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## The Conditioning of Integrational Policies towards Muslims in Sweden

**Abstract:** As the countries of Europe recovered from World War II, they again became attractive destinations for potential migrants and opened their doors to immigrants to help rebuild their economies. Very often immigrants were not able to take material richness from their homeland but they always took their „cultural richness” containing ways of behaving and communicating with each other, and also tradition, beliefs and religious cults. Their arrival in West Europe made that society not only multicultural but also multireligious.

My article aims at analyzing the integration policy towards Muslim Minority in Sweden and its determinants to set wise precepts for political management in other countries (including Poland). Integration policy, as a part of migration policy, is a great challenge for many countries.

**Key words:** muslim minority, integration policy, multiculturalism, muslims in European Union, social issue

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### Introduction

Next to the development of transportation after World War II, there has been a strong migration process of people from outside our continent. Immigrants were quite often unable to bring their own materialistic possessions, but they always managed to do so with their “cultural possessions” such as encoded ways of behaviour, communication with others, and also traditions, and religious beliefs. Their coming to Western Europe meant that its societies became not only more multicultural but also more religiously diverse (Pędziwiatr, 2007, p. 17).

The aim of the article is the study of integrational policies in Sweden and their conditioning in order to point out to hints for the creators of the analysed policies in various countries (also in Poland) and to determine conflict areas in society. Integrational policies are an essential and inseparable element of migration policies, and it currently constitutes a challenge for many countries. The models of creating migration policies in the

past have a strong influence on the present image of societies which are more and more often eagerly calling themselves “multicultural”.

Until recently, the Kingdom of Sweden was described in literature and journalism as a country in which the adopted model of multiculturalism guaranteed peaceful coexistence of a varied society. Lately, however, there have been voices talking about new challenges of Swedish integrational policies, which does not encourage Muslim immigrants to integrate with the rest of society (Pędziwiatr, 2007, p. 17). It is often thought that the climax of the situation is the riot in Stockholm in 2013, when a 69-year-old man of immigrant origin was shot dead by a policeman. The riot – in many ways similar to the one in France in 2005 – shocked the Swedes. The acts of violence and danger to society provoked a debate on integration in a country with 13% of people born outside Sweden.

### **The main issues of the discourse: integration versus assimilation and integrational policies**

In discourse there are many notions and concepts describing relations between immigrants and receiving societies, so it is worth analysing similarities and differences resulting from concentration on the different dimensions of these relationships. Because immigrants try to feel at home in receiving societies in many different ways, various terminology is used in these receiving societies, and it concerns everyday life as well as scientific analyses. In use there are: separation or marginalisation of immigrants, their adaptation, integration, or assimilation into the majority environment (Budyta-Budzyńska, 2014). For example, the words integration and assimilation mean something different in French politics than in English one. Different tendencies and dominant ideological debates, like the ones connected with political correctness, also have an influence on the understanding of the above-mentioned categories.

The oldest notion that refers to the phenomena mentioned is “assimilation” (Włoch, 2011, p. 18). Chicago researchers adopted it from colloquial language: In the 1880s alarming articles appeared, which stated that the ability of society to “assimilate” the coming waves of immigrants was doubtful and which warned against possible side effects such as “indigestion”. The first scientific definition of assimilation was suggested by Sarah E. Simons, who stated that it is “matching and accommodating which take place between people of different races when contact is long-lasting

and it is accompanied by the necessary psychic conditions.” Speaking imaginatively, it is a process thanks to which aggregation of peoples is transformed from a simple mix into a chemical compound (Hirch, 1943, p. 35–39).

Two decades later, Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burges, scientists from the Chicago school, proposed a definition according to which it is a process of “mutual interpretation and compounding, due to which people and groups adopt memories, feelings, and approaches of other people and groups; this, in turn, leads to the adaptation of each other into mutual cultural life” (Gordon, 1964, p. 63).

