

A summary of

European Populism and Winning the Immigration Debate

Clara Sandelind



This is a summary of the book *European Populism and Winning the Immigration Debate*, published by European Liberal Forum and Fores. A copy of the book can be downloaded or ordered on Fores' web site, www.fores.se, or via email, brev@fores.se.

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1 Introduction

It is a commonly held assumption that populist, anti-immigration parties are on the rise, fuelled by the economic crisis and increasingly negative attitudes to immigration. The research presented in the book “European Populism and Winning the Immigration debate” takes issue with such a description of contemporary Europe: Anti-immigration attitudes are not increasing, populist parties do not gain electoral support all over Europe and local political mobilization, including the civil society, is often successful in countering simplistic and divisive rhetoric.

The book raises several points that challenge ubiquitous claims about what drives the support for populist, anti-immigration parties and about how they can be countered. The widespread believes that economic downturns spur support for populists, or that voters are mainly choosing to vote for these parties as a »protest vote«, or that populist parties necessarily destabilise, and wither, if they are given any political influence, divert focus from the issues that are core to the support for the populist, anti-immigration message. These are issues about immigration itself, but also about the effects of globalisation on equality of opportunity and of the future of democratic national self-determination in an internationalised world.

The study is about how this trend may be turned around. Its purpose stems from a concern that divisive and parochial ways of debating immigration are becoming entrenched in Europe. Inwards migration has doubtless re-shaped many European communities and this raises issues that need addressing, such as the economic and political integration of immigrants. The problem with populist, anti-immigration parties is that they talk about such issues using a xenophobic language and simplifications of complex issues, they neglect the interests of those not included in the »nation« and insinuate that migrants arrive with dishonest intentions, such as taking jobs, benefits or committing crimes. This is not only divisive but also very unhelpful in addressing important questions about the future of diversity and border regimes in Europe.

The contributions to the study therefore focus on parties whose prime agenda is driven by opposition to immigration and who employ a populist rhetoric coloured by a chauvinist form of nationalism. They often spread, and feed off, a strong sense that national self-determination is being violated by domestic elites, by the European Union and by immigration. These concerns are presented as »common sense« politics; populists claim to speak the language of »the ordinary man«. This gives their message a flavour of truthfulness, allegedly lacking amongst other parties. But most Europeans do not, after all, vote for populist parties, thus populists’ message is arguably not that appealing to the »ordinary man«. Yet their ability to reduce debates on immigration to simplistic and divisive statements is a cause for worry both for those on the side of openness and those who want to take seriously challenges faced by increased immigration in European countries. The study therefore seeks to answer questions of what lies behind the support of populist, anti-immigration parties and how their anti-immigration argument can be met.

The study provides analyses that help understand the nature of support for anti-immigration populists in post-crisis Europe. Why are people opposed to immigration and have they become more negative over time? Did the economic recession boost support for populist, anti-immigration parties? Why do some cast their vote on a populist party and how does the new media landscape, increasingly dominated by social media, affect support for populism? In the second part, four case studies show how concerns about immigration have been met by politicians and civil society in Sweden, Italy, the Netherlands and Denmark, in order to better understand how immigration can be debated in ways that challenge the populist message.

This short version contains brief summaries of the eight independent chapters, followed by the conclusions by the editor, Clara Sandelind of Sheffield University.

2 Chapter Summaries

Preface

*Kenan Malik is a London-based writer, lecturer and broadcaster. His books include *The Quest for a Moral Compass: A Global History of Ethics* (2014), *From Fatwa to Jihad: The Rushdie Affair and its Legacy* (2009) and *Strange Fruit: Why Both Sides are Wrong in the Race Debate* (2008).*

The preface describes the new political divide, not between left and right, but between those who feel at home and those who feel left out of society. This leads to conclusions about how to challenge the populists: “we need to stop being so obsessed by the parties themselves, and start dealing with the issues that lead many voters to support them. It is true that many of the policies, even of relatively mainstream parties such as UKIP, are repellent, and many of their leaders hold obnoxiously racist, sexist and homophobic views. It is true, too, that many of their supporters are hard-core racists. But this should not blind us to the fact that many others are drawn to such parties for very different reasons – because these seem to be the only organizations that speak to their grievances and express their frustrations with mainstream politics.”

