall never amount to one hundred percent.

Table 1 Hierarchy of threats 2025

	Development	Impact	Probability (%yes - %no)		I x P
1	Cyber sabotage of critical Dutch infrastructure (e.g. energy, drinking water, payment systems)	7.87	72.4	27.6	5.7
2	Physical sabotage of critical Dutch infrastructure (e.g. energy, drinking water, internet and payment systems)	7.66	57.0	43.0	4.37
3	Involvement in a war due to a territorial attack against an EU or NATO ally or the Netherlands itself	7.44	46.2	53.8	3.44
4	Involvement in a nuclear war	7.43	18.0	82.0	1.34
5	Insufficient military capacity among EU member states to defend European territory	7.34	60.1	39.9	4.41
6	The growing power of big tech companies and their CEOs (such as Microsoft, Huawei, Facebook, TikTok and Elon Musk)	7.31	84.1	15.9	6.15
7	Undermining of democratic states and the rule of law in the European Union (e.g. due to corruption, erosion of the independence of the judiciary)	7.28	64.5	35.5	4.69
8	The rise of intolerant religious movements in various countries	7.26	71.6	28.4	5.2
9	Growing polarisation and radicalisation due to foreign disinformation campaigns (e.g. around elections in the Netherlands, around the war in Ukraine)	7.19	82.1	17.9	5.91
10	Dependency on unsympathetic countries for vital products (e.g. raw materials, energy, chips, medication, weapons)	7.14	73.4	26.6	5.24
11	Foreign interference in migrant communities in the Netherlands	7.13	78.5	21.5	5.6
12	An Islamist terrorist attack in the Netherlands	7.11	59.2	40.9	4.21
13	EU is ineffective due to internal divisions and differences	7.11	75.4	24.6	5.36
14	Undermining of Dutch society by international organised crime	7.02	63.0	37.0	4.42
15	Increase of social tensions in the Netherlands due to a foreign conflict (e.g. due to the war between Russia and Ukraine, or the war between Israel and Hamas)	7.01	86.1	13.9	6.03
16	Lack of socioeconomic security for Dutch citizens (e.g. inability to make ends meet financially) as a result of international developments	6.96	66.2	33.8	4.6
17	Foreign interference in elections in the Netherlands	6.94	63.5	36.5	4.41
18	NATO is ineffective due to internal divisions and differences	6.9	59.0	41.0	4.07
19	Corporate espionage by other countries	6.9	90.2	9.8	6.23
20	Increasing war rhetoric lowers the threshold to an actual war	6.82	57.0	43.0	3.89
21	Erosion of the international legal order (e.g. due to ineffectiveness of the UN Security Council)	6.81	57.2	42.8	3.89
22	Inflation as a result of international developments	6.81	81.8	18.2	5.57
23	Further escalation of the war in the Middle East	6.81	81.5	18.5	5.55
24	Russia wins the war with Ukraine	6.79	60.6	39.4	4.12

	Development	Impact	Probability (%yes - %no)		I x P
25	Large-scale irregular immigration, with migrants not possessing valid documentation to enter or reside in a country	6.78	66.5	33.5	4.51
26	Weakening of the US security guarantee to Europe (e.g. due to political developments in the US or US-China conflict)	6.77	70.5	29.5	4.77
27	Global overpopulation	6.77	59.7	40.3	4.04
28	The rise of political parties in various countries that discriminate against people based on their religion or race	6.75	71.3	28.7	4.81
29	Use of migration as a weapon by leaders surrounding the EU	6.73	68.3	31.7	4.6
30	Growing influence of China and Russia in important third countries (e.g. India, the Gulf states, Balkan countries, in Africa and in South America)	6.72	83.5	16.5	5.61
31	The rise of hatred against Jews	6.71	72.1	27.9	4.84
32	Europe loses the technological competition between the major powers	6.68	58.9	41.1	3.94
33	Involvement in a war outside EU or NATO territory (e.g. Ukraine or Taiwan)	6.6	60.4	39.6	3.98
34	Large numbers of refugees due to a war near the EU	6.57	74.9	25.1	4.92
35	Insufficient access to natural resources and critical raw materials (e.g. metals for the production of chips and solar cells)	6.56	53.1	46.9	3.49
36	Consequences of climate change for Dutch society (flooding, heat stress, drought, deterioration of nature and biodiversity)	6.56	61.8	38.3	4.05
37	High debts in Europe threaten the stability of the euro	6.55	48.1	51.9	3.15
38	A right-wing extremist terrorist attack in the Netherlands	6.55	48.7	51.3	3.19
39	A military conflict between the United States and China	6.52	24.1	75.9	1.57
40	Disruption of major sea trading routes (e.g. by blockades and attacks on ships)	6.52	62.2	37.8	4.06
41	A left-wing extremist terrorist attack in the Netherlands	6.39	43.6	56.4	2.79
42	Growing number of emerging powers ally with the BRICS pact with China and Russia	6.36	71.0	29.0	4.52
43	Anti-western propaganda undermines the international position of the Netherlands and the EU	6.23	59.1	40.9	3.68
44	Prosperity decline as a result of increasing protectionism (e.g. due to Trump's trade tariffs and large-scale Chinese state subsidies)	6.15	77.0	23.1	4.73
45	The proclamation of a caliphate (Islamic ideal state) in the Middle East and/or Africa	6.12	60.0	40.0	3.67
46	The rise of hatred against Muslims	6.11	71.8	28.2	4.38
47	Disruption of society and the economy by emerging technologies (e.g. artificial intelligence)	6.03	58.4	41.7	3.52
48	A new serious pandemic	5.99	34.1	65.9	2.04
49	Large-scale regular migration (e.g. labour migration, family migration, student migration)	5.73	68.3	31.7	3.91

	Development	Impact	Probability (%yes - %no)		I x P
50	Prosperity decline as a result of the scaling down of economic ties with China	4.97	48.7	51.3	2.42
51	Low birth figures in Europe	4.86	66.8	33.2	3.24

(or nationalists and globalists).<sup>8,9</sup> In the most recent survey, 59% of respondents were *Somewheres* and 20% were *Anywheres*, while 21% held an intermediate position.<sup>10</sup> In view of this pronounced division, it is important to consider not only the average scores in Tables 1 and 2, but also to contrast the scores of *Somewheres* and of *Anywheres* (Tables A through F in the Annex).<sup>11</sup>

8 See for instance [https://www.clingendael.org/sites/default/files/2024-02/CA\\_TussenHoopenvrees2024.pdf](https://www.clingendael.org/sites/default/files/2024-02/CA_TussenHoopenvrees2024.pdf), p. 11.

9 The overall group of respondents was divided into these categories based on their answers to two questions, which were presented as dilemmas: “Protecting the borders of the Netherlands and Europe is an important duty. Every country should be able to determine who gets in and who gets to stay” versus “National borders are outdated. Borders should not prevent people from seeking happiness elsewhere”, and “The Netherlands has its own culture and way of life, and these must be preserved” versus “Dutch culture is not that important or is constantly changing”. For analytical purposes, people who both wish to protect Dutch culture and value national and European borders are considered *Somewheres*, while those who both believe that national cultures are unimportant or constantly changing and that national borders are an outdated concept are classified as *Anywheres*. We adopt this category designation of *Somewheres* versus *Anywheres* from David Goodhart, *The Road to Somewhere. The Populist Revolt and the Future of Politics*, London: Hurst & Company, 2017.

10 This intermediate group almost exclusively consists of people who do consider border protection important, but are not convinced of the existence of a national identity or culture or the importance of preserving it.

11 For example, “Large-scale irregular immigration” ranks 2<sup>nd</sup> in the threat hierarchy according to *Somewheres* (see Table A in the Annex) and 48<sup>th</sup> in the threat hierarchy according to *Anywheres* (see Table C in the Annex). On average, that puts this item in 25<sup>th</sup> position (see Table 1). In short, the fact that an item ranks around the middle of the threat hierarchy does not necessarily mean that all Dutch citizens perceive it as a moderate threat. In the case of “Large-scale irregular immigration”, this middling rank is the result of an average of two groups in society who hold radically opposed views on the subject. On the other hand, it is possible for a development to rank mid-table in the threat hierarchy because all Dutch citizens consider it a threat of approximately that order; this is the case with “Use of migration as a weapon by leaders surrounding the EU”.

## Heightened fear of war

Despite these considerable divisions, in 2025 we also see consensus about the threatening nature of several developments, as well as about how these developments should be handled. This consensus concerns hybrid threats and the threat of war. Deemed most threatening by the Dutch population are cyberattacks and physical attacks against critical infrastructure; these are ranked first and second, respectively, in the hierarchy of threats. Positions three, four and five represent various war-related threats: involvement in a war due to an attack on a European member state or NATO ally, involvement in a nuclear war, and concerns about the inadequacy of Europe’s military capacity (see Table 1). The top four of these most threatening developments rank in the top fifteen of both *Somewheres* (see Table A in the Annex) and *Anywheres* (see Table C in the Annex). Furthermore, these are threats that majorities of respondents – 54% to 72% – believe likely to occur in the next five years. Nuclear war ranks high because people believe that the consequences would be disastrous; quite remarkably, one in five Dutch citizens also fears that nuclear war will likely break out within five years.

Compared to previous surveys, hybrid threats and war threats are considered both more threatening (in terms of impact score) and as more likely. Cyberattacks already featured in the top two of the threat hierarchy in 2022, 2023 and 2024 (see Figure 1), but it is perceived as increasingly threatening in absolute terms and increasingly likely to occur. Other hybrid threats have grown in prominence over the years: physical attacks against critical Dutch infrastructure rose from 12<sup>th</sup> to 2<sup>nd</sup>, growing polarisation of Dutch society due to foreign disinformation campaigns rose from 15<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup>, and 88% of respondents believes that we will likely have to contend with these developments

within the next five years. Foreign interference in elections in the Netherlands rose from 21<sup>st</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup>, with 64% of respondents finding such interference likely. Corporate espionage rose from 31<sup>st</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup>, and is deemed probable by no less than 90%. The perceived threat of war has also grown significantly, and is also increasingly considered likely to occur: 46% of respondents believe that the Netherlands will likely become involved in a war within the next five years (up from 35% in the previous survey).

It is also interesting to examine how people estimate the combination of impact and probability (see the rightmost column in Table 1, named *IxP*). The highest-scoring international developments in terms of impact multiplied by probability are: Corporate espionage by other countries; The growing power of big tech companies and their CEOs; Increase of social tensions in the Netherlands due to a foreign conflict; and Cyber sabotage of critical Dutch infrastructure.

Regarding a number of developments, there is a near-perfect consensus that they are very unimportant. These are: that a growing number of emerging powers are allying with the BRICS pact, in which China and Russia are leading countries; the undermining of the international position of the Netherlands and the EU by anti-western propaganda; the potential disruption of society by emerging technologies, such as AI; prosperity decline as a result of the scaling down of economic ties with China; and the low European birth figures. Something these topics have in common is that they have so far not featured significantly in political debate and the media.

Figure 1 gives an idea of the rise and fall of themes in the threat hierarchy over the years. Since the list of potential threats has been modified with a view to topical developments and has therefore not been identical across the years, the image it presents is not complete. It is also important to note that this figure presents rankings, not absolute impact scores. In 2025, a number of threats are perceived as greater,

while threats that ranked high in previous years (e.g. those relating to migration and climate change) have more or less maintained the same absolute impact score. As a result, developments can fall (significantly) in the rankings, without affecting the absolute impact score. In other words: the threat of war has significantly added to Dutch citizens' concerns, but their other concerns are no lesser for it.