The notion of “assimilation” can be understood in different ways. Sometimes it is confused with terms such as incorporation or absorption, which also function as separate terms. The notion of assimilation is usually used to present the process of the adaptation of immigrants to the society in the USA. Unlike their American counterparts, European researchers did not feel obliged to follow this tradition, so it was easier for them to drop “assimilation” and use terms that seemed to them more neutral.<sup>1</sup> The most popular proved the term “integration”.

Izabela Koryś defines it the following way: “integration, as opposed to assimilation, supposes that the process of mutual adaptation of immigrants and the receiving country is a two-way process. Both groups not only accept common culture but they also bring they own contribution. Simultaneously, when people of different cultures learn them from one another, every individual or group preserves the feeling of cultural diversity and awareness of their cultural heritage” (Koryś, 2003). The term “integration” is multi meaningful and multidimensional. The Commission of the European Parliament’s Council, of the European Economic-Social Com-

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<sup>1</sup> The popularity of the term “integrational policies” in Europe (just like the term “assimilation policies” in the USA) comes from a number of reasons. On the one hand, this popularity results from the negative experience of World War II, connected with genocide and the imposed assimilation policies, and on the other, from the conviction of the term’s “openness”, as it may include contradictory expectations. It enables to accept immigrants (and thus create a multicultural society) and at the same time it allows constant development of the receiving country’s national (dominant) culture and the maintenance of its institutions. What is more, this term brings hope that the country’s policies may be effective in immigrants’ adaptation, and its usage enables to avoid extremes such as too strong a pressure on assimilation (which can take extreme xenophobic forms). At the same time immigrants can totally reject the culture of the receiving country.

mittee, and of the Committee of Regions informs us that no membership country has one functioning definition of integration. Still, the definitions agree that integration is composed of various elements and must be a two-way process, which involves both immigrants and the local community (Balicki, 2010, p. 21). The bilateralism of this process is also stressed in other definitions. The International Organisation for Migration concludes that integration is a two-way process of mutual adaptation of immigrants and society in the economic, social, cultural, and political dimensions. Integration supposes the maintenance of the cultural integration of a group which enters the receiving society; at the same time the group ought to strive to become an integral part of the new social structure, and so it also supposes some adjustment for the part of the new groups (Kicinger, 2014).

In managing migrations embracing many dimensions – economic, political, social, and cultural – the main problem lies in making the receiving society and immigrants' groups meet. From today's perspective and the knowledge on migration's nature, preparing both groups – the majority and the coming minority – for this meeting is a condition necessary for a harmonious and effectively functioning society as a whole. And here arises the need for preparatory actions which would allow both groups to function and co-operate without conflicts in a common country. The mechanisms serving to reach this goal are called integrational policies. The basic feature of these policies is that they are created by the state authorities at the highest level together with institutions at the regional and local levels.

Integrational and immigration policies cannot be treated separately. The former is part of the latter, and the latter is influenced by the former (Banaś, 2010, p. 48). Consequently, integrational policies are means used by authorities (at the national and local levels) in order to create conditions encouraging and enabling immigrants to participate in various forms the receiving country's life. The means of these policies can be divided into direct, thus helping only immigrants' integration, and indirect, aiming at fighting the social exclusion of endangered groups – immigrants among others (*Migration policies as an instrument promoting employment and curbing unemployment*, p. 128). The direct means are about, for instance, organising language courses for new immigrants or positive actions: active – when, for example, employers are obliged to employ a certain number of immigrants, or passive – when, for example, employers are obliged to report on the workplace's crew, taking into account the representation

of ethnic minorities or foreigners. Indirect means are steps taken to activate the unemployed, including immigrants, on the job market. The policies which use direct means are called oriented and the ones using indirect means – general. Hammer names the two types direct policies and indirect policies (Banaś, 2010, p. 110).

