

Islamic diffusion of Nordic countries: Sweden

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Abstract. The purpose of this paper is to study the Muslim migration flow to the Northern Europe in the last quarter of the 20th - first quarter of the 21st century, the pattern analysis and the genesis of the new geopolitical reality in the region, illustrated with the example of Sweden. The authors used a considerable amount of sources and literature, devoted to the study of the topic under analyses in order to accomplish the set tasks. Throughout the article, the authors relied on the advanced achievements of scientific thought, outlined in the fundamental studies of historians, sociologists, anthropologists, economists, philosophers and geographers (based on the innovations diffusion theory by a Swedish geographer T. Hagerstrand). Sweden demonstrates the paradox of the whole situation, and at the same time the main conclusion drawn from the study carried out in this paper: in 1975, the Muslim population of the Kingdom was 0.25%, in 2017, according to official data, every 10th citizen was Muslim. In Sweden only, Muslim population which equals to the population of five Iceland's populations is residing. If this tendency goes on (the events of 2015 unrepeated), then by 2025-2027, Muslim will be every 5th, and by 2035-2040, every 4th person. In 2018, according to unofficial data, the Muslim population of Sweden is balancing between 14,5 and 17,5%. 75% of all Muslims in Sweden live in two agglomerations, of which 53-55% in the metropolis of Stockholm and Uppsala, 20-25% in the capital of Denmark Copenhagen and the Swedish city of Malmö connected by the Öresund Bridge, in the absence of the actual border between the states. This circumstance creates a single region, where, according to the estimates, from 280,000 to 350,000 Muslims are living. Islamic diffusion and ghettonization which are objectively characteristic of northern territories due to their geographic, climatic, and sometimes geomorphologic features only aggravate the emerging situation.

1. Introduction

By 2025, the general economic, political and social situation in Northern Europe will consist of a mosaic of contradictions and "the unknown" prospects/ This is due primarily to such relevant problems of present times as the growth of uncontrolled migration, and as a response to this increase - the popularity of populist, rightist and extremist parties and trends in societies of the Northern Europe. The worsening of economic indicators due to the economic and financial crisis in a number of European economies, connected with the EU's sanctions policy, imposed on Russia, as a result of which Finland, Norway and Sweden are compelled to suffer losses, close enterprises and cut jobs, etc. - they all make us describe completely new realities for the Nordic countries. Other topics are the debates and referendums about the prospective entry of Finland and Sweden into NATO, and what can follow, both in terms of actions and a number of consequences - namely, the reaction of the Russian Federation to this event. In general,



all the above mentioned factors tell us that the "golden age" of post-war Northern Europe is coming to an end.

Since the beginning of 2014, after a series of revolutionary events called "Arab spring", the Nordic countries have been overwhelmed by the weakly controlled waves of Islamic migration (which also took place even earlier, only on a more modest scale) from the territories of North and East Africa, as well as from the countries of South, South-West and Central Asia. The states of Northern Europe, despite their geographical remoteness, could not but share the burden of the consequences of civil conflicts in the above mentioned world regions, which from 2012 to 2013 acquired the intimidating nature of interreligious and inter-confessional wars. According to official statistics of Sweden, only in 2016, it officially registered and issued 162,877 residence permits on its territory, 4/5 of which have been in the above-mentioned regions with predominantly Muslim populations. According to official data, from 2015 to 2017, the Muslim population of Sweden, in comparison with the period from 2009 to 2011 increased by two times, unofficially by 4 times and now it amounts to no less than 17% of the total population of the country. The entire Muslim population in the Nordic countries for the same time period multiplied by 7. The available statistical data makes it possible to conclude that the Muslim part of the European population is becoming the second largest religious community after the Christian one (Catholic, Protestant or Orthodox), and Islam, respectively, becomes the second powerful religion practiced by the largest number of believers by, both in Sweden and throughout the Northern region.

The aim of the paper is to study the Muslim migration flow to the territory of Northern Europe in the last quarter of 20th - the first quarter of the 21st centuries, the analysis of the patterns and genesis of the new geopolitical reality being formed in the region, using the example of Sweden.

It is necessary to separately outline and highlight the absolute misunderstanding of the problem of Muslim communities and Islamic society development by the governments and state bodies of all the countries of Northern Europe, without exception. These are symptoms, or, to be precise, precursors of local problems, which in the future can become common for Northern Europe. Their transformation will inevitably affect cross-border cooperation and its structure after these very changes started [1]. There is a great risk that these transformations as well as their tendencies will be quite radical, as even at the initial stage they do not have a platform for compromise or manoeuvre. Two of the five Nordic countries refuse to recognize [Denmark] and accept [Iceland] the rights of Islamic communities, another [Sweden] - does not quite understand what to do and how to work with them. The other two [Norway and Finland], in fact, in the sequence of their policies and actions don't differ much from other countries, but at least they have the resources to develop alternative, more positive scenarios for the development of Muslim communities within their own territorial and legal borders.

In order to solve the set tasks, the authors used a considerable amount of sources and literature, devoted to the study of the topic of the present work. While working with the paper, the researchers relied on the advanced achievements of scientific thought, outlined in the fundamental studies of domestic and foreign internationalists, geographers, historians, sociologists, anthropologists, economists and philosophers. Political science bases of political realism, historical and historiography reviews of the Northern Europe region, relevant and necessary, reflecting the fullness of the historical perspective, civilization theories covering the problems of the migration passionaries' movement, the influence of sectoral, territorial (including migration) factors on regional labor markets, the innovations diffusion theory by a Swedish geographer T. Hagerstrand, as well as theoretical approaches to the study of transformation processes in social and humanitarian geography were additionally used. The works and scholarly writings on the directions of the theoretical foundations of multiculturalism, as well as works related to Muslim religious communities and societies, and their future in Europe and world are also taken into account.

2. Analytics

Islamic factor as a subject of domestic European politics of the neo-liberal era and the dominant ideas of the victorious multiculturalism at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries (90s of the XX-10s of the XXI century) gave rise to the present situation, from which there are no foreseeable simple and

unambiguous way out in the present or in the future. The factor of Muslim communities in the region of Western and Northern Europe has outgrown from the category of the problem into a very real factor of life and existence of a pan-European society. In 2017, the Great (Juma) mosque conducts Friday (conciliar) services in almost every European capital, and if the capitals are metropolises, such as London or Berlin, then there are several mosques of this rank. The construction projects of the Great Mosques in Northern Europe and the Baltic region are currently widely discussed in Tallinn, Riga, Helsinki and Reykjavik — in the countries where the Muslim population is calculated in percentages, tenths, or even hundredths of percentage. In the countries of Western and Northern Europe, Muslims account for 5 to 25 % of the total population of all the capitals of the above-mentioned regions. This is a common problem for almost all the countries in the region, but each country, in every situation, up to the municipal entity, has its own peculiarity. This is the main and the biggest problem. In the states of Western and Northern Europe, there is no universal example that could serve as a template for solving a particular problem, since each case is unique within one country, and sometimes what is suitable for Stockholm no longer suits Gothenburg. Today, in all the states of Northern Europe without exception, Islam is becoming the fastest growing religion, and the Muslim community is the most dynamically developing. How it became possible, what we have now and what will possibly happen in the future — these are the problems of this thesis.

The rapid social changes that occurred in the twentieth century, together with a new round of technological progress, changed the world after the end of the Second World War beyond