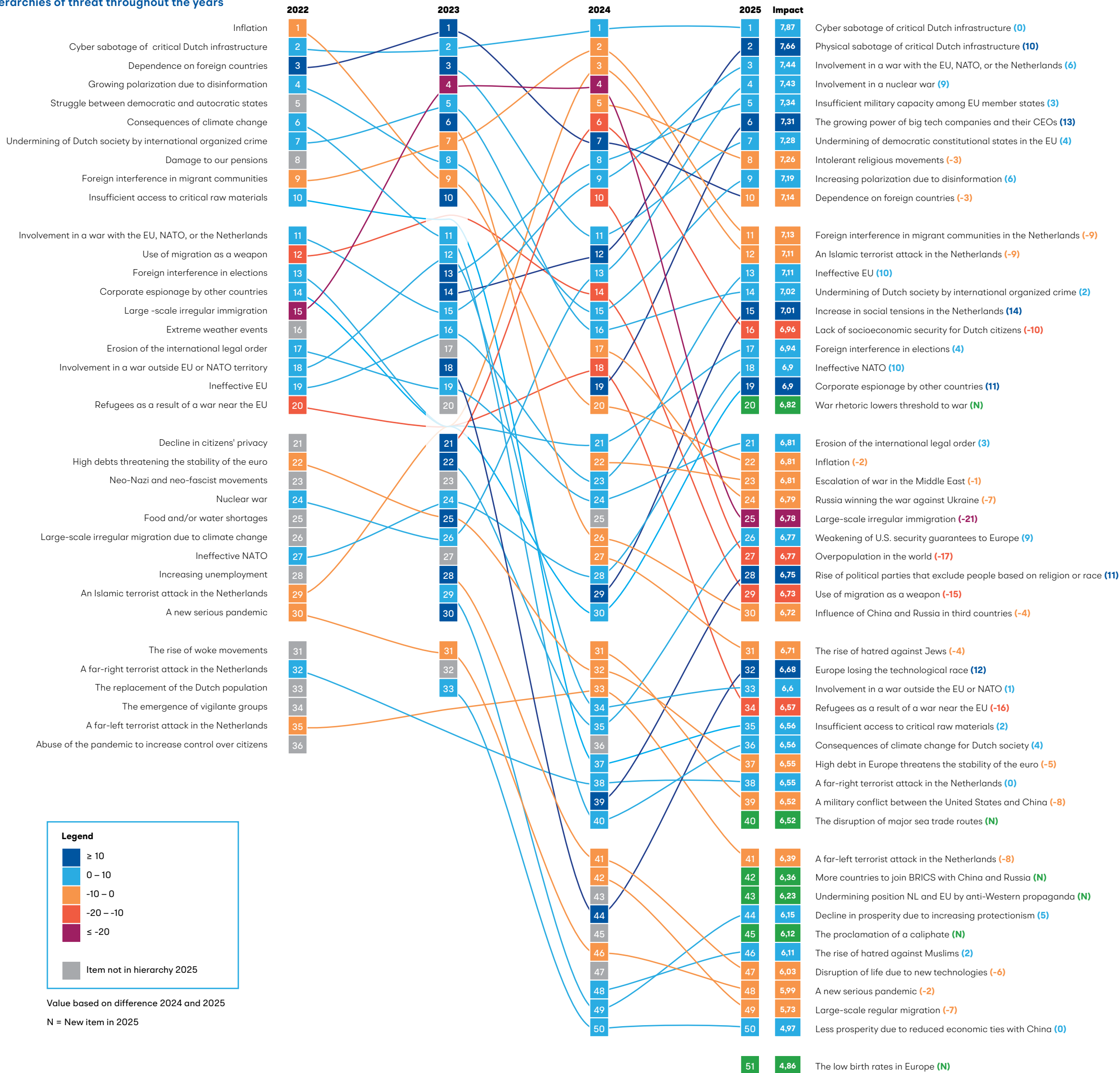
That said, the biggest risers among the developments in the threat hierarchy over the period 2024-2025 are:

- Physical sabotage of critical Dutch infrastructure (+ 10, from 12 to 2)
- Involvement in a nuclear war (+9, from 13 to 4)
- The growing power of big tech companies and their CEOs (+13, from 19 to 6)
- EU is ineffective due to internal divisions and differences (+10, from 23 to 13)
- Increase of social tensions in the Netherlands due to a foreign conflict (+14, from 29 to 15)
- NATO is ineffective due to internal divisions and differences (+10, from 28 to 18)
- Corporate espionage by other countries (+11, from 30 to 19)
- Weakening of the US security guarantee to Europe (+9 from 35 to 26)
- The rise of political parties in various countries that discriminate against people based on their religion or race (+11, from 39 to 28)
- Europe loses the technological competition between the major powers (+12, from 44 to 32).

Falling strongly in 2024-2025 are:

- Foreign interference in migrant communities in the Netherlands (-9, from 2 to 11)
- An Islamist terrorist attack in the Netherlands (-9, from 3 to 12)
- Lack of socioeconomic security for Dutch citizens as a result of international developments (-10, from 6 to 16)
- Large-scale irregular immigration (-21, from 4 to 25)
- Global overpopulation (-17, from 10 to 27)
- Use of migration as a weapon by leaders surrounding the EU (-15, from 14 to 29)
- Large numbers of refugees due to a war near the EU (-16, from 18 to 34).

Figure 1 Hierarchies of threat throughout the years



An important note regarding the interpretation of these sharply falling items is that many of these are developments on which the population is deeply divided. For example, foreign interference in migrant communities in the Netherlands ranks first according to Somewheres (59% of respondents), with large-scale irregular migration ranking second, an Islamist terrorist attack ranking sixth and large numbers of refugees due to a war near the EU ranking seventh (see Table A in the Annex). The significant drop of migration items in the average threat hierarchy is caused by their sharp fall relative to 2024 in the threat hierarchies of Anywheres and the intermediate group (see tables C and B, respectively, in the Annex).

### The shared hope of Dutch citizens

The developments from which Dutch people derive the greatest hope are those that address the threats they consider most worrying (see Table 2).

In our analysis, we focused specifically on the hope-inspiring developments that satisfy two criteria: first, they rank among the fifteen most hopeful for the Dutch population as a whole; and second, they also rank among the twenty most hopeful among both Somewheres and Anywheres. In short, we focused on developments and lines of policy on which consensus exists.

This broad consensus can be summarised as follows: protect society against hybrid threats, the threat of war and the consequences of climate change, and improve its resilience and self-sufficiency. A ranking from most to least hope-inspiring interventions yields the following:

- better protection against cyber-sabotage;
- reinforcing modern manufacturing industries in the Netherlands;
- EU investments in the security of the region;
- better protection against physical sabotage;
- pursuing a lasting ceasefire between Ukraine and Russia
- reducing dependence on foreign countries for vital products;

- international cooperation to combat international drug crime;
- adaptation to climate change through targeted investments;
- boosting the resilience of Dutch elections against foreign interference;
- pursuing international agreements to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons;
- more transparency in the foreign funding of political parties.

Again, we see that a number of interventions in Table 2 stand out by virtue of their high expected impact plus high estimated probability in the perception of Dutch citizens. These are: The countries of the EU invest more in the safety of the European region in order to reduce their military dependence on the United States; Better protection against cyberattacks on critical infrastructure; and Reinforcement of the economy through technological innovation, digitalisation and artificial intelligence.

It is also worth looking at developments that are perceived as offering very little to no hope. Here, we define consensus as belonging to the ten least hope-inspiring developments among the population as a whole, as well as to the fifteen least hopeful developments among both Somewheres and Anywheres. Four developments satisfy these criteria: the government pursues moderate population growth (position 39 in the hierarchy of hope, see Table 2); development cooperation is used as a means to serve Dutch interests abroad (position 41); the Dutch government reintroduces border controls (position 46); and the Western Balkans accede to the European Union (position 47). Remarkably, the House of Representatives (Dutch: *Tweede Kamer*) recently adopted the motion tabled by Member Timmermans and others to fully implement the recommendations of the State Committee on Demographic Development 2050 (Dutch: *Staatscommissie Demografische Ontwikkeling 2050*), aimed at steering towards moderate growth.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, Minister Klever

<sup>12</sup> See <https://www.tweedekamer.nl/kamerstukken/detail?id=2025Z00577&did=2025D01390>

Table 2 Hierarchy of hope 2025

	Development	Impact	Probability (%yes - %no)		I x P
1	Better protection against cyberattacks on critical infrastructure (e.g. critical waterworks and payment systems)	8.03	65.2	34.8	5.24
2	Reinforcement of modern manufacturing industries in the Netherlands (e.g. chip industry)	7.76	61.5	38.5	4.77
3	The countries of the EU invest more in the safety of the European region in order to reduce their military dependence on the United States	7.73	71.3	28.7	5.51
4	Better protection against physical attacks on critical infrastructure (e.g. energy infrastructure, digital communication cables)	7.72	56.8	43.2	4.38
5	Achievement of a lasting ceasefire or peace between Ukraine and Russia	7.71	59.1	40.9	4.56
6	Reduction of dependence on foreign countries for vital products (raw materials, energy, chips, medicines, weapons)	7.68	28.9	71.1	2.22
7	Better international cooperation to combat international drug crime	7.6	56.2	43.8	4.27
8	Adaptation to climate change through targeted investments (e.g. raising dykes, giving rivers more room)	7.59	63.5	36.5	4.82
9	Boosting the resilience of Dutch elections against foreign interference	7.52	45.1	55.0	3.39
10	International agreements to reduce the numbers of nuclear weapons and prevent the spread and use of nuclear weapons	7.52	16.5	83.5	1.24
11	Schools devote more attention to recognising fake news and conspiracy theories	7.5	59.6	40.4	4.47
12	More transparency in the foreign funding of political parties	7.49	31.5	68.5	2.36
13	Tech companies must satisfy stricter rules (e.g. to protect the privacy of citizens or combat disinformation)	7.48	53.5	46.5	4
14	More collaboration with origin countries for the return of asylum seekers who have exhausted all rights of appeal in the Netherlands	7.37	39.7	60.3	2.93
15	Economic rise of countries in the European region due to the relocation of production from China and Russia to the EU and surrounding countries	7.28	35.2	64.8	2.56
16	International collaboration against tax havens and money laundering	7.27	27.0	73.0	1.97
17	Dutch government support for Ukrainian refugees to return to Ukraine when the country is safe again	7.27	66.4	33.6	4.83
18	Reinforcement of NATO's unity and strength	7.26	68.3	31.7	4.96
19	Investments in resilience against corporate espionage	7.22	61.2	38.8	4.42
20	The countries of Europe increase investments in defence	7.12	87.7	12.3	6.24
21	World-wide effort to combat illnesses and viruses in order to prevent severe consequences of a new pandemic	7.08	36.4	63.6	2.58
22	Reinforcement of the EU's unity and strength	7	47.0	53.1	3.29
23	Technological innovations that help combat climate change	6.91	52.5	47.5	3.63
24	Boosting the resilience of migrant communities against unwanted foreign interference ("long arm politics")	6.91	24.1	75.9	1.66

	Development	Impact	Probability (%yes - %no)		I x P
25	Introduction of European legislation in case regimes deliberately send irregular migrants to member states in order to weaken them	6.76	44.0	56.0	2.98
26	Reinforcement of the transatlantic relationship between Europe and the United States	6.65	39.5	60.5	2.63
27	Reinforcement of the relationship between the West and relevant third countries (e.g. India, Gulf states, South Africa, Brazil)	6.64	37.1	62.9	2.46
28	Circular labour migration to address labour shortages in critical sectors (meaning that migrants return to their country of origin after a period of work)	6.62	47.4	52.6	3.14
29	Acceleration of the energy transition by means of nuclear energy	6.54	43.6	56.4	2.85
30	The government creates facilities to strengthen the resilience of the Netherlands (e.g. bomb shelters, reserve drinking water capacity, emergency generators)	6.53	29.7	70.3	1.94
31	Reinforcement of the economy through technological innovation, digitalisation and artificial intelligence	6.5	78.3	21.7	5.09
32	Secret services given more powers to combat terrorism	6.47	71.8	28.2	4.64
33	Acceleration of the energy transition by means of green energy (e.g. solar and wind energy)	6.46	47.4	52.6	3.06
34	Tighter government control over religious education and weekend schools	6.41	52.8	47.2	3.38
35	Limiting immigration	6.32	59.0	41.0	3.73
36	More initiatives and programmes to combat global overpopulation	6.24	18.5	81.6	1.15
37	Improvement of the relationship between the United States and China	6.24	23.8	76.2	1.48
38	Less meddling by countries in each other's internal affairs	6.12	28.8	71.2	1.76
39	The government pursues moderate growth of the population, applying a bandwidth for all forms of immigration	6.01	43.7	56.3	2.63
40	The European Union shows more respect for the sovereignty of member states	6	27.7	72.3	1.66
41	Using development cooperation also as a means to serve Dutch interests abroad	5.78	40.2	59.8	2.32
42	Attracting labour migrants to address labour shortages in critical sectors	5.7	63.2	36.8	3.6
43	Relocation of the handling of asylum requests from the Netherlands to another country outside the European Union (as Italy is attempting to do with Albania)	5.39	32.8	67.2	1.77
44	Accession of Ukraine to NATO	4.98	43.9	56.1	2.18
45	Accession of Ukraine to the European Union	4.9	43.6	56.4	2.14
46	The Dutch government reintroduces border controls	4.83	67.4	32.6	3.25
47	Accession of the Western Balkans to the European Union (Albania, Montenegro, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, North Macedonia)	4.07	26.9	73.1	1.09

(Foreign Trade and Development) has announced that development aid will focus more on serving Dutch interests,<sup>13</sup> while Minister Faber's initiative to reintroduce border controls finds itself just one spot from the bottom of the rankings. These are striking matters that appear to call for a public dialogue between politicians and the population.