Integrational policies primarily deal with long-term effects of accepting immigrants and are connected with a whole range of means, helping these policies, such as legal regulations connected with legalising the stay of immigrants of different categories. Integrational policies are also to handle citizenship issues (naturalisation and the allocation of residents' rights of stay), anti-discriminatory and positive (affirmative) strategies, "business" actions in the field of housing and education meant for immigrants' circles, financial strengthening immigrant organisations, creating consulting bodies and intermediary structures tackling issues between immigrants and the receiving country's administrative institutions, and, finally, safety policy ("securitisation") and the maintenance of public order.

### **The concepts of folkhemmet and welfare state as the basis of integrational policy**

The geographical location of Sweden, somehow in the "suburbs" of Europe, has formed its character in the social, political, and cultural way for centuries. The history of Sweden – except for the period of peculiar, regional imperialism (from the 17<sup>th</sup> century until Charles XII's defeat in the Great Northern War) – rather shows a tendency of its elite to peaceful co-existence with its neighbours. Seeking cooperation proved to be more beneficial than confrontation and divisions (Banaś, 2010, p. 109).

Socio-political ideas and movements taking place on the continent reached Scandinavia a little lessened or modified. Additionally, accepted "from a distance", they allowed for constructing a specific character of the Swedish reality, including the social, economic, and political order, and – not less importantly – the cultural order. The ever rising costs of work forced seeking new, innovative, technical solutions, often inspired by the American school of thrift and effective productivity. Due to the demographical, organisational, and technological changes, the forty-year period (1870–1910) saw a rapid, beyond average, growth in GDP. In the publication "Unity traditions in Scandinavia. From the Viking myth to the Nordic idea," Bernard Piotrowski hints at aspects which provided the

basis for the birth of the Scandinavian nations, including the Swedish one.

- 1) ideological-intellectual, constituting thinking beyond the nation and group;
- 2) socio-economic, concerning co-operation between the Nordic countries, based on creating new, efficient, and highly pragmatic constructions of social organisation, needed for the transformation from agricultural to industrial;
- 3) awareness creating, referring to more or less common patterns of interpreting the surrounding world and common patterns of morality and ethics;
- 4) cultural, with its components common for society, for example the language, religion, or art;
- 5) legal, leaning towards socio-democratic ideas, suitable for the functioning of small, peaceful, and well-off nations and countries of Northern Europe.

In the mid 1930s, the Scandinavian countries entered the phase of speedy, economic development, based on efficient and modernised rules of industry, modern transport and trade, building modern agriculture, an efficient financial system, and shaping functional social structures. In Sweden power was taken by social democrats, offering a new socio-economic concept of a “welfare state” (Banaś, 2010, p. 144–146).

The socio-political background during which the Swedish welfare was established clearly exposes the creators of the system. The dominant approach was that of negotiation and against conflict. The lack of harsh class divisions, coming from better and better living conditions, provided good basis for building the so-called “Folkhemmet”<sup>2</sup> (Banaś, 2009, p. 5). “People’s home” or “home for people” goes the translation, and it meant the creation of common, social space for every citizen. Not coincidentally, it evokes associations with people’s homes built at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The less well-off had access to literature and press there; in free time, they could pursue fun activities and political dispute. It was a place for everybody as long as they followed the rules (Samsel-Chojnacka, 2013). The term in question was introduced to the public thanks to Per Albin Hansson, a social democratic leader and the future Premier, who in 1928 presented

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<sup>2</sup> The term was used for the first time by a Lutheran bishop, Manfred Björkquist, and introduced to the political lexicon by Albin Hansson, a social democratic MP and the future Premier (1932–1946).

his ideological manifesto, which put Sweden on the ideological track, making it Sweden's blessing and curse at the same time.