A Breakthrough Moment or False Dawn? The Great Recession and the Radical Right in Europe

*Matthew Goodwin is Associate Professor in Political Science at the University of Nottingham, and Associate Fellow at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House. Most recently, he is the co-author of *Revolt on the Right: Explaining Support for the Radical Right in Britain* (Routledge).*

Matthew Goodwin asks why the radical right in Europe did not gain more ground following the economic crisis in 2008. Contrary to popular belief, there has not been a unison increase in support for these parties across Europe post-crisis. Goodwin questions popular assumptions about connections between poor economic conditions and low levels of political trust, on the one hand, and support for the radical right, on the other. Instead, he argues that support for the radical right is better understood as rooted in a cultural divide between »winners« and »losers« of globalization. Moreover, in times of crisis, voters may be more prone to vote for the party they trust most on the economy, which is more likely to be one of the established parties.

Anti-immigrant attitudes in Europe during the 21st century

Mikael Hjerm is Professor in Sociology at Umeå University. His research focuses mainly on prejudice and nationalism in a comparative perspective. He is also the Swedish National Coordinator for the European Social Survey.

Andrea Bohman is a postdoctoral researcher at the Department of Sociology, Umeå University. Her thesis from 2014 examines anti-immigrant attitudes in a comparative European perspective, with a focus on their political and religious context.

The authors show how attitudes to immigration have not become more negative during the past decade, despite what one might be led to believe given the attention given to the electoral successes of anti-immigration, populist parties. They begin by reviewing the factors influencing people's attitudes and focus on »group threat theory«. According to this theory, negative attitudes to immigration occur when people feel threatened by immigrants, for example on an economic or cultural basis. On a contextual level, whether immigrants are perceived negatively also depend on how accepted prejudice is in society, while the size of the immigrant population has different effects in different contexts. On the individual level, higher levels of education, friendship with immigrants and a less authoritarian personality correlate with more positive attitudes to immigration. Hjerm and Bohman point out that because of increasing ethnic diversity and changing economic and political circumstances, negative attitudes to immigration should increase. Yet, as they show, this is not the case. By comparing different age cohorts, they argue that younger people tend to be more positive to immigration, but that demographic, economic and political circumstances cannot explain the reasons for this.

Not that different after all: radical parties and voters in Western Europe

Wouter van der Brug is professor in Political Science at the University of Amsterdam. He is also Honorary Professor in Political Science at the University of Copenhagen. He has published widely on elections and the radical right in Europe.

Meindert Fennema is emeritus professor in Political Theory at the University of Amsterdam. He has published extensively on anti-immigration parties, ethnic mobilization, political theory and political violence.

Sjoerdje van Heerden holds a PhD in Political Science from the University of Amsterdam. She is a member of the academic programme group *Challenges to Democratic Representation*, as well as *The Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies*.

Sarah de Lange is Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Amsterdam. She is currently finishing two large-scale research projects: *Political Conflict in Five European Systems: The Role of Citizens, the Media, and Parties in the Politicization of Immigration and European Integration* and *Newly Governing Parties: Success or Failure?*

The authors discuss the similarities and differences between radical right parties and their voters, on the one hand, and mainstream parties and their voters, on the other. They question popular demographic explanations for support of these parties, pointing out that socio-structural models mostly cannot account for the success or failures of these parties. Neither is it the case that charismatic leadership is particularly important for the radical right. Instead, it is the actual policy programmes of populist radical right

parties that attract voters. Their support, the authors argue, is based on policy preferences of voters, just like support for mainstream parties. They also note that there is nothing distinct about radical right parties and mainstream ones in terms of cooperation within government in coalitions. In short, the radical right is not so different after all, at least not in terms of how they attract their supporters or how parties act in power.