There are a number of developments that fall within the bottom ten of the hope hierarchy across the population as a whole, but are in fact perceived as moderate or significant sources of hope by Somewheres or Anywheres. So these are developments on which no consensus exists. This applies for "Less meddling by countries in each other's internal affairs", "The European Union shows more respect for the sovereignty of member states" and "Relocation of the handling of asylum requests from the Netherlands to another country outside of Europe". These three developments are perceived as somewhat hope-inspiring by Somewheres (positions 27, 29 and 31), but not at all by Anywheres (positions 43, 44 and 46). On the other hand, "Attracting labour migrants to address labour shortages in critical sectors", "Accession of Ukraine to NATO" and "Accession of Ukraine to the European Union" offer some hope for Anywheres (positions 21, 27 and 28), but none at all for Somewheres (where they sit at the bottom at positions 44, 45 and 46).

### A deep and comprehensive schism

Aside from a number of shared hopes and fears, the Dutch population remains deeply divided. The schism between people who value borders and national culture on one side and the rest of the population on the other not only appears to determine viewpoints with regard to migration, but also with regard to climate, democracy and the rule of law. In short, this is a deep and widely encompassing schism.

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13 See <https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/documenten/kamerstukken/2025/02/20/beleidsbrief-ontwikkelingshulp>

## Climate

Although the absolute fear of climate change shows no major changes, its ranking has dropped as it was superseded by hybrid and war threats. "Consequences of climate change for Dutch society (flooding, heat stress...)" ranks as low as 36<sup>th</sup> place in 2025, though it should be noted that Anywheres and Somewheres disagree deeply on this issue. Anywheres consider climate change to be the 2<sup>nd</sup> biggest threat facing the Netherlands, while Somewheres rank it 47<sup>th</sup>.

The reduced relative importance of the climate threat among the population as a whole may have to do with the great hope pinned on climate adaptation (e.g. by raising dykes). Across the population as a whole, this prospect comes 8<sup>th</sup> in the hierarchy of hopes, ranking 13<sup>th</sup> among Somewheres and 6<sup>th</sup> among Anywheres.

It also appears that Somewheres and Anywheres are deeply divided not only on the impact of climate change, but also on how best to address it. Anywheres place great hope on a green energy transition (position 1 in their hierarchy of hopes) and technological innovations (position 12). Conversely, Somewheres expect very little from these developments (positions 43 and 36, respectively), instead putting more faith in the use of nuclear energy (position 16), in which Anywheres in their turn find little solace (position 39).

## Migration

With regard to migration and developments associated (justifiably or not) with migration, the difference between Somewheres and Anywheres appears even larger.

Foreign interference in migrant communities, irregular migration, the rise of intolerant religious movements, the threat of Islamist terrorist attacks, and the large numbers of refugees respectively occupy positions 1, 2, 4, 6 and 7 in the threat hierarchy according to Somewheres. This group believes that migration-related developments are an equal or even greater threat than hybrid threats and war. Anywheres,

conversely, consider all these developments to pose little to no threat at all, ranking them at 42, 48, 31, 36 and 49, respectively. Somewheres also see these developments as more likely to occur than Anywheres do.

Among the migration-related developments, there are only two on which Somewheres and Anywheres disagree less strongly as regards their estimation of the threat they pose. Anywheres do not consider large-scale regular migration to be a threat at all (position 51), and Somewheres do not find it a very significant threat (position 28), though they do estimate its probability much higher than Anywheres. There is one migration-related development on which Somewheres and Anywheres agree with regard to its threat level: both no longer perceive the use of migration as a weapon as a major threat (position 26 for Somewheres, 27 for Anywheres).

Migration-related developments are seen as a severe threat by one group, and as no threat at all by the other. It would therefore appear impossible to establish a migration policy that both camps agree on. This is evident from the assessment of two developments: Somewheres find great hope (position 2) in increased collaboration with origin countries for the return of rejected asylum seekers, Anywheres do not (position 33); and Somewheres are very hopeful about the limitation of immigration (position 4), while Anywheres are not (position 45). What is remarkable here is that only 54% of Somewheres expect that the developments they hope for will in fact occur, whereas 70% of Anywheres expect that the developments they find no hope in at all will occur within the next five years. In other words: both groups are preparing to be frustrated.

*Somewheres* place more hope than *Anywheres* on European regulations against the use of irregular migration as a weapon; tightened government control over religious education and weekend schools; reinstatement of Dutch border controls; and boosting the resilience of migrant communities against unwanted foreign interference. Anywheres show much more support than Somewheres for the idea of

attracting labour migrants to address labour shortages in critical sectors.

Both *Somewheres* and *Anywheres* are mildly in favour of circular labour migration to address labour shortages in critical sectors, which sits at position 30 in the hope hierarchy of *Somewheres*, and position 29 in that of *Anywheres*.

### Political opponents as a threat

*Somewheres* and *Anywheres* also differ widely in their opinions on specifically political developments: the changes occurring in the political landscape, the ways in which voters are influenced, the friction between the rule of law and popular sovereignty, and the shifts in power.

*Anywheres* see “The rise of political parties in various countries that discriminate against people based on their religion or race” as the single most serious threat that the Netherlands faces, while *Somewheres* have it at position 46. In short, *Anywheres* see those political parties as the greatest threat of all. They also perceive a severe threat in growing polarisation as a result of disinformation campaigns (position 9 in their hierarchy of threats), whereas *Somewheres* are much less concerned by this (position 21). Consequently, *Anywheres* place much hope on schools teaching young people how to recognise fake news and conspiracy theories; so much so that this development sits at position 2 in their hierarchy of hopes. *Somewheres* do not oppose such education, but they find considerably less hope-giving (position 24 in their hope hierarchy).

More agreement exists between *Somewheres* and *Anywheres* where foreign interference in elections is concerned. Both camps consider this kind of interference to be relatively threatening (positions 22 and 16, respectively), and find hope in boosting the resilience of Dutch elections against such interference (position 11 in both groups’ hierarchy of hopes).

Looking at the two camps’ views on democracy, however, we again see major differences. *Anywheres* are greatly worried about the rule of law; they see the undermining of

democratic states and the rule of law in the EU as a major threat (position 6), as well as the erosion of the international legal order (position 11). Although Somewheres agree almost perfectly with Anywheres as to the likelihood of these developments, they find them far less threatening. This is particularly the case with the erosion of the international legal order, which ranks 41<sup>st</sup> in their view; they are more worried about the undermining of democratic states and the rule of law (position 15). Somewheres find a degree of hope in greater sovereignty: that countries meddle less in each other's foreign affairs, and that the EU shows more respect for the sovereignty of member states. These two developments sit at positions 27 and 29 in their hope hierarchy, respectively, although they see them as vain hopes, with just some 20% of respondents considering these developments likely. Anywheres find no cause for hope in these developments at all, relegating them to position 43 and 44, respectively.

The growing power of big tech companies is considered threatening by both groups, but significantly more so by Anywheres, who see it as the 5<sup>th</sup> most threatening development, while Somewheres have it in 17<sup>th</sup> position. Consequently, Anywheres place far more hope than Somewheres on subjecting those companies to stricter rules for instance concerning privacy; they see this as the 4<sup>th</sup> most hope-inspiring development, while Somewheres have it no higher than 21<sup>st</sup>. A relatively large proportion of people do believe that such regulations will be put in place: 55% of Somewheres and 49% of Anywheres.

### Invisible majorities

Democracy exists not only to pursue consensus-based policy, but also to, amidst stark differences, establish policy that is supported by the majority of the population. Such majorities are not always directly discernible in parliament, because not all possible threats and solutions are equally politicised in elections. For example, the most recent general elections in the Netherlands focused primarily on migration, not hybrid threats and (the threat of) war. This makes it interesting to examine the rankings of hopeful

and threatening developments according to the constituencies of various political parties.

Among the supporters of the various political parties, we see a large degree of consensus with regard to the greatest threats, as shown by the horizontal red band at the top of Table 3. Throughout the entire House of Representatives, a fear of war in all its forms is evident: hybrid (cyber and physical sabotage) threats, conventional war (involvement in a war on a NATO or EU ally, insufficient military capacity to defend EU territory) and nuclear war.

The red-and-green-chequered rows relating to migration and climate developments show that these issues remain a source of division in the Netherlands. The supporters of GL-PvdA, D66, SP, PvdD and Volt see much less threat in migration-related developments than the supporters of other parties, but are greatly concerned by the threat of climate change. We see the exact opposite among the constituencies of PVV, VVD, BBB, CDA, NSC and JA21, who consider migration and its consequences to be severe threats. This applies particularly for supporters of PVV, BBB and JA21. Climate threat, on the other hand, is deemed less of a concern. These six constituencies also perceive trends relating to big tech, democracy and the rule of law, and polarisation as less threatening.

### United in hope

A large number of hope-inspiring developments also represent points of agreement among Dutch citizens of nearly all political orientations (see the broad green band at the top of Table 4).

Differences in party constituencies are revealed by the degree to which they derive hope from international collaboration. For instance, supporters of GL-PvdA, D66, Christen Unie, PvdD and Volt derive relatively more hope from international collaboration to limit nuclear weapons and prevent the spread and use of nuclear weapons. Voters of NSC, CDA and SP agree with this group on the issue of international collaboration against tax havens and money laundering.

Supporters of PVV, VVD, BBB, CDA, NSC, and JA21 also find hope in international collaboration, but primarily where it concerns migration: More collaboration with origin countries for the return of asylum seekers who have exhausted all rights of appeal in the Netherlands, relocation of the handling of asylum requests from the Netherlands to another country outside the European Union. As regards the solution to the climate problem, these constituencies believe more strongly in nuclear energy than a green energy transition. Here, too, we see that supporters of VVD, NSC and CDA take a more moderate position than supporters of PVV, BBB and JA21.

The PVV constituency takes a largely independent and relatively strong position with regard to trends relating to national sovereignty, occasionally supported by the constituencies of JA21, BBB, SGP and FvD. This is especially the case with the reintroduction of border controls (which only finds solid support among the constituencies of PVV, FvD and JA21) and the item “Less meddling by countries in each other’s internal affairs”, which is only strongly supported by the constituencies of PVV, FvD, SGP and JA21. A remarkable finding is that the perspective of PVV supporters deviates strongly from that of the other coalition parties, VVD, NSC and BBB.

### Climate change a bigger issue among young people

We also examined the differences between age groups. To begin with, our analysis showed that young people (ages 18–34) are generally less worried about international threats. They expect lower impacts from most developments than older generations. With regard to a small number of developments, the differences between the age groups are limited.

The opposite is true of a number of specific threats, however. These are: “Consequences of climate change for Dutch society”; “Involvement in a war due to a territorial attack against an EU or NATO ally or the Netherlands itself”; and “A

military conflict between the United States and China”. The theme of climate change is primarily seen as a cause for concern by the youngest Dutch citizens, likely because their lives will be most affected by its negative consequences. With regard to the other three geopolitical and war-related trends, explanations for the age-based differences are more speculative: possibly, young people see these developments as more threatening because in the event of a large-scale war, they will be called on to serve in the military.

The hope-inspiring trends show a pattern similar to the threat perceptions, only reversed: young people either estimate a lower impact of the listed trends than older people, or roughly agree. Exceptions mostly concern climate interventions, where younger people expect a higher positive impact.