The Folkhemmet ideology was a unique try to work "a middle way" between capitalism and a fully developed form of socialism/communism in order to create a universal welfare state, where the society's safety and traditional family values should be guaranteed by the government. One can say that it was an attempt to create a society which would be one family world or a village organization world on a large scale) (Larsson, Sander, 2007, p. 54). The social goals at that time were interpreted not as free or civil contract of individuals or interest groups (Gesellschaft) but as the organic unity of the community and human beings, united around common origin, race, culture, ethnicity, and religious traditions (Gemeinschaft). This ideology embraced the idea of social needs and social equality, common culture, the elimination of inequality, and one unified social order for groups and individuals, social homogenisation, the standardisation of aims possible to achieve through education and social reform equal for every citizen and eliminating social inequality (Anwar, Blaschke, Sander, 2013, p. 203). In the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, for example, Sweden had the biggest economic growth in Western Europe. Problems started in the 1960s and 1970s, when it began to be divergent ethnically, culturally, and religiously (Anwar, Blaschke, Sander, 2013, p. 374).

A change in the shaping of the majority versus minority relationships was heralded at the end of the 1960s. Then, there appeared a concept of building social relationships according to three basic rules: respect for the different (racially, ethnically, religiously, culturally), equal treatment of the individual on the job market, and immigrants' right for free learning the Swedish language. The shreds of policy towards immigrants, inspired by the Canadian example of multiculturalism, stated:

- 1) equality – especially on the job market and access to work;
- 2) freedom – the possibility to stick to the homeland's culture or adaptation to the Swedish one;
- 3) co-operation – supposing the state's support of immigrants' initiatives, especially activities of ethnic organisations which used dialogue between the society's majority and minority (Banaś, 2009, p. 12).

The present picture of the Swedish Folkhemmet is the effect of the consequently realised assumptions determined in the initial decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, modified and improved through expert and social consultations. Dialogue and engagement for both sides: the ruling and the ruled

one in looking for an optimal (in the sense of a welfare state) shape of the country led to constructing an area with the following characteristics:

- 1) a strongly built public sector, which is also the main job provider;
- 2) strong and influential trade unions;
- 3) obligatory, collective arrangements ensuring following the rule “the same wage for the same work”;
- 4) an active employment policy, arranged in association with trade unions;
- 5) the highest level of social “democratisation” (100 points on 100 max.), according to the democracy index<sup>3</sup>;
- 6) a low index of social inequality (the so-called **Gini’s**? index) equal to 25.0;
- 7) the lowest poverty index in the world 6.3% – social acceptance of the country to implement the policy of high taxes, which has been a pre-requisite for the realisation of the welfare state (Banaś, 2009, p. 6–7).

### **Stages of Muslims’ immigration in Sweden**

In the discourse on the number of the Muslims in Sweden, both in the past as well as in the present, it must be stressed that since 1930 there have been no official statistics saying about the ethnic or religious origin of immigrants coming to Sweden or about their religion in Sweden itself. All the statistics are based on nationality or the country of birth.

Until World War II, Sweden constituted a place from where citizens streamed out. Most emigrated to North America and some also to South America. One of the results of the world conflicts in the 1930s and 1940s was that many foreigners sought refuge there from persecution (Banaś, 2010, p. 119). The biggest waves of immigrants from Muslim countries in the 1960s constituted people from Turkey and Yugoslavia. Then, one must mention Moroccans, Pakistani, and Egyptians (Pędziwiatr, 2007, p. 159).

In 1963 The government of Sweden decided to grant citizenship rights to everybody living in Sweden over five years (Larsson, 2007, p. 12). Since 1967 potential immigrants must possess a work permit, which enabled the government to efficiently control the number of people coming to the country, as in the 1970s the decreasing demand on the job market

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<sup>3</sup> “The Economist”: and index prepared by the British magazine based on: estimating social engagement, the specifics of political culture, the functioning of the government election freedom. 100 points is the maximum.