Populism, Social Media and Democratic Strain

*Jamie Bartlett is Director of the Centre for the Analysis of Social Media at Demos. His primary research interests are: new political movements and social media research and analysis, Internet cultures and security and privacy online. His most recent book is called *The Dark Net*.*

This chapter takes a closer look at the changing nature of political activism brought about by the growing importance of social media. Bartlett argues that online activism benefits populist parties on right and left, in particular considering the low levels of trust in politics amongst the European public. Supporters of populist parties have lower levels of trust also in mainstream media, fuelling the importance of the Internet amongst these voters. Examining data from a poll of 15,000 Facebook supporters of populist parties in Europe, conducted by Demos between 2011-2013, he explains how populist parties have been successful in exploiting this new format of political activism.

The Danish People's Party in Nørrebro

Jeppe Fuglsang Larsen is Lecturer at Aalborg University, Department of Sociology and Social Work, and Research Assistant at the Department of Culture and Global Studies. His main research interests are studies in ethnicity, right-wing populism and racism.

This chapter contains the first case study. Jeppe Fuglsang Larsen has looked at Danish Nørrebro, a district of Copenhagen in which the Danish People's Party (DPP) has witnessed big electoral losses. It is also an area characterized by high levels of immigration. Fuglsang Larsen shows how politicians from the mainstream parties have managed to win the argument on immigration by putting forward the positive impact immigration has had. They have portrayed the multicultural society as something essentially good. They have also focused the discussion on gang-related crime on issues of social conditions, rather than on issues of culture, the latter which has been the basis of DPP's argument. The chapter is based on several interviews with politicians in Nørrebro, including DPP representatives.

The Swedish Exception and the Case of Landskrona

*Clara Sandelind is a Doctoral Researcher at the Department of Politics, University of Sheffield. Her PhD thesis is entitled *Nationalism and Attitudes to Immigration* and she has also written on issues of territorial rights and self-determination.*

Clara Sandelind has examined the case of Landskrona, a southern Swedish, post-industrial city. In Landskrona, the Sweden Democrats (SD) rocketed in the 2006 election,

but lost much support in the 2010 election, though they regained some support in 2014. The chapter starts by exploring why Sweden experienced a radical right party entering parliament comparatively late, before moving on to the specific case study. In Landskrona, the success of SD in 2006 can be explained by the focus on criminality, strongly connected to immigration in public debate, as well as by widespread dissatisfaction with the incumbent social-democratic party. In 2010, while criminality and social deprivation were still high on the agenda, the connection with immigration was less emphasized. There was also much more satisfaction with the new centre-right leadership, in particular the Liberal Party with its conservative policies on crime and social issues.

Responding to the Populist Radical Right: The Dutch Case

***Sjoerdje van Heerden** holds a PhD in Political Science from the University of Amsterdam (UvA). Her research interests include: party competition, populist radical right parties, media and politics, anti-immigration attitudes and social challenges in urban areas. She is a member of the academic programme group Challenges to Democratic Representation, as well as The Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES).*

***Bram Creusen** is a historian and political scientist. He teaches at the Department of Political Science and he is a Guest Lecturer at the Department of Media Studies, both at the University of Amsterdam. His main research interests are in Dutch political history and radical and extreme political parties.*

This case study focuses on the electoral support for the Party for Freedom (PVV) and especially on the strategies of the mainstream parties in minimizing the success of PVV. Through interviews with party representatives as well as strategists, the chapter looks at how, and to what effect, other parties have tried to (re)take command of the debate about immigration and integration. The authors conclude that mainstream parties have struggled to find the right tone in dealing with PVV, given that most of the time their responses to immigration and integration issues only seemed to have fuelled support for the PVV. Established parties especially have trouble altering the populist frame created by the PVV, which portrays them as incapable and impotent on these matters. Van Heerden and Creusen also note how party leader Wilders' way of communicating suits a new media climate, where one-liners produced by Wilders on Twitter make easy and ready-made headlines.