### Migration a bigger issue among the vocationally trained

A breakdown by education shows many similarities with the division between Somewheres and Anywheres: respondents with vocational education primarily fear migration, while academically educated respondents fear climate change. A striking finding is that the vocationally trained are less afraid of the impact of involvement in a nuclear war, but instead fear the involvement of the Netherlands in a war on NATO or EU territory much more.

At the same time, vocationally trained respondents are less hopeful about a lasting ceasefire or peace between Ukraine and Russia. Citizens with vocational education generally find less hope in international collaboration; the only form of international collaboration they find more hopeful than academically educated people concerns the relocation of asylum requests to foreign countries. Other relatively hope-inspiring interventions for vocationally trained respondents concern controlling migration: by limiting migration, reintroducing border controls, and giving secret services more powers to combat terrorism.

## Listen, lead and unite

Opinion polls do not dictate government policy, but they do provide important insights into the hopes and fears of the population and the schisms arising therefrom. Political parties in the government can choose to take these into account in order to obtain or retain the population's support. "Taking into account" here does not necessarily mean "following to the letter"; it may also be interpreted as recognising that the public's opinions indicate a need for more information, debate and leadership. After all, democracy is about listening, leading and uniting.

Information provision and debate can contribute to the people's alertness, but will not necessarily lead to consensus; people can and do fundamentally disagree. After all, information and debate have hardly been lacking on issues that now deeply divide the Dutch population. Few subjects, if any, have received as much attention in the social debate over the past decade as climate change and migration. Much attention was also devoted to the friction between the rule of law and popular sovereignty. In short, more debate and information can also lead to division when people inform themselves via different channels, are addressed by different politicians, and form opinions based on their own interests, values, outlooks on life, use of (social) media and political preferences.

Still, in addition to identifying tasks that the leadership needs to address regarding topics that require political attention, this study also offers insights into parliamentary majorities that politicians can act on. This broad consensus can be summarised as follows: protect society against hybrid threats, the threat of war and the consequences of climate change, and improve its resilience and self-sufficiency.

Table 3 Hierarchy of threats, differentiated according to the respondents' preferred political party<sup>14</sup>

	PVV	GL-PvdA	VVD	NSC	D66	BBB	CDA	SP	FvD	PvdD	SGP	DENK	CU	Volt	JA21	I don't know	Non-voters	Overall
Cyber sabotage of critical Dutch infrastructure (e.g. energy, drinking water, payment systems)	78.4	84.5	81.9	75.1	80.5	83.3	81.4	81.1	55	82.6	68.5	81.5	83.8	79.6	79.9	82.7	64.2	79.4
Physical sabotage of critical Dutch infrastructure (e.g. energy, drinking water, internet and payment systems)	73.9	81.6	73.7	68.6	77.4	81.9	74.6	74.1	59.9	74.6	74.9	81.4	86.4	78.3	88.9	81.4	48.9	75.5
Involvement in a war due to a territorial attack against an EU or NATO ally or the Netherlands itself	72.7	76.7	72.7	53.6	79	69.4	65.6	71.3	54.6	66.9	72.7	78.5	75.8	82.8	79.5	69.6	46.3	70.5
Involvement in a nuclear war	64	77.8	61.5	47.7	74.3	64.3	60.5	64.8	60.1	73.3	61.9	83	63.6	74.4	76.2	65.4	43.6	65.7
Insufficient military capacity among EU member states to defend European territory	74.6	70.2	81.1	72.5	74.9	75	71.7	61.2	26.7	51.9	85.4	47.6	60.3	76.6	71.9	73.2	43.7	69.4
The growing power of big tech companies and their CEOs (such as Microsoft, Huawei, Facebook, TikTok and Elon Musk)	61.6	76.6	72.4	65	76.8	75	76.5	81.8	43.2	86.4	69.5	57.1	67.8	75.2	55.6	63.3	61.6	69.5
Undermining of democratic states and the rule of law in the European Union (e.g. due to corruption, erosion of the independence of the judiciary)	66.9	78.6	62.8	63.8	79.5	58.1	64	65	59.1	76.3	57.4	44.1	64.5	75.1	53.6	65.9	58.9	67.4
The rise of intolerant religious movements in various countries	81.6	52.6	76.6	62.3	54.8	77.5	66.8	71.8	62.4	50.4	73.7	20.3	58.8	49.8	82.1	70.2	58.9	66.6
Growing polarisation and radicalisation due to foreign disinformation campaigns (e.g. around elections in the Netherlands, around the war in Ukraine)	61.6	79.6	71.2	69.1	82.2	63.2	71.4	74.7	31.8	84.2	66.8	39.6	65	84.2	65.6	65.8	37.8	67.8
Dependency on unsympathetic countries for vital products (e.g. raw materials, energy, chips, medication, weapons)	68	65.6	70.2	59	75	74.1	68.2	66.3	47.6	55.5	77.7	49.6	62.5	67.7	59.3	65.6	56.8	65.6
Foreign interference in migrant communities in the Netherlands	83.7	42.9	75.6	68.8	49.6	82.6	60.7	62.8	79.9	38.7	80.9	46.9	47.7	45	79.5	66.5	43.3	63.3
An Islamist terrorist attack in the Netherlands	82.4	57	70.6	58.6	49.2	72.3	56.4	65.5	69	41.8	74.7	28.4	70.3	52.2	78.7	65.1	42.9	63.6
EU is ineffective due to internal divisions and differences	67.6	64.9	71.3	58.8	72.4	70.7	64.9	60.6	29.9	58.8	54.8	55.5	59.9	80.6	63.8	67.3	57.7	65.3
Undermining of Dutch society by international organised crime	69.8	60.8	70.2	66.5	53.3	75.3	66.2	69.4	51.2	54.4	58	40.6	55.3	60.3	71.7	63.5	45.5	63.1
Increase of social tensions in the Netherlands due to a foreign conflict (e.g. due to the war between Russia and Ukraine, or the war between Israel and Hamas)	73	54.5	71.9	66.3	60.4	74.5	59.9	70.5	56.2	56.8	70.2	64.4	56.1	55.8	76.7	66.3	48.4	64.4
Lack of socioeconomic security for Dutch citizens (e.g. inability to make ends meet financially) as a result of international developments	73.5	60	53.3	58.5	43.5	61.1	51.8	77.7	74.3	62.4	58.4	42	45.7	60.4	66.1	67.6	63.9	61.9
Foreign interference in elections in the Netherlands	63.6	71.7	71.5	55.6	69.8	61.9	64.8	65.2	40.1	70.4	62.2	63.7	52.2	77.7	61.5	59.3	26.8	63.3
NATO is ineffective due to internal divisions and differences	66.2	64.1	64.8	46.9	66.6	66.6	63.2	56.3	22.1	58.3	46.2	59.8	60.5	74.8	63.9	58.2	36.6	60.3
Corporate espionage by other countries	64.6	56.2	77.6	64.1	56.7	72.5	71.9	59.4	26.8	39.4	58.8	50.9	59.5	51.4	72.9	57.2	38.8	60.3
Increasing war rhetoric lowers the threshold to an actual war	53.7	60.2	50.9	51.9	59.9	52.1	52.2	51.2	59.6	59	61.5	54.5	39.2	69.6	56.2	45.8	44.1	53.4
Erosion of the international legal order (e.g. due to ineffectiveness of the UN Security Council)	54.2	71.1	58.2	62.8	75.7	52.7	59.8	64.3	27.6	68.2	32.5	61.4	51.2	72.9	57.9	59.3	39.1	58.9
Inflation as a result of international developments	62.3	46.8	59.5	45.7	48.5	61.3	58.3	67.4	67.3	51.4	57.8	87.6	35.7	54.4	61.6	70.7	59.9	59.1
Further escalation of the war in the Middle East	64.3	52.2	62.3	52.1	58.8	58.5	56.7	67.1	60.5	54	74.4	79.6	49.5	51.1	63.2	59.4	45.4	59
Russia wins the war with Ukraine	52.5	79.3	65.2	41.5	77.7	51.1	63.7	62.4	5.4	64.2	47.9	19.6	54.4	75	43.3	58.2	32.9	59
Large-scale irregular immigration, with migrants not possessing valid documentation to enter or reside in a country	86.6	24.2	73.5	53.1	39.4	83	55.2	50.5	88.2	16.5	70.4	12.9	37.1	32.4	89.4	61.2	57.2	57.8

<sup>14</sup> The position of respondents affiliated with Christenunie, NSC, JA21, non-voters, blank voters and DENK needs to be interpreted with caution, since the absolute numbers in the sample fall short of one hundred.

	PVV	GL-PvdA	VVD	NSC	D66	BBB	CDA	SP	FvD	PvdD	SGP	DENK	CU	Volt	JA21	I don't know	Non-voters	Overall
Weakening of the US security guarantee to Europe (e.g. due to political developments in the US or US-China conflict)	58	71.9	68.5	64	68.5	59.8	64.7	56.6	14.8	45	62.8	32.6	62.2	61	67.9	58.4	37.8	59
Global overpopulation	75.2	50.1	66.7	47	51.4	64.1	60.3	59.9	38.2	50.9	28.9	23.2	40	61.7	68.7	66.1	49.9	59.6
The rise of political parties in various countries that discriminate against people based on their religion or race	30.1	86.8	51.3	59.3	77	44.3	58.2	78.1	24.8	87.3	51.6	100	83.4	81.2	33.9	56.1	38.7	57.8
Use of migration as a weapon by leaders surrounding the EU	60.5	49	50.7	55.7	45.6	53.7	49.4	49	71.2	37.3	57.5	58.6	44.3	53	60.8	44.8	50.9	51.4
Growing influence of China and Russia in important third countries (e.g. India, the Gulf states, Balkan countries, in Africa and in South America)	67.2	62.5	67.4	59	59.9	61.4	67.2	62.2	15	41.4	70.2	13.8	51.7	58.8	60.8	59	32.6	59.5
The rise of hatred against Jews	67	56.9	64.1	59.4	54.3	76	59.9	61.8	49.3	56.9	87.5	53.5	68.8	54.5	81.3	61.1	28.8	59.9
Europe loses the technological competition between the major powers	62.2	49	64.2	57.9	62.8	61.6	59.7	57.7	37	32.2	58.6	38.7	53.6	63.9	58.3	56.5	39.9	56.1
Involvement in a war outside EU or NATO territory (e.g. Ukraine or Taiwan)	62.6	48.5	62.7	56.3	58	56.5	52.5	49.1	72.2	46.8	64.6	60.2	43.4	51.2	55.3	55.3	47.3	55.5
Large numbers of refugees due to a war near the EU	86	26.5	63.5	50.1	36.1	82	57.1	44.5	81.9	20	69.4	14.2	34.8	30.5	86.5	61.7	40	55.5
Insufficient access to natural resources and critical raw materials (e.g. metals for the production of chips and solar cells)	55.2	49.8	63.1	58.8	56.1	59.7	61.1	56.6	33.5	44.3	54.1	53.7	33.1	79	49.5	52.2	31.4	53.8
Consequences of climate change for Dutch society (flooding, heat stress, drought, deterioration of nature and biodiversity)	36.9	89.7	46.6	53.1	82.8	32.7	64	74.8	8	94.5	34.3	67.7	81.2	83.2	34.4	63.5	39	59.5
High debts in Europe threaten the stability of the euro	66.3	37.9	55.8	51.8	43	60.4	54	52.6	54.9	35.5	59.1	64.3	39.7	50	73.6	50.2	54.7	52.8
A right-wing extremist terrorist attack in the Netherlands	52.3	72.2	55.9	48.5	58.6	54.3	57.8	56.1	29.6	58	53	81.8	64.6	70.6	45	62	27.8	57.2
A military conflict between the United States and China	53.6	56.3	52.6	51.6	61.9	47.9	55.8	56.3	29.9	43.1	51.7	65.6	54	64.7	65.5	47.3	50.4	53.2
Disruption of major sea trading routes (e.g. by blockades and attacks on ships)	65.2	46.7	57.9	49.4	50.5	66.3	59.5	52.8	44.2	35.8	62.6	37.3	53.6	56.1	65.6	51.3	38.8	53.9
A left-wing extremist terrorist attack in the Netherlands	76.6	45.5	61.4	43.2	34.3	71.9	49	37.2	72.6	27.2	68.7	29.9	56.7	37.5	76.8	52.8	33.5	54
Growing number of emerging powers ally with the BRICS pact with China and Russia	58.2	56.6	56.6	41.8	43.9	58.1	56.9	54.3	16.2	36.3	56	10.7	49.4	49.4	43.9	50.5	27.5	50.3
Anti-western propaganda undermines the international position of the Netherlands and the EU	58.1	48	60.5	49.7	50.5	50.5	56.5	45.3	35.7	37.4	48.6	11.5	39.3	40	60.3	51.1	16.2	49.6
Prosperity decline as a result of increasing protectionism (e.g. due to Trump's trade tariffs and large-scale Chinese state subsidies)	46.3	42.4	55.8	41.7	56.1	42.5	55.6	59.3	14.6	41.8	36.2	20.4	46.9	58.6	54.1	48	35.8	47
The proclamation of a caliphate (Islamic ideal state) in the Middle East and/or Africa	62.8	31.1	55.6	53.8	31	63.6	42	57.7	54	19.6	61.6	12.1	39	28.7	67.7	47.1	24.1	45.7
The rise of hatred against Muslims	35.6	68.4	40.7	51.6	64.5	44.1	51.1	70	20.4	74	15	82.2	69.3	65.8	27.9	48.2	39.6	49.9
Disruption of society and the economy by emerging technologies (e.g. artificial intelligence)	50.6	44.3	45.2	48.7	32.6	51.1	48.2	48.2	51.8	45	56.8	25.7	30.5	37.6	43.1	48.7	48.4	46.5
A new serious pandemic	40.4	64.3	50.7	35.4	53.4	41	51.7	58.7	21.1	59.1	43.8	83.9	52.4	57.2	40.8	46.7	26.4	48.9
Large-scale regular migration (e.g. labour migration, family migration, student migration)	78.4	10.5	50.4	48.9	17.3	68.8	37	27.7	77.7	12.7	57.4	6.4	13	14.1	61	48.3	44.3	43.1
Prosperity decline as a result of the scaling down of economic ties with China	29.3	17.2	27.6	25.4	12.1	33.8	24.5	26.1	36.2	16.4	34.2	56.9	11.8	30.3	36	28.2	23.9	25.3
Low birth figures in Europe	33	19.5	36.3	28.2	26.6	37.5	36.5	33.9	42.8	12.7	61.3	13.3	22.7	20.9	40.9	29.6	40.9	30.7