could only absorb the influx of workers from Finland. Just like in other countries, since the middle of the 1970s the character of immigration to Sweden underwent a change. The men left so far alone in Sweden were joined by their wives and children (Pędziwiatr, 2007, p. 160). In 1975 the parliamentary Immigrant Issues Committee made the Swedish Riksdag enact laws leading to the building of a multicultural country and society. The educational system was reformed. In a special act immigrants were guaranteed the right of 240 hours of learning Swedish during working time and the right of their children for learning their native languages. Moreover, Sweden was the first country in the world to grant immigrants the right to vote in local elections. This right was implemented in 1976; the right of a translator and information was also allocated. All such regulations were preceded by large scale-social and political consultations and then informative campaigns in the form of leaflets, and radio and TV programmes in immigrants' languages. Organisations and associations of foreigners were engaged to propagate these changes in their ambient. Furthermore, Sweden adopted anti-discriminatory laws – against discrimination and ethnic incitement. Employment and job market laws were also changed. New institutions came to existence: the State Immigration Office, offices for immigrants, or Immigrants' Council. Newspapers for immigrants were issued in nearly 60 languages and the newspaper "Pålättsvenska", written in "simple Swedish" (Muciek, 2009, p. 52–62). According to Ake Nielsen, till 1980s Sweden had one of the most liberal immigration policies in Europe. Due to this fact, Muslim newcomers from Turkey, Iran, the Balkans, Palestine, or Libya, to mention only a few, flooded the country (Pędziwiatr, 2007, p. 160).

Table 1

**An estimated number of Muslims (1970–2006)**

Year	Number of Muslims	Year	Number of Muslims
1970	1,000	1994	160,000
1980	30,000	1996	200,000
1985	50,000	1998	250,000
1988	100,000	2000	325,000
1990	120,000	2005	375,000
1992	140,000	2006	400,000

**Source:** G. Larsson, A. Sander, op. cit., p. 74.

Although some researchers have tried to divide this data according to the ethnic criterion, this process proved to be very difficult. All numbers concerning Muslims are given approximately. According to Sander, Muslim communities can be divided into seven subgroups: Turkish, Arabic, Iranian, African, Pakistani, Balkan, and other Muslims (Larsson, 2007, p. 12).

Turkish immigrants were the first numerous group to have come to Sweden, and till the 1980s, they constituted the largest Muslim group in the country. Today they make 10% of the total number of Muslims. From among Arab Muslims, coming from nearly 20 countries, the biggest community, from which one third are the Kurds, are Muslims from Iraq (52,000). Together with Libyans, Moroccans, Syrians, Tunisians, and Palestinians they make almost one third of all the Swedish Muslims. The Iranian minority, with around 50,000 members, is the second biggest Muslim minority in the country. The remaining groups are less numerous. The Swedish Muslims live mainly in cities such as Stockholm, Gothenburg, or Malmö. Just like in other European countries, few Muslims live in rural areas (Pędziwiatr, 2007, p. 161). However, though many Muslims come from countries like Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Bosnia and Somalia, it is important to stress that Muslims in Sweden come from all regions of the world and that the Muslim communities are ethnically, linguistically, culturally and religiously divergent. The Muslim population in Sweden is estimated at 250,000 and 350,000. In a population of 9 mln, it gives 1.8–3.5% of them.

### **General legal situation of Muslims in Sweden**

The Swedish government has recently reformed its relationships with the church. In 1995, after years of debate, the Lutheran church and government decided to stop their formal, legal bond (Pędziwiatr, 2007, p. 162). The official break between the state and the church was put into practice in 2000. One of the fundamentals of this relationship concerns equal treatment of different religions and groups of adherents. The Swedish church has the legal right to collect contributions (the word “taxes” is not used) from its believers, which is the church’s main source of existence. Other churches can use this system or choose to be supported by the state’s donations. If a community chooses to be supported by the state, their donations will be lowered by the cost of operating of the contributions. There are 8 churches next to the Church of Sweden entitled to the system of contri-

butions. The Church of Sweden does not obtain any state donations; however, it gets regular money to finance sacral monuments of special importance. Religion at school is compulsory and has a non-confessional character. Representatives of churches and adherent groups can be invited to schools to inform pupils about their communities, but they cannot carry out lessons regularly. At the same time the work of the State Commission of Grants for Religious Communities is to mediate in the relationships between the state and different adherent groups. Currently, the Commission is supporting financially three Muslim organisations: the Union of Islamic Communities in Sweden (FIFS), the Union of Muslim Communities (SMuF), and the Union of Islamic Cultural Centres (IKUS).