Acting for Immigrants' Rights: Civil Society and Immigration Policies in Italy

***Maurizio Ambrosini** is professor of Sociology of Migration at the University of Milan, Department of Social and Political Sciences, and Chargé d'Enseignement at the University of Nice-Sophia Antipolis. He is the editor of the journal »Mondi Migranti« and the scientific responsible of the Centre Medi – Migrations in the Mediterranean, of Genoa, and of the Italian Summer School of Sociology of Migrations.*

The last case study is based on Italy and the role of civil society in promoting immigrants' rights in a hostile environment and is written by Maurizio Ambrosini, Milan University.

He shows how civil society, such as the Catholic Church, lawyer organizations and trade unions, have played an important part in campaigning for immigrants' rights and to change public opinion, while governmental immigration policy has remained largely the same despite political changes. One important campaign, »I am Italy too« has been backed by a large number of civil society actors who push for Italian citizenship law to be liberalized. The campaign has been successful in changing the stakes in the debate, though they have not yet reached their aim. Ambrosini also argues that the economic crisis has shifted focus away from immigration to the economy, providing opportunities for a more positive immigration debate. The chapter is based on several interviews with civil society actors.

3 Populist Parties and Voters

The economic crisis has not implied a substantially increased appeal of the populist, anti-immigration message. Unsurprisingly, many voters are more worried about the economy than immigration in times of crisis. This is good news for established parties, who still enjoy more trust from voters than populists do on the economic matters. Rather than being attracted to those offering simplistic solutions and focusing on external and internal enemies (immigrants and the political elite), the vast majority of voters turn to parties that make and present an array of policies aimed at ensuring economic recovery and growth. If these parties can keep focusing the political agenda on economic and social policy, populist parties will have little to offer voters.

It is also, however, bad news. If anti-immigration sentiments or support for populist, anti-immigration parties cannot be explained by the economic crisis, then this means that such attitudes will not automatically disappear as the economy recovers. They are instead a symbol of our time – of a globalised world, that has left some behind. Although, globalisation has mostly been a positive force, not all have benefitted equally and in many European countries, opportunities are far from equal. The same is true of immigration. While on the whole most research shows that everyone benefits economically from low-skilled as well as skilled immigration, effects on wages and employment are often negligible for low-skilled native workers.

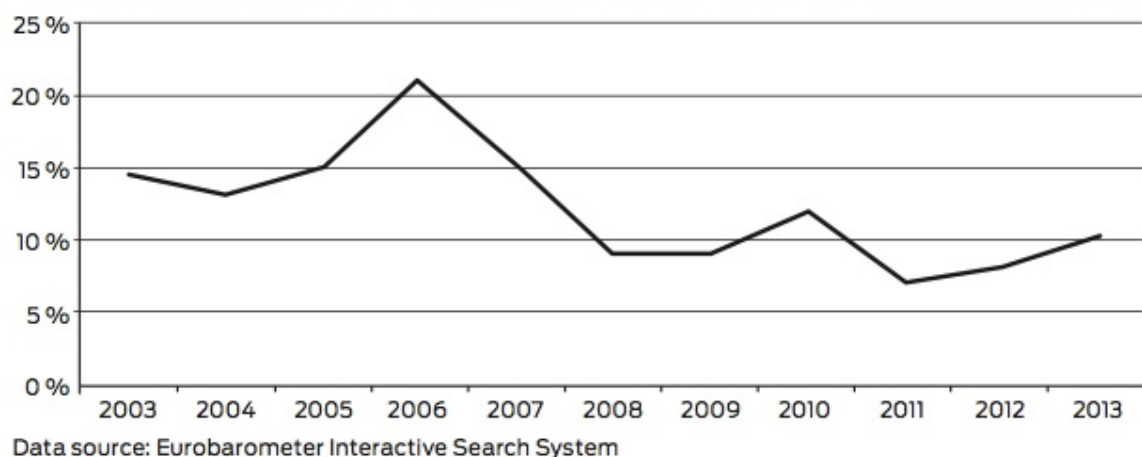
Furthermore, the meaning of national sovereignty has become diversified as powers have moved from national governments to transnational institutions and the European Union. These institutions battle with a democratic deficit that has left many with a deep sense of a loss of control. Likewise, we can see that borders within the EU have opened up, at the same time as borders into the EU remain tightly protected. Following the recent horrors in Syria and Iraq, as well as Libya and Eritrea, the number of asylum seekers in Europe has increased and there has been a shocking rise in deaths of people trying to reach Europe by sea. Rather than increasing solidarity with those fleeing war and persecution, the increased number of refugees has seemingly created a backlash in which European states are perceived to have lost control over their borders.