## Reading guide

The brightness of the colours in the table reflect how strongly the political party constituencies perceive these threats to be, compared to other party constituencies.

A bright red colour means that the threat is perceived to be very serious. A bright green colour means that the threat is perceived as relatively insignificant.

Table 4 Hierarchy of hope, differentiated according to the respondents' preferred political party<sup>15</sup>

	PVV	GL-PvdA	VVD	NSC	D66	BBB	CDA	SP	FvD	PvdD	SGP	DENK	CU	Volt	JA21	I don't know	Non-voters	Overall
Better protection against cyberattacks on critical infrastructure (e.g. critical waterworks and payment systems)	75.2	89.9	84.2	83.8	91.9	85	90.7	90.8	57.9	79.3	87.6	64	96.1	87.7	87.5	83.5	59.1	82
Reinforcement of modern manufacturing industries in the Netherlands (e.g. chip industry)	77.5	76.8	88.6	86.3	90	78.2	85.4	83.1	62.3	70.1	66.4	30.7	71.8	86.3	79.9	84.5	59.2	78.1
The countries of the EU invest more in the safety of the European region in order to reduce their military dependence on the United States	74.6	81.9	92.5	86.4	88	69.4	90.7	80.1	52.7	73.5	87.6	72.2	86.5	90	74	80.9	55	79.3
Better protection against cyberattacks on critical infrastructure (e.g. critical waterworks and payment systems)	74.8	82.5	82.3	85.5	84.8	79.1	83.2	82.5	54.1	72.4	84.2	57.8	92.1	80.2	68.1	79.2	64.5	77.7
Achievement of a lasting ceasefire or peace between Ukraine and Russia	70.4	82.1	67.9	64.9	86.5	67.9	69.6	72	86.4	84.5	79.4	48.6	67.8	82.6	67.5	75.3	52.9	73.3
Reduction of dependence on foreign countries for vital products (raw materials, energy, chips, medicines, weapons)	73.2	82.2	77.6	74.5	82.7	82.8	77.6	76.1	64.6	73	83.4	44.8	89.6	74.2	74.1	76.8	68.8	76.2
Better international cooperation to combat international drug crime	74.3	83.4	76.3	68.4	81.9	76.5	86.6	78.7	68.8	57.6	82.1	55.1	91.8	74.2	75	78.1	49.6	75.3
Adaptation to climate change through targeted investments (e.g. raising dykes, giving rivers more room)	72.1	91.9	80.1	75.3	87.5	62.5	83.6	78.4	32.1	83.8	82.1	83.2	89.7	83.6	76.2	82.8	59.2	78.5
Boosting the resilience of Dutch elections against foreign interference	66.2	82.5	75.5	78.5	88.8	74.8	77.8	75.1	36.5	74.5	75.2	47.4	78.6	84.7	70.3	70.7	48.9	72
International agreements to reduce the numbers of nuclear weapons and prevent the spread and use of nuclear weapons	59	89.3	64	65.2	79.2	59.9	68.8	66.1	53.8	84.9	70.3	47.4	80	76.6	48.2	72	65.5	70.2
Schools devote more attention to recognising fake news and conspiracy theories	64.8	92.7	79.6	80.3	93.8	64.8	86.9	74.2	10.1	89.3	68.1	45.8	84.8	93.7	64.6	73.9	55.6	75.3
More transparency in the foreign funding of political parties	55.5	81.2	66	81.9	86.8	59.2	72.1	74.7	49.1	81.3	74	34.7	76.6	80.6	57.9	68.7	61.8	69.4
Tech companies must satisfy stricter rules (e.g. to protect the privacy of citizens or combat disinformation)	66.6	91.2	70	73.4	88.1	71.5	79.5	87.7	25	79.4	80.3	64.8	76.8	80.9	68.1	75.7	49.7	74.3
More collaboration with origin countries for the return of asylum seekers who have exhausted all rights of appeal in the Netherlands	83.2	57.4	75.9	76	70	89	81.9	66.6	85.7	44.1	80.6	14.7	74.7	49.2	87.9	71.2	73.1	71.1
Economic rise of countries in the European region due to the relocation of production from China and Russia to the EU and surrounding countries	59.9	74.9	71.2	74.7	75.7	69.6	73.6	72.9	52.8	61.7	75.3	46.5	74	75.3	67.5	69.3	65.3	68.5
International collaboration against tax havens and money laundering	63.6	88	63.3	78.5	77.6	62.7	75.4	78.3	41.7	79.1	68.7	59.5	70.9	81.6	55.7	70.7	47.8	69.9
Dutch government support for Ukrainian refugees to return to Ukraine when the country is safe again	78.5	67.6	76.8	65.8	62.5	67.4	78.7	61.7	75.7	55.3	78.7	44.8	70.3	58.6	55.5	71.2	61.7	69.6
Reinforcement of NATO's unity and strength	69.6	82.1	90.3	85.2	87.1	67.4	86.1	51.6	11.7	52.3	77.7	31.3	62.7	85	73.9	75.2	45.3	71.2
Investments in resilience against corporate espionage	63	66.6	73.4	69.7	79	59	69.4	71.2	44.6	55.6	70.2	55.2	75	61.6	69.5	72	51.4	65.9
The countries of Europe increase investments in defence	75	64.4	90.8	90.2	78.6	80.1	86.6	53.8	21.9	37.4	81.7	31.3	76.5	67.3	74.5	69.8	48.5	68.8
World-wide effort to combat illnesses and viruses in order to prevent severe consequences of a new pandemic	53.8	90.8	69	70.8	84.1	55.4	77.6	74.6	4	85.3	54.9	47.4	70.2	82.5	56.8	70.3	54.5	68.5
Reinforcement of the EU's unity and strength	51.3	86.7	76.4	73.6	92.1	61.7	84	62.2	3.7	63.3	39.2	47.4	67.4	92.9	46.7	69.6	47.8	67.4
Technological innovations that help combat climate change	47.3	84.2	74.3	72.4	90.4	38.7	75.4	63.8	4.8	73.4	51.5	47.4	80.9	81.5	53.6	68.6	39.3	64.8
Boosting the resilience of migrant communities against unwanted foreign interference ("long arm politics")	48.9	66.9	63	70	71.1	40.4	60.6	52.4	44.7	45.9	61.6	31.3	61.3	66	44.9	52.3	43.4	55.8

15 The position of respondents affiliated with Christenunie, NSC, JA21, non-voters, blank voters and DENK needs to be interpreted with caution, since the absolute numbers in the sample fall short of one hundred.

	PVV	GL-PvdA	VVD	NSC	D66	BBB	CDA	SP	FvD	PvdD	SGP	DENK	CU	Volt	JA21	I don't know	Non-voters	Overall
Introduction of European legislation in case regimes deliberately send irregular migrants to member states in order to weaken them	57.9	54.3	70.1	69.8	59.4	62.8	66.2	57.9	43.5	34.8	61.2	32.5	52.1	54.4	55	58.4	44.2	56.4
Reinforcement of the transatlantic relationship between Europe and the United States	64.8	58.9	71.5	68.1	68.2	68.6	73.2	38.2	32.4	26.8	76.2	0.5	46.7	59	52.8	49.3	47.2	57
Reinforcement of the relationship between the West and relevant third countries (e.g. India, Gulf states, South Africa, Brazil)	38.7	69.6	56	51.5	69.1	38.7	61.2	55.2	63	60.5	36.3	29.1	50.4	76.6	45.5	54.2	47.8	55.3
Circular labour migration to address labour shortages in critical sectors (meaning that migrants return to their country of origin after a period of work)	64.7	55.7	69.6	59.6	61	56.4	68.2	58.1	47.4	39.9	68	46.7	61	44.4	73.9	59.6	43.8	58.7
Acceleration of the energy transition by means of nuclear energy	67.8	33.1	79	63.3	50.9	71.6	67.2	35.7	59.7	16.9	68.4	20.1	46.8	56.9	86.8	59.1	50.5	55.8
The government creates facilities to strengthen the resilience of the Netherlands (e.g. bomb shelters, reserve drinking water capacity, emergency generators)	58.5	56.6	53.3	56.9	60.1	55.1	66.6	51.5	37.2	48.6	77.3	43.4	66.2	51.9	60.2	60.5	45.6	56.4
Reinforcement of the economy through technological innovation, digitalisation and artificial intelligence	45.9	55.5	81.5	67	75.7	52.3	68.4	55.4	35.3	37.6	43.5	74.4	35.6	74.1	72.6	58.3	41.1	57.3
Secret services given more powers to combat terrorism	76.2	34.8	80.4	59.3	49.5	69	69.2	49.2	22.6	25.7	68.8	40.8	58.3	40.9	77	60.9	33.7	56.2
Acceleration of the energy transition by means of green energy (e.g. solar and wind energy)	31.7	93.2	56	45.5	84.3	23.9	65.8	62.6	1.8	87.3	30.5	42	71	85.4	15.6	60.5	31.1	57.6
Tighter government control over religious education and weekend schools	78.3	38.4	73.2	63.2	49.5	65.9	50.2	54.2	50.5	39.3	13.5	11.2	27.2	42.7	76.5	58.8	42	54.8
Limiting immigration	89.4	12.9	68.6	46.4	26.3	82.4	52.4	43.4	88.6	20.1	80.5	10.6	39.1	15.8	86.2	55.8	48	52
More initiatives and programmes to combat global overpopulation	54.2	54.3	59	55.4	61.2	53.3	62.4	43.9	20.7	44.1	21.7	25.6	27.7	64.1	51.6	54.4	36.3	51.4
Improvement of the relationship between the United States and China	47.3	50.7	52	34.5	55.8	42.9	47.1	42	56.6	44.7	54.4	29	44.8	66.9	56.9	52.4	38.5	49.1
Less meddling by countries in each other's internal affairs	71.5	19.5	46.3	32.7	30.5	60.3	42.4	41.4	86.6	22.6	76.6	38	31.2	16.6	73.2	43.9	59.1	45.7
The government pursues moderate growth of the population, applying a bandwidth for all forms of immigration	53.5	37.6	63.7	55.8	44.7	58.7	57.7	44.5	40.8	35.5	59.7	17.9	49.2	31.8	70.9	45.9	22.8	46.6
The European Union shows more respect for the sovereignty of member states	58.5	19	41.1	43.8	21.9	58.2	45.1	44.2	82.7	21.6	89.2	25.3	49.3	14.5	66.5	44.8	54.3	42.7
Using development cooperation also as a mean to serve Dutch interests abroad	36.4	40.4	52.1	58.4	50.8	45.2	48	38.3	31.7	23.2	45.9	42.3	39	52.7	34.9	35.7	26.2	40.1
Attracting labour migrants to address labour shortages in critical sectors	24.5	67.3	53.4	41.8	55.7	35.4	60.1	41.2	16.9	48.5	23.1	79.7	52.3	65.7	25.9	36.7	39.7	45.4
Relocation of the handling of asylum requests from the Netherlands to another country outside the European Union (as Italy is attempting to do with Albania)	76.1	7.1	56.2	44.6	25.7	55.6	41.7	38.2	58	15.7	64.6	14.4	9.4	15.9	73.4	44.5	37.2	41.5
Accession of Ukraine to NATO	23	58.3	42.1	41	50.6	32.5	39.8	35		38.5	17.5	16	41.4	60.5	26.4	33.6	18.6	36.2
Accession of Ukraine to the European Union	21.3	56	36.4	41.1	51	24.6	38.9	40.1		35.6	13.3	14.7	40.9	58.2	18.1	31.9	21.3	34.5
The Dutch government reintroduces border controls	83.7	5.2	46.8	24.8	10.8	55.7	31	26.7	72.4	13	51.5	14.7	26.5	3.1	65.4	41.1	31.4	38.2
Accession of the Western Balkans to the European Union (Albania, Montenegro, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, North Macedonia)	9.5	34.7	17.8	28.6	37.3	9	18.7	31.3	1.6	25.8	10.2	3.9	30.4	40.1	15.9	17.8	14.2	20.7