The state allocates grants for threefold goals:

- 1) leading religious activity, including salaries for imams;
- 2) rebuilding, renovation, and fees for the maintenance of places of worship;
- 3) having lessons of religion and Muslim chaplains' helping spiritually in hospitals.

In 2000 only the maintenance of mosques cost the Swedish government 406,840 Euros (Pędziwiatr, 2007, p. 162–163).

### **Challenges of a multicultural society**

A lot of research shows that “striking religious symbols” (like a turban or hijab), especially in combination with a darker complexion, are a frequent hindrance in obtaining a job. Not rarely must Muslim doctors, engineers, or teachers face discrimination and many different barriers on the job market as well as in other fields of social life. Depending on the country of origin, the unemployment rate among Muslims is 4 to 10 times higher than among autochthons. The living conditions of many Muslims, dwelling in poor city areas, are much worse than the country's average. Their children attend schools with many problems – not only financial but social as well. It is only one of many reasons why they reach lower levels of education and why they often do not get promotion to the next grade (Pędziwiatr, 2007, p. 162).

Another area with key importance for Muslims in Sweden is the possibility of getting Swedish citizenship. In 2000 the government suggested new legal regulations, which were implemented the following year. In their light, a Swede can also possess the citizenship of some other county,

and children with no nationality, born in or outside Sweden, can obtain citizenship rights more easily (Swedish Citizenship Act 2001). Since 2001 there has been functioning a new law regulating circumcision issues. It says that such operations can only be carried out by licensed doctors or a National Health Council certificate holder, and patients must be over two years old. Statistics show that 3000 Muslim and 50 Jewish boys undergo the operation yearly (International Religious Freedom Report 2002). Unarguably, another challenge is the mutilation of girls' organs. Sweden as the first European country forbade women's circumcision. Since 1982 it is illegal in the country, and after the changes introduced in 1999, courts can pursue those living in Sweden who carry out circumcision to children abroad. Despite this, the public in Sweden was shocked in June 2014, when the press reported that in the town of Norrköping 28 out of 30 girls were circumcised. The Health Ministry estimates that around 42,000 women and girls in Sweden were circumcised in 2012. Around 7000 of those were below the age of ten (Orange, Topping, 2014).

Different studies present that most Swedes see Muslims and Islam negatively, maintaining prejudice and stereotypes. In the Integration Barometer (Integrationsbarometer), publicised by the Integration Council (Integrationsverket), 2557 respondents answered many questions on attitudes to integration, discrimination, equal rights, Islam, and Muslims living in Sweden (Larsson, 2007, p. 35). Two thirds of the respondents claim that Islam's values are not compatible with the fundamental values of Swedish society (Integration Barometer, 2004, p. 12). Of course it begs a question of what traditional Swedish values are. Whatever the method of estimation, it is a fact that most Swedes claim that the so-called Muslim values are totally different from their own. It is worth emphasising that many Muslim leaders polemicize with the so-called Swedish values like honesty, telling the truth, kindness, care of others, claiming that these are also typical of Islam. It all makes the Swedish public confused about the issues of Islam and Muslims (Integration Barometer, 2004, p. 12).

The Immigration Minister Erik Ullenhag (The Liberal People's Party) admits in the media that Swedish society is more tolerant than 20 years ago, though acts of racism do sometimes happen. In the autumn of 2013, there was a scandal caused by the information which says that the xenophobic and anti-Islamic Internet portal AVPIXLAT.COM was sponsored by doctors and businessmen (Czarnecki, 2014). The site is still functioning and the articles and comments can still be read.