This is despite the fact that Europe still hosts very few of the total number of refugees in the world and has nowhere near the same influx of Syrians and Iraqis as the bordering countries, such as Turkey and Lebanon. Instead, the perception that Europe is losing control over its borders fits in a wider narrative of the alleged erosion of democratic national self-determination. The sense of loss of control is twofold: In addition to national self-determination being hollowed-out by power moving to the EU, populists find support in those mistrusting established political parties. Democratic self-governance is in their view being undermined by domestic political elites, as much as external factors, such as the EU and immigration. This is not the equivalent of a protest vote. Voters largely make their electoral decisions based on the policies of populist parties, mainly anti-immigration ones. But it is part of understanding support for populism as driven by a loss of control of one's own prospects and a loss of one's democratic voice.

4 Attitudes and Debate

As Mikael Hjerm and Andrea Bohman show, attitudes to immigration have not become more negative in the past decade. Anti-immigration parties that were previously in or supporting governments have lost such influence in Denmark, the Netherlands and Italy. And as Matthew Goodwin discusses the financial crisis of 2008 did not bring the expected gains to populist parties, but, as Maurizio Ambrosini also points out in his case study of Italy, shifted focus towards economic issues. In many countries we find no anti-immigration party of significance, even in those struck the most by the financial crisis, such as Spain and Portugal, and the importance of immigration issues amongst the European public has dropped (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Immigration is one of the two most important issues facing the country



The actual political influence of anti-immigration parties is also questionable. Some academics have argued that anti-immigration parties have a so called »contagion effect« on mainstream parties; mainstream parties tend to adopt more restrictive immigration policies as a response to increasing popularity of the anti-immigration position. Others, however, maintain that anti-immigration parties seem to have no impact at all on the positions of mainstream parties.

In Sweden immigration policy was even liberalised in the same parliamentary period that saw the entrance of the anti- immigration far right party the Sweden Democrats.

Yet there can be no denying that in many countries immigration is being intensely and sometimes divisively debated. Support for populist, anti-immigration parties should not primarily be seen as protest votes, but as grounded in policy-preferences. It is a preference for the anti-immigration policies of populist parties that attract voters.

The reasons why some people favour such policies are often grounded in long-term political, cultural and economic changes, voters simply vote for parties whose policies they agree the most with. This is equally true for those supporting anti-immigration,

populist parties.