## Reading guide

The brightness of the colours in the table show how much hope the different party constituencies derive from the trend in question.

A bright red colour means that the trend is perceived as very little hope-giving. A bright green colour means that the trend in question is perceived as a source of very strong hope.

Annex

Table A Hierarchy of threats according to Somewheres

	Development	Impact	Probability (%yes - %no)		I x P
1	Foreign interference in migrant communities in the Netherlands	7.93	84.4	15.6	6.69
2	Large-scale irregular immigration, with migrants not possessing valid documentation to enter or reside in a country	7.92	78.2	21.8	6.19
3	Cyber sabotage of critical Dutch infrastructure (e.g. energy, drinking water, payment systems)	7.9	74.7	25.3	5.9
4	The rise of intolerant religious movements in various countries	7.84	78.7	21.3	6.17
5	Physical sabotage of critical Dutch infrastructure (e.g. energy, drinking water, internet and payment systems)	7.71	61.8	38.2	4.76
6	An Islamist terrorist attack in the Netherlands	7.71	71.3	28.7	5.49
7	Large numbers of refugees due to a war near the EU	7.65	78.2	21.8	5.98
8	Insufficient military capacity among EU member states to defend European territory	7.6	64.4	35.7	4.89
9	Involvement in a war due to a territorial attack against an EU or NATO ally or the Netherlands itself	7.42	49.1	50.9	3.65
10	Undermining of Dutch society by international organised crime	7.35	69.9	30.1	5.13
11	Dependency on unsympathetic countries for vital products (e.g. raw materials, energy, chips, medication, weapons)	7.29	72.3	27.7	5.27
12	Lack of socioeconomic security for Dutch citizens (e.g. inability to make ends meet financially) as a result of international developments	7.25	68.8	31.2	4.99
13	Involvement in a nuclear war	7.23	20.5	79.5	1.48
14	Increase of social tensions in the Netherlands due to a foreign conflict (e.g. due to the war between Russia and Ukraine, or the war between Israel and Hamas)	7.23	85.7	14.3	6.2
15	Undermining of democratic states and the rule of law in the European Union (e.g. due to corruption, erosion of the independence of the judiciary)	7.21	62.6	37.4	4.51
16	Global overpopulation	7.21	63.4	36.6	4.57
17	The growing power of big tech companies and their CEOs (such as Microsoft, Huawei, Facebook, TikTok and Elon Musk)	7.2	82.1	17.9	5.91
18	Corporate espionage by other countries	7.19	90.9	9.1	6.54
19	EU is ineffective due to internal divisions and differences	7.16	77.9	22.2	5.57
20	A left-wing extremist terrorist attack in the Netherlands	7.1	58.3	41.7	4.14
21	Growing polarisation and radicalisation due to foreign disinformation campaigns (e.g. around elections in the Netherlands, around the war in Ukraine)	7.04	79.5	20.5	5.6
22	Foreign interference in elections in the Netherlands	7.03	63.4	36.6	4.46

	Development	Impact	Probability (%yes - %no)		I x P
23	Inflation as a result of international developments	7.02	82.3	17.7	5.77
24	NATO is ineffective due to internal divisions and differences	7.01	61.1	38.9	4.29
25	The rise of hatred against Jews	7	77.4	22.6	5.42
26	Use of migration as a weapon by leaders surrounding the EU	6.98	70.2	29.8	4.9
27	Growing influence of China and Russia in important third countries (e.g. India, the Gulf states, Balkan countries, in Africa and in South America)	6.97	82.9	17.1	5.78
28	Large-scale regular migration (e.g. labour migration, family migration, student migration)	6.96	74.7	25.3	5.2
29	Europe loses the technological competition between the major powers	6.92	59.7	40.3	4.13
30	Further escalation of the war in the Middle East	6.89	81.8	18.2	5.64
31	High debts in Europe threaten the stability of the euro	6.88	54.2	45.8	3.73
32	The proclamation of a caliphate (Islamic ideal state) in the Middle East and/or Africa	6.87	67.9	32.1	4.66
33	Increasing war rhetoric lowers the threshold to an actual war	6.87	57.1	42.9	3.92
34	Weakening of the US security guarantee to Europe (e.g. due to political developments in the US or US-China conflict)	6.86	67.5	32.5	4.63
35	Disruption of major sea trading routes (e.g. by blockades and attacks on ships)	6.85	65.8	34.2	4.51
36	Involvement in a war outside EU or NATO territory (e.g. Ukraine or Taiwan)	6.84	61.5	38.5	4.2
37	Russia wins the war with Ukraine	6.65	64.6	35.4	4.3
38	Insufficient access to natural resources and critical raw materials (e.g. metals for the production of chips and solar cells)	6.65	54.8	45.2	3.64
39	Anti-western propaganda undermines the international position of the Netherlands and the EU	6.6	63.3	36.7	4.18
40	Growing number of emerging powers ally with the BRICS pact with China and Russia	6.57	72.6	27.5	4.77
41	Erosion of the international legal order (e.g. due to ineffectiveness of the UN Security Council)	6.56	57.0	43.0	3.74
42	A military conflict between the United States and China	6.45	27.3	72.7	1.76
43	Disruption of society and the economy by emerging technologies (e.g. artificial intelligence)	6.33	62.1	37.9	3.93
44	A right-wing extremist terrorist attack in the Netherlands	6.32	46.4	53.6	2.93
45	Prosperity decline as a result of increasing protectionism (e.g. due to Trump's trade tariffs and large-scale Chinese state subsidies)	6.1	74.6	25.4	4.55
46	The rise of political parties in various countries that discriminate against people based on their religion or race	5.96	62.9	37.1	3.75
47	Consequences of climate change for Dutch society (flooding, heat stress, drought, deterioration of nature and biodiversity)	5.82	51.1	48.9	2.98

	Development	Impact	Probability (%yes - %no)		I x P
48	A new serious pandemic	5.73	32.1	67.9	1.84
49	The rise of hatred against Muslims	5.4	68.2	31.8	3.68
50	Low birth figures in Europe	5.39	64.0	36.0	3.45
51	Prosperity decline as a result of the scaling down of economic ties with China	5.14	50.4	49.6	2.59

Table B Hierarchy of threats according to Intermediates

	Development	Impact	Probability (%yes - %no)		I x P
1	Cyber sabotage of critical Dutch infrastructure (e.g. energy, drinking water, payment systems)	7.83	70.1	30.0	5.48
2	Involvement in a war due to a territorial attack against an EU or NATO ally or the Netherlands itself	7.69	42.0	58.0	3.23
3	Physical sabotage of critical Dutch infrastructure (e.g. energy, drinking water, internet and payment systems)	7.64	54.5	45.5	4.17
4	Involvement in a nuclear war	7.57	14.9	85.1	1.13
5	The rise of political parties in various countries that discriminate against people based on their religion or race	7.46	78.8	21.2	5.88
6	Growing polarisation and radicalisation due to foreign disinformation campaigns (e.g. around elections in the Netherlands, around the war in Ukraine)	7.41	83.6	16.4	6.19
7	The growing power of big tech companies and their CEOs (such as Microsoft, Huawei, Facebook, TikTok and Elon Musk)	7.37	86.2	13.8	6.36
8	Insufficient military capacity among EU member states to defend European territory	7.35	59.8	40.2	4.4
9	Consequences of climate change for Dutch society (flooding, heat stress, drought, deterioration of nature and biodiversity)	7.3	72.7	27.3	5.31
10	EU is ineffective due to internal divisions and differences	7.28	75.0	25.0	5.46
11	Undermining of democratic states and the rule of law in the European Union (e.g. due to corruption, erosion of the independence of the judiciary)	7.21	66.2	33.8	4.78
12	Dependency on unsympathetic countries for vital products (e.g. raw materials, energy, chips, medication, weapons)	7.09	73.1	26.9	5.18
13	Erosion of the international legal order (e.g. due to ineffectiveness of the UN Security Council)	7.06	56.3	43.7	3.97
14	Weakening of the US security guarantee to Europe (e.g. due to political developments in the US or US-China conflict)	7.02	72.6	27.4	5.1
15	Russia wins the war with Ukraine	6.96	57.1	42.9	3.97
16	NATO is ineffective due to internal divisions and differences	6.94	55.6	44.4	3.86
17	Corporate espionage by other countries	6.92	88.7	11.3	6.14
18	Increase of social tensions in the Netherlands due to a foreign conflict (e.g. due to the war between Russia and Ukraine, or the war between Israel and Hamas)	6.86	84.6	15.5	5.8

	Development	Impact	Probability (%yes - %no)		I x P
19	The rise of hatred against Muslims	6.84	71.8	28.2	4.91
20	Foreign interference in elections in the Netherlands	6.83	64.6	35.4	4.41
21	Undermining of Dutch society by international organised crime	6.74	54.7	45.3	3.69
22	A military conflict between the United States and China	6.74	23.5	76.5	1.58
23	Europe loses the technological competition between the major powers	6.68	58.2	41.8	3.89
24	The rise of intolerant religious movements in various countries	6.68	62.4	37.6	4.17
25	Growing influence of China and Russia in important third countries (e.g. India, the Gulf states, Balkan countries, in Africa and in South America)	6.66	84.0	16.0	5.6
26	A right-wing extremist terrorist attack in the Netherlands	6.64	47.7	52.3	3.16
27	Inflation as a result of international developments	6.64	79.6	20.4	5.29
28	Insufficient access to natural resources and critical raw materials (e.g. metals for the production of chips and solar cells)	6.62	50.2	49.8	3.32
29	Increasing war rhetoric lowers the threshold to an actual war	6.62	51.6	48.4	3.41
30	Lack of socioeconomic security for Dutch citizens (e.g. inability to make ends meet financially) as a result of international developments	6.61	60.2	39.8	3.98
31	Global overpopulation	6.59	55.2	44.8	3.64
32	Further escalation of the war in the Middle East	6.58	77.5	22.5	5.1
33	An Islamist terrorist attack in the Netherlands	6.53	46.7	53.3	3.05
34	Involvement in a war outside EU or NATO territory (e.g. Ukraine or Taiwan)	6.49	57.8	42.2	3.75
35	Prosperity decline as a result of increasing protectionism (e.g. due to Trump's trade tariffs and large-scale Chinese state subsidies)	6.45	80.6	19.4	5.2
36	Use of migration as a weapon by leaders surrounding the EU	6.41	68.1	31.9	4.36
37	Growing number of emerging powers ally with the BRICS pact with China and Russia	6.38	67.5	32.5	4.31
38	Foreign interference in migrant communities in the Netherlands	6.38	74.9	25.1	4.78
39	The rise of hatred against Jews	6.33	70.5	29.5	4.46
40	Disruption of major sea trading routes (e.g. by blockades and attacks on ships)	6.29	58.1	41.9	3.65
41	High debts in Europe threaten the stability of the euro	6.26	39.9	60.1	2.5
42	A new serious pandemic	6.12	33.5	66.5	2.05
43	Anti-western propaganda undermines the international position of the Netherlands and the EU	6.01	54.8	45.2	3.29