It is estimated that the number of people in Stockholm will have reached 3 mln by 2045 and mainly owing to immigrants. A report made by the firm Tillväxt, Miljö och Regionplanering (TMR) suggests that in order to overcome the problem of this increase, the capital of Sweden will have to guarantee more flats and 1941 kindergartens in the next nine years, and get ready for another 24,000 secondary school pupils (Törnkvist, 2013).

## Conclusion

In the recent years the authorities provided a safe haven to thousands of refugees from Afghanistan, Somalia, Syria, Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Cameroon, Congo, Egypt, Libya, Eritrea, Iran, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Lebanon, Mali, Mauretania, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Tunisia, Turkey, Uzbekistan, and Yemen. At the moment some 54,000 people are applying for asylum. It was estimated that in 2013 at least 18,000 Syrians came to Sweden. The former Swedish Immigration Minister in one of his interviews admitted: “we broadly support Syrians in trying to get a new life. It is clear that we cannot send the people back to Aleppo in the middle of the war.” “Waiting for a few months, at worst a year, is not a good start, but we are pressed by the authorities to co-operate” – said Ullenhag, relating to the results of the initiation programme for the Syrian refugees (Gee, 2014).

It needs to be stressed that in the case of the asylum seekers from Syria, there is no data on how many of them are Muslims, as most of them come from Christian areas. The Swedish Migration Council (Migrationsverket) as the first in Europe granted Syrians the right of permanent stay (Fagotto, 2014). According to UNHCR ONZ, Sweden is accepting the biggest number of immigrants in Europe, which causes new debates on the issue again and again. The reality of everyday life is for many immigrants a lot more brutal than the ideals of the integration policy.

Similarly to other West European countries, it is popular in Sweden to blame all social and economic problems on immigrants. The unemployment among immigrants is one of many challenges that the Integration Minister has to face. The term “race” in national or international documents causes debate on whether it is suitable to use it, as it may be seen as xenophobic or racist.

The origin of the Swedish immigration policy, the thought accompanying the shape of social solutions, and integration areas show the necessity

of co-operation of two actors: the state and society. With no consensus on the integration form and concepts the building of social integrity will not be possible, especially in the era of multicultural societies (Banaś, 2009, p. 24). The question is whether the “shared home” of the inhabitants of Sweden will not soon become only a historical concept, which has nothing to do with multicultural reality.

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## Uwarunkowania polityki integracyjnej wobec muzułmanów w Szwecji

### Streszczenie

Po drugiej wojnie światowej, państwa europejskie zaczęły być atrakcyjnymi celami migracji, otwierając swoje granice aby odbudować zniszczone gospodarki. Imigranci często nie byli w stanie zabrać ze sobą swojego dobytku materialnego. Zawsze

jednak zabierały swój „dobytek kulturowy”, na który składały się nie tylko wyuczone sposoby zachowania się i porozumiewania z innymi, ale także tradycje, przekonania i wierzenia religijne. Ich przybycie do Europy Zachodniej sprawiło, że zamieszkujące je społeczeństwa stały się nie tylko bardziej wielokulturowe, ale również bardziej wieloreligijne. Celem artykułu jest zbadanie polityki integracyjnej wobec mniejszości muzułmańskiej w Szwecji oraz jej uwarunkowań, aby określić wskazówki dla kreatorów analizowanej polityki w innych państwach (także i w Polsce) oraz określić płaszczyzny, na których dochodzi do antagonizmów w społeczeństwie. Polityka integracyjna jest istotnym i nieodłącznym elementem składowym polityki migracyjnej i stanowi aktualne wyzwanie dla wielu państw.

**Słowa klucze:** Mniejszość muzułmańska, polityka integracyjna, multikulturalizm, muzułmanie w Unii Europejskiej, bezpieczeństwo społeczne