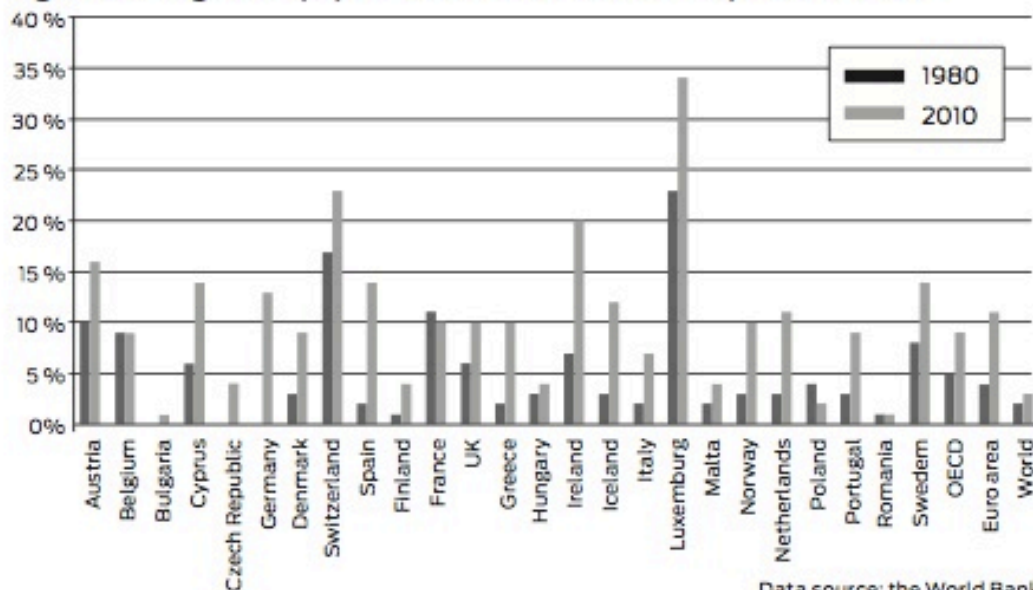
As way of responding, it therefore becomes important to take seriously the worries and concerns people have in relation to immigration. This has become increasingly difficult to do for several reasons. One, which Jamie Bartlett discusses in the study, is that traditional means of political communication, such as mainstream media and political parties, enjoy less and less public trust. Another issue, pointed out by Sjoerdje van Heerden and Bram Creusen is that politicians, journalists and commentators find it difficult to talk about immigration. It appears not to be like other policy areas but involves a minefield both of prejudice and accusations of being »out of touch« with the concerns of ordinary voters. Thus while mainstream parties struggle to strike the right balance, populists are fuelling hostility with their unashamed message of narrow nationalism.

Europe looks different today than it did three decades ago (Figure 2). The increased diversity can be fascinating, economically beneficial, frightening, culturally enriching or corrosive. Whatever it is, it is there and it will cause discussions. The benefits and challenges it brings vary widely across Europe. The gap between native and foreign-born unemployment, for example, differs substantially between European countries (Figure 3). Some of the reasons for this gap can be found in different labour and welfare regimes, some stem from more specific cultural and social issues related to both the composition of the migrant population and specific features of the host country (such as language issues). The addition of an immigration element to socio-economic policies should not make anyone nervous – there is nothing inherently discriminatory in pointing out that some groups may face and/or pose extra challenges. Likewise, cultural issues can be discussed in an inclusive way, talking with people from minorities rather than about them. It is disrespectful to treat people as if they were determined by their cultural background, either by labelling all critique of minority cultures as prejudice or by making sweeping generalisations of how people behave based on their cultural or religious background. Yet more diverse societies will raise questions of the values and customs that we share and we cannot shy away from those debates.

At the same time, immigration raises issues not only of what binds us together within nation-states, but what unites us as human beings. As the world witnesses with horror the spread of the Islamic State (IS) in Syria and Iraq and as the situation deteriorates in Libya, migrants flock to Calais to find lorries to hide in to take them to the UK and thousands die at sea as they try to reach Italy or Malta. When people suffer in Syria, Iraq or Libya, they enjoy the compassion of Europeans, yet when they arrive at the border they are mostly met with a cold shoulder.