	Development	Impact	Probability (%yes - %no)		I x P
44	Large-scale irregular immigration, with migrants not possessing valid documentation to enter or reside in a country	5.91	53.8	46.3	3.18
45	A left-wing extremist terrorist attack in the Netherlands	5.83	29.2	70.8	1.7
46	Large numbers of refugees due to a war near the EU	5.82	70.5	29.5	4.1
47	Disruption of society and the economy by emerging technologies (e.g. artificial intelligence)	5.68	51.3	48.7	2.92
48	The proclamation of a caliphate (Islamic ideal state) in the Middle East and/or Africa	5.52	50.0	50.0	2.76
49	Prosperity decline as a result of the scaling down of economic ties with China	5.04	50.2	49.8	2.53
50	Low birth figures in Europe	4.77	71.2	28.8	3.4
51	Large-scale regular migration (e.g. labour migration, family migration, student migration)	4.67	55.3	44.7	2.58

Table C Hierarchy of threats according to Anywheres

	Development	Impact	Probability (%yes - %no)		I x P
1	The rise of political parties in various countries that discriminate against people based on their religion or race	8.23	87.6	12.4	7.21
2	Consequences of climate change for Dutch society (flooding, heat stress, drought, deterioration of nature and biodiversity)	7.95	81.0	19.0	6.44
3	Involvement in a nuclear war	7.84	14.0	86.0	1.1
4	Cyber sabotage of critical Dutch infrastructure (e.g. energy, drinking water, payment systems)	7.8	68.2	31.8	5.32
5	The growing power of big tech companies and their CEOs (such as Microsoft, Huawei, Facebook, TikTok and Elon Musk)	7.6	87.8	12.2	6.67
6	Undermining of democratic states and the rule of law in the European Union (e.g. due to corruption, erosion of the independence of the judiciary)	7.57	68.0	32.0	5.15
7	Physical sabotage of critical Dutch infrastructure (e.g. energy, drinking water, internet and payment systems)	7.53	45.9	54.1	3.46
8	The rise of hatred against Muslims	7.43	81.7	18.4	6.07
9	Growing polarisation and radicalisation due to foreign disinformation campaigns (e.g. around elections in the Netherlands, around the war in Ukraine)	7.39	88.0	12.0	6.51
10	Involvement in a war due to a territorial attack against an EU or NATO ally or the Netherlands itself	7.28	42.1	57.9	3.06
11	Erosion of the international legal order (e.g. due to ineffectiveness of the UN Security Council)	7.28	58.5	41.5	4.26
12	A right-wing extremist terrorist attack in the Netherlands	7.12	56.3	43.7	4.01
13	Russia wins the war with Ukraine	7.04	53.0	47.0	3.73

	Development	Impact	Probability (%yes - %no)		I x P
14	Increasing war rhetoric lowers the threshold to an actual war	6.9	62.0	38.0	4.28
15	Further escalation of the war in the Middle East	6.81	84.4	15.6	5.75
16	Foreign interference in elections in the Netherlands	6.78	62.7	37.3	4.25
17	EU is ineffective due to internal divisions and differences	6.77	68.8	31.2	4.66
18	Dependency on unsympathetic countries for vital products (e.g. raw materials, energy, chips, medication, weapons)	6.72	77.4	22.6	5.2
19	A new serious pandemic	6.62	40.5	59.5	2.68
20	Insufficient military capacity among EU member states to defend European territory	6.61	48.4	51.6	3.2
21	Increase of social tensions in the Netherlands due to a foreign conflict (e.g. due to the war between Russia and Ukraine, or the war between Israel and Hamas)	6.55	88.7	11.3	5.81
22	NATO is ineffective due to internal divisions and differences	6.54	56.4	43.6	3.69
23	Lack of socioeconomic security for Dutch citizens (e.g. inability to make ends meet financially) as a result of international developments	6.52	64.5	35.5	4.2
24	A military conflict between the United States and China	6.5	15.8	84.2	1.03
25	Inflation as a result of international developments	6.36	82.8	17.2	5.26
26	Undermining of Dutch society by international organised crime	6.35	51.6	48.4	3.27
27	Use of migration as a weapon by leaders surrounding the EU	6.34	63.3	36.7	4.02
28	The rise of hatred against Jews	6.28	58.4	41.6	3.67
29	Insufficient access to natural resources and critical raw materials (e.g. metals for the production of chips and solar cells)	6.27	51.2	48.8	3.21
30	Weakening of the US security guarantee to Europe (e.g. due to political developments in the US or US-China conflict)	6.26	76.8	23.2	4.81
31	The rise of intolerant religious movements in various countries	6.18	60.4	39.7	3.73
32	Growing influence of China and Russia in important third countries (e.g. India, the Gulf states, Balkan countries, in Africa and in South America)	6.09	84.7	15.3	5.16
33	Involvement in a war outside EU or NATO territory (e.g. Ukraine or Taiwan)	6.02	59.7	40.3	3.6
34	Prosperity decline as a result of increasing protectionism (e.g. due to Trump's trade tariffs and large-scale Chinese state subsidies)	6	79.9	20.1	4.79
35	Europe loses the technological competition between the major powers	5.99	57.4	42.6	3.44
36	An Islamist terrorist attack in the Netherlands	5.97	37.6	62.4	2.24
37	Corporate espionage by other countries	5.92	89.7	10.3	5.31

	Development	Impact	Probability (%yes - %no)		I x P
38	High debts in Europe threaten the stability of the euro	5.84	38.8	61.2	2.27
39	Disruption of major sea trading routes (e.g. by blockades and attacks on ships)	5.82	56.3	43.7	3.28
40	Growing number of emerging powers ally with the BRICS pact with China and Russia	5.72	70.1	29.9	4.01
41	Global overpopulation	5.69	53.4	46.7	3.04
42	Foreign interference in migrant communities in the Netherlands	5.51	65.5	34.5	3.61
43	Disruption of society and the economy by emerging technologies (e.g. artificial intelligence)	5.48	54.6	45.5	2.99
44	Anti-western propaganda undermines the international position of the Netherlands and the EU	5.43	51.7	48.3	2.81
45	A left-wing extremist terrorist attack in the Netherlands	4.93	17.0	83.1	0.84
46	The proclamation of a caliphate (Islamic ideal state) in the Middle East and/or Africa	4.6	47.6	52.4	2.19
47	Prosperity decline as a result of the scaling down of economic ties with China	4.44	42.5	57.5	1.89
48	Large-scale irregular immigration, with migrants not possessing valid documentation to enter or reside in a country	4.34	46.0	54.0	2
49	Large numbers of refugees due to a war near the EU	4.22	69.7	30.3	2.94
50	Low birth figures in Europe	3.48	70.3	29.7	2.45
51	Large-scale regular migration (e.g. labour migration, family migration, student migration)	3.25	62.7	37.3	2.04

Table D Hierarchy of hope according to Somewheres

	Development	Impact	Probability (%yes - %no)		I x P
1	Better protection against cyberattacks on critical infrastructure (e.g. critical waterworks and payment systems)	7.93	63.7	36.4	5.05
2	More collaboration with origin countries for the return of asylum seekers who have exhausted all rights of appeal in the Netherlands	7.92	36.4	63.6	2.88
3	Reinforcement of modern manufacturing industries in the Netherlands (e.g. chip industry)	7.86	62.3	37.7	4.9
4	Limiting immigration	7.84	54.3	45.7	4.26
5	Reduction of dependence on foreign countries for vital products (raw materials, energy, chips, medicines, weapons)	7.78	28.4	71.6	2.21
6	Better protection against cyberattacks on critical infrastructure (e.g. critical waterworks and payment systems)	7.75	55.1	44.9	4.27
7	The countries of the EU invest more in the safety of the European region in order to reduce their military dependence on the United States	7.75	67.5	32.6	5.23
8	Better international cooperation to combat international drug crime	7.74	56.8	43.2	4.4

	Development	Impact	Probability (%yes - %no)		I x P
9	Achievement of a lasting ceasefire or peace between Ukraine and Russia	7.6	58.8	41.2	4.47
10	Dutch government support for Ukrainian refugees to return to Ukraine when the country is safe again	7.5	65.8	34.2	4.93
11	Boosting the resilience of Dutch elections against foreign interference	7.42	46.4	53.6	3.44
12	The countries of Europe increase investments in defence	7.41	84.3	15.7	6.25
13	Adaptation to climate change through targeted investments (e.g. raising dykes, giving rivers more room)	7.38	66.0	34.0	4.87
14	International agreements to reduce the numbers of nuclear weapons and prevent the spread and use of nuclear weapons	7.25	17.9	82.1	1.3
15	Investments in resilience against corporate espionage	7.25	60.9	39.1	4.41
16	Acceleration of the energy transition by means of nuclear energy	7.25	46.7	53.3	3.38
17	Reinforcement of NATO's unity and strength	7.24	69.7	30.3	5.04
18	Economic rise of countries in the European region due to the relocation of production from China and Russia to the EU and surrounding countries	7.21	32.8	67.2	2.36
19	More transparency in the foreign funding of political parties	7.2	33.4	66.6	2.4
20	Secret services given more powers to combat terrorism	7.15	69.8	30.2	4.99
21	Tech companies must satisfy stricter rules (e.g. to protect the privacy of citizens or combat disinformation)	7.13	54.8	45.2	3.91
22	Tighter government control over religious education and weekend schools	7.11	48.8	51.2	3.47
23	Introduction of European legislation in case regimes deliberately send irregular migrants to member states in order to weaken them	7.1	42.8	57.2	3.04
24	Schools devote more attention to recognising fake news and conspiracy theories	7.02	59.7	40.4	4.19
25	International collaboration against tax havens and money laundering	6.97	30.9	69.1	2.16
26	Reinforcement of the transatlantic relationship between Europe and the United States	6.93	46.2	53.8	3.2
27	Less meddling by countries in each other's internal affairs	6.9	26.8	73.2	1.85
28	Boosting the resilience of migrant communities against unwanted foreign interference ("long arm politics")	6.86	22.3	77.8	1.53
29	The European Union shows more respect for the sovereignty of member states	6.86	22.0	78.0	1.51
30	Circular labour migration to address labour shortages in critical sectors (meaning that migrants return to their country of origin after a period of work)	6.84	45.3	54.7	3.1
31	Relocation of the handling of asylum requests from the Netherlands to another country outside the European Union (as Italy is attempting to do with Albania)	6.83	30.9	69.1	2.11
32	The government creates facilities to strengthen the resilience of the Netherlands (e.g. bomb shelters, reserve drinking water capacity, emergency generators)	6.71	28.9	71.2	1.94

	Development	Impact	Probability (%yes - %no)		I x P
33	World-wide effort to combat illnesses and viruses in order to prevent severe consequences of a new pandemic	6.58	40.3	59.7	2.65
34	The Dutch government reintroduces border controls	6.58	67.6	32.4	4.45
35	Reinforcement of the EU's unity and strength	6.51	49.4	50.6	3.21
36	Technological innovations that help combat climate change	6.44	50.5	49.5	3.25
37	The government pursues moderate growth of the population, applying a bandwidth for all forms of immigration	6.43	42.8	57.2	2.75
38	Reinforcement of the economy through technological innovation, digitalisation and artificial intelligence	6.38	76.7	23.3	4.89
39	More initiatives and programmes to combat global overpopulation	6.34	18.0	82.0	1.14
40	Reinforcement of the relationship between the West and relevant third countries (e.g. India, Gulf states, South Africa, Brazil)	6.3	38.4	61.6	2.42
41	Improvement of the relationship between the United States and China	6.19	28.1	72.0	1.74
42	Using development cooperation also as a mean to serve Dutch interests abroad	5.86	36.1	63.9	2.12
43	Acceleration of the energy transition by means of green energy (e.g. solar and wind energy)	5.49	47.3	52.7	2.6
44	Attracting labour migrants to address labour shortages in critical sectors	5	66.8	33.2	3.34
45	Accession of Ukraine to NATO	4.41	43.8	56.2	1.93
46	Accession of Ukraine to the European Union	4.25	45.9	54.1	1.95
47	Accession of the Western Balkans to the European Union (Albania, Montenegro, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, North Macedonia)	3.34	30.2	69.8	1.01

Table E Hierarchy of hope according to *Intermediates*

	Development	Impact	Probability (%yes - %no)		I x P
1	Better protection against cyberattacks on critical infrastructure (e.g. critical waterworks and payment systems)	8.19	71.6	28.5	5.86
2	The countries of the EU invest more in the safety of the European region in order to reduce their military dependence on the United States	8.14	78.2	21.8	6.37
3	Schools devote more attention to recognising fake news and conspiracy theories	8.11	64.5	35.5	5.23
4	Achievement of a lasting ceasefire or peace between Ukraine and Russia	7.94	64.0	36.0	5.08
5	Reinforcement of the EU's unity and strength	7.91	48.4	51.6	3.83
6	More transparency in the foreign funding of political parties	7.91	33.1	66.9	2.62
7	Tech companies must satisfy stricter rules (e.g. to protect the privacy of citizens or combat disinformation)	7.87	54.2	45.8	4.26

	Development	Impact	Probability (%yes - %no)		I x P
8	Reinforcement of modern manufacturing industries in the Netherlands (e.g. chip industry)	7.84	63.0	37.0	4.94
9	Better protection against cyberattacks on critical infrastructure (e.g. critical waterworks and payment systems)	7.83	64.6	35.4	5.06
10	Adaptation to climate change through targeted investments (e.g. raising dykes, giving rivers more room))	7.82	66.5	33.5	5.2
11	Reinforcement of NATO's unity and strength	7.79	70.0	30.0	5.45
12	International agreements to reduce the numbers of nuclear weapons and prevent the spread and use of nuclear weapons	7.76	13.6	86.4	1.06
13	International collaboration against tax havens and money laundering	7.71	25.9	74.1	2
14	World-wide effort to combat illnesses and viruses in order to prevent severe consequences of a new pandemic	7.68	34.1	65.9	2.62
15	Reduction of dependence on foreign countries for vital products (raw materials, energy, chips, medicines, weapons)	7.67	32.9	67.1	2.52
16	Boosting the resilience of Dutch elections against foreign interference	7.67	43.9	56.1	3.37
17	Better international cooperation to combat international drug crime	7.65	58.4	41.6	4.47
18	Technological innovations that help combat climate change	7.6	57.3	42.7	4.35
19	Investments in resilience against corporate espionage	7.54	64.8	35.2	4.88
20	The countries of Europe increase investments in defence	7.45	91.2	8.9	6.79
21	Economic rise of countries in the European region due to the relocation of production from China and Russia to the EU and surrounding countries	7.45	41.3	58.7	3.07
22	Acceleration of the energy transition by means of green energy (e.g. solar and wind energy)	7.42	50.9	49.1	3.78
23	Dutch government support for Ukrainian refugees to return to Ukraine when the country is safe again	7.29	73.0	27.0	5.32
24	More collaboration with origin countries for the return of asylum seekers who have exhausted all rights of appeal in the Netherlands	7.24	44.1	55.9	3.19
25	Reinforcement of the relationship between the West and relevant third countries (e.g. India, Gulf states, South Africa, Brazil)	7.16	38.6	61.4	2.77
26	Boosting the resilience of migrant communities against unwanted foreign interference ("long arm politics")	7.11	27.2	72.9	1.93
27	Reinforcement of the economy through technological innovation, digitalisation and artificial intelligence	6.98	82.6	17.4	5.77
28	Introduction of European legislation in case regimes deliberately send irregular migrants to member states in order to weaken them	6.82	49.6	50.4	3.38
29	Reinforcement of the transatlantic relationship between Europe and the United States	6.79	30.9	69.1	2.1
30	Improvement of the relationship between the United States and China	6.57	17.1	82.9	1.12
31	Circular labour migration to address labour shortages in critical sectors (meaning that migrants return to their country of origin after a period of work)	6.55	52.9	47.1	3.46

	Development	Impact	Probability (%yes - %no)		I x P
32	The government creates facilities to strengthen the resilience of the Netherlands (e.g. bomb shelters, reserve drinking water capacity, emergency generators)	6.49	31.9	68.1	2.07
33	Attracting labour migrants to address labour shortages in critical sectors	6.47	63.6	36.4	4.12
34	More initiatives and programmes to combat global overpopulation	6.4	19.0	81.0	1.22
35	Secret services given more powers to combat terrorism	6.26	76.0	24.0	4.76
36	The government pursues moderate growth of the population, applying a bandwidth for all forms of immigration	5.99	41.5	58.5	2.48
37	Acceleration of the energy transition by means of nuclear energy	5.97	41.7	58.3	2.49
38	Tighter government control over religious education and weekend schools	5.96	56.8	43.2	3.39
39	Using development cooperation also as a mean to serve Dutch interests abroad	5.92	46.9	53.1	2.78
40	Accession of Ukraine to the European Union	5.63	38.3	61.8	2.15
41	Accession of Ukraine to NATO	5.49	40.5	59.6	2.22
42	Less meddling by countries in each other's internal affairs	5.42	28.7	71.3	1.56
43	Limiting immigration	5.3	62.1	38.0	3.29
44	The European Union shows more respect for the sovereignty of member states	5.17	33.3	66.7	1.72
45	Accession of the Western Balkans to the European Union (Albania, Montenegro, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, North Macedonia)	4.83	22.1	77.9	1.07
46	Relocation of the handling of asylum requests from the Netherlands to another country outside of Europe (as Italy is attempting to do with Albania)	4.36	30.9	69.1	1.35
47	The Dutch government reintroduces border controls	3.29	63.9	36.1	2.1

Table F Hierarchy of hope according to Anywheres

	Development	Impact	Probability (%yes - %no)		I x P
1	Acceleration of the energy transition by means of green energy (e.g. solar and wind energy)	8.23	43.8	56.3	3.6
2	Schools devote more attention to recognising fake news and conspiracy theories	8.21	53.8	46.3	4.41
3	Better protection against cyberattacks on critical infrastructure (e.g. critical waterworks and payment systems)	8.12	62.7	37.3	5.09
4	Tech companies must satisfy stricter rules (e.g. to protect the privacy of citizens or combat disinformation)	8.08	48.6	51.4	3.93
5	International agreements to reduce the numbers of nuclear weapons and prevent the spread and use of nuclear weapons	8.02	15.5	84.6	1.24

	Development	Impact	Probability (%yes - %no)		I x P
6	Adaptation to climate change through targeted investments (e.g. raising dykes, giving rivers more room)	7.95	52.2	47.8	4.15
7	More transparency in the foreign funding of political parties	7.88	23.8	76.2	1.87
8	World-wide effort to combat illnesses and viruses in order to prevent severe consequences of a new pandemic	7.88	27.6	72.4	2.17
9	Achievement of a lasting ceasefire or peace between Ukraine and Russia	7.79	54.5	45.5	4.24
10	International collaboration against tax havens and money laundering	7.67	16.6	83.4	1.27
11	Boosting the resilience of Dutch elections against foreign interference	7.65	42.4	57.7	3.24
12	Technological innovations that help combat climate change	7.5	53.1	47.0	3.98
13	Better protection against cyberattacks on critical infrastructure (e.g. critical waterworks and payment systems)	7.46	52.6	47.4	3.92
14	Reinforcement of the EU's unity and strength	7.42	37.9	62.1	2.81
15	Reduction of dependence on foreign countries for vital products (raw materials, energy, chips, medicines, weapons)	7.41	25.9	74.1	1.92
16	Reinforcement of modern manufacturing industries in the Netherlands (e.g. chip industry)	7.36	57.0	43.0	4.2
17	Economic rise of countries in the European region due to the relocation of production from China and Russia to the EU and surrounding countries	7.28	35.6	64.4	2.59
18	The countries of the EU invest more in the safety of the European region in order to reduce their military dependence on the United States	7.19	74.8	25.3	5.37
19	Better international cooperation to combat international drug crime	7.12	51.6	48.4	3.67
20	Reinforcement of the relationship between the West and relevant third countries (e.g. India, Gulf states, South Africa, Brazil)	7.09	31.3	68.7	2.22
21	Attracting labour migrants to address labour shortages in critical sectors	6.89	51.6	48.5	3.55
22	Boosting the resilience of migrant communities against unwanted foreign interference ("long arm politics")	6.8	26.0	74.0	1.77
23	Investments in resilience against corporate espionage	6.7	58.1	41.9	3.89
24	Reinforcement of NATO's unity and strength	6.68	62.3	37.7	4.16
25	Dutch government support for Ukrainian refugees to return to Ukraine when the country is safe again	6.52	60.4	39.6	3.94
26	Reinforcement of the economy through technological innovation, digitalisation and artificial intelligence	6.26	78.3	21.7	4.9
27	Accession of Ukraine to NATO	6.19	48.0	52.0	2.97
28	Accession of Ukraine to the European Union	6.12	42.7	57.3	2.62
29	Circular labour migration to address labour shortages in critical sectors (meaning that migrants return to their country of origin after a period of work)	6.05	47.6	52.4	2.88

	Development	Impact	Probability (%yes - %no)		I x P
30	The government creates facilities to strengthen the resilience of the Netherlands (e.g. bomb shelters, reserve drinking water capacity, emergency generators)	6.04	29.8	70.3	1.8
31	Improvement of the relationship between the United States and China	6.02	18.8	81.2	1.13
32	The countries of Europe increase investments in defence	5.82	93.7	6.3	5.46
33	More collaboration with origin countries for the return of asylum seekers who have exhausted all rights of appeal in the Netherlands	5.76	44.8	55.3	2.58
34	More initiatives and programmes to combat global overpopulation	5.74	19.2	80.8	1.1
35	Reinforcement of the transatlantic relationship between Europe and the United States	5.66	29.3	70.7	1.66
36	Introduction of European legislation in case regimes deliberately send irregular migrants to member states in order to weaken them	5.54	41.3	58.7	2.29
37	Accession of the Western Balkans to the European Union (Albania, Montenegro, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, North Macedonia)	5.54	22.2	77.8	1.23
38	Using development cooperation also as a mean to serve Dutch interests abroad	5.35	44.6	55.4	2.39
39	Acceleration of the energy transition by means of nuclear energy	4.97	36.6	63.4	1.82
40	Tighter government control over religious education and weekend schools	4.79	60.1	39.9	2.88
41	The government pursues moderate growth of the population, applying a bandwidth for all forms of immigration	4.71	49.1	50.9	2.31
42	Secret services given more powers to combat terrorism	4.55	73.0	27.0	3.32
43	Less meddling by countries in each other's internal affairs	4.44	34.7	65.4	1.54
44	The European Union shows more respect for the sovereignty of member states	4.27	38.4	61.6	1.64
45	Limiting immigration	2.83	69.9	30.1	1.98
46	Relocation of the handling of asylum requests from the Netherlands to another country outside the European Union (as Italy is attempting to do with Albania)	2.17	40.8	59.2	0.89
47	The Dutch government reintroduces border controls	1.33	70.9	29.1	0.94

### About the Clingendael Institute

Clingendael – the Netherlands Institute of International Relations – is a leading think tank and academy on international affairs. Through our analyses, training and public debate we aim to inspire and equip governments, businesses, and civil society in order to contribute to a secure, sustainable and just world.

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