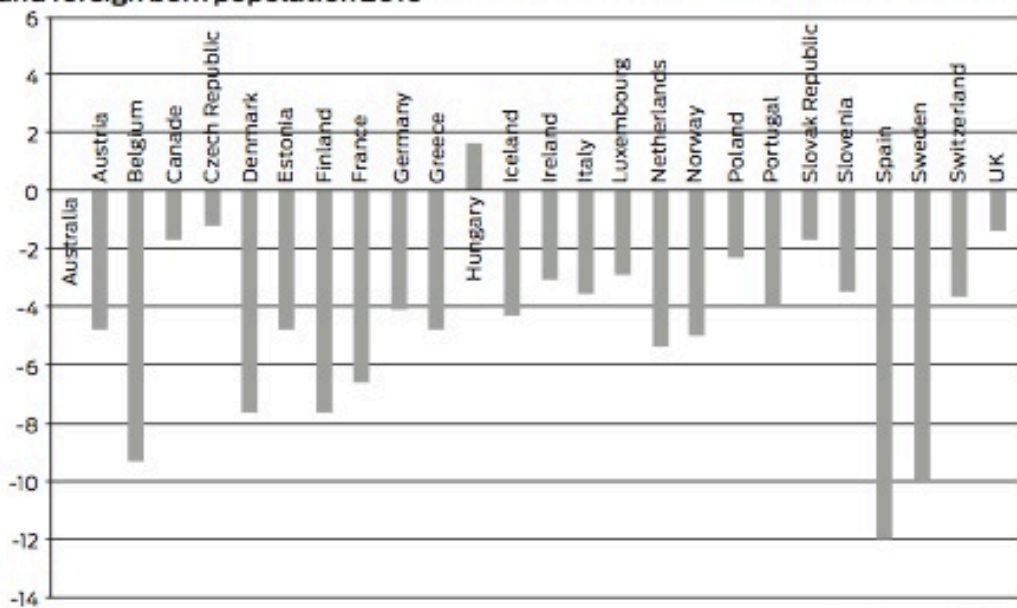
Very little of the debates on immigration concerns this seeming contradiction of human solidarity. We learn from the contributions in the study that we should not treat support for anti-immigration parties simply as protest votes, as a consequence of a deep economic crisis or as something that will soon be in the past. Populist parties may not be too dissimilar to mainstream ones, as they get further professionalised, gain governmental experience and have mastered a new media landscape. And, crucially, many voters in Europe are attracted to their message of more restrictions on immigration. But as I have highlighted, the populist message on immigration is infected by hostility.

Figure 2. Foreign-born population 1980 and 2010 in European countries



Data source: the World Bank

Figure 3. Percentage point difference in unemployment rate between the native and foreign born population 2010



Data source: OECD

By pointing out immigrants as the outside enemy they present an easy solution to complex social, economic and cultural phenomena. But established parties have still not found a forceful way of responding that can include all aspects of immigration – from those fleeing warzones to those, who see a world changing around them that they feel they are not part of or which they cannot control.

5 Winning the Debate on Immigration

So how do you turn the debate around? If support for anti-immigration, populist parties is a symbol of our time – of distrust in established politics and media, and of a sense of powerlessness in the face of rapid economic and cultural shifts – then how do you win the debate on immigration? Firstly, as this book has shown, attitudes to immigration have not become more negative in the last decade. A demand for anti-immigration policies has always existed, but was until recently not met by the supply of professionalised and legitimised populist parties. Now that such parties are in place, it may be more fruitful to address these attitudes as such. In other words, even if demand for anti-immigration policies have not changed, voters now have viable parliamentary options to channel their opposition to immigration through. Therefore, it is not enough to focus all energy on populist parties – their message of a parochial nationalism needs to be challenged as well. Offering populist parties the role as victims of an established political elite, refusing to engage with questions on immigration, will only strengthen them.

On the one hand, it has been suggested that the best strategy is to try and discredit populist parties, or even ban them, or, on the other hand, that they should be welcomed to positions of power, which would reveal their true colours as incompetent xenophobes. None of these tactics will necessarily work very well. Discrediting has for example been used by many established Swedish parties. The Sweden Democrats are now the third largest party. The second strategy, of engagement, has for example been used in the Netherlands, where PVV has been acting as supporting party for the VVD government. Initially, this worked to PVV's advantage, though they lost out in recent elections.

The key lesson is thus that political tactics on how to engage or not engage with populist, anti-immigration parties are less important than actual engagement with their voters and the issues that concern them. As the Danish and Italian case studies show, it is possible to offer a positive story of immigration and a multicultural society as a way of countering anti-immigration and divisive rhetoric. These cases highlight the important role of local politicians and civil society to counter the simplified views on immigration and immigrants' rights offered by populists (and sometimes by many mainstream parties as well). The way for civil society actors to be successful in this endeavour, and to act as a positive force in the immigration debate, is to form broad coalitions with a wide range of legal, religious and cultural organisations.

Delivering such a positive story on immigration may be trickier for established parties given the low trust they enjoy amongst voters of populist parties, and the fact that their main means of communication, mainstream media, suffers from the same trust deficit amongst populists' core voters. Part of the solution lies in learning to navigate in a new media landscape. Yet this challenge for democracy is more deep-rooted. Virtually every political party fights for the position as the most trust-worthy and non-elitist in order to

win elections. Populist opposition to immigration should be seen in this light, as a symbol of a loss of control by the ordinary person. In the populist message, democratic governance has been corrupted as power rests comfortably in Brussels and with domestic political elites. Retaining strict border controls is but one way of restoring democratic national self-determination.

Democracy and National Self-Determination

Therefore, winning the immigration debate is part of bigger debates about parochial versus liberal ideas of national self-determination. We need to ask ourselves: How do we guarantee everyone a voice in a globalised world? This requires a focus on multilevel approaches to citizenship and the exercise of political control over one's social, economic and cultural environment. How can we make sure that people feel a sense of ownership over their local communities, of their countries and of Europe respectively? How can freedom of movement within the EU be reconciled with a notion of national self-determination? What are the bases of belonging and a shared political identity in such a vision?

The answers to these questions from the defenders of an open society must be fundamentally different to the anti-immigration, populist ones. Most importantly, the answers must include notions of universal rights that sometimes override national self-determination and a clear commitment to the individual, wherever she originates from. One group cannot be put against another and there can be no unconditional support of »the national interest« in the face of refugee crises and human suffering. Yet such a vision need not be oblivious to the human need of communities. Collective self-determination, or the ability to control the social, economic and cultural conditions of one's communities, lies at the heart of individual autonomy, and is a partial answer to the challenges presented by globalisation and supranational governance. Populist, anti-immigration parties tap into feelings of not being listened to, of being unable to control changes that have a fundamental impact on how we live our lives. These sentiments ought to be prime concerns for those committed to the ability of individuals to author the course of their lives.

This emphasises what several of the case studies also show, that in order to empower local communities and voters who may feel neglected by the so-called establishment, responses to anti-immigration populism should be delivered locally, in people's everyday life, and with a clear policy-agenda. At this level it is possible to question whether the story of immigration told by populists accord with the reality people face on an everyday basis. Do the issues and concerns of voters really stem from increased migration or do they have other roots? And if they do, how can these be addressed?

Only this approach can combine a message of increased democracy and political awareness about the concerns of voters, with a pro-immigration agenda, in a non-populist and non-elitist way. Politicians need to bury their tactics towards populism and instead engage with voters and their policy-preferences. Hence, in conclusion, short-term strategies involve putting socioeconomic policies high on the political agenda, especially for groups who have not benefitted from the globalised economy; not conflating such issues with immigration, whilst still taking them seriously; not victimising populist parties; and involving broad pro-immigration coalitions at the local

level, in particular including civil society actors. In the long-term, pro-immigration actors must formulate and be able to deliver a vision of democratic national self-determination that is compatible with less control over borders.

How can local and national communities nonetheless feel empowered in such vision? Answers to these questions will involve a re-think of integration and citizenship, as well as the welfare state. These are hard questions, but acknowledging that there are no simple answers, is also what differentiates the defenders of an open society from the anti-immigration populists.



About Fores

Fores – Forum for Reforms, Entrepreneurship and Sustainability – is a green and liberal think tank. We want to renew the debate in Sweden with belief in entrepreneurship and opportunities for people to shape their own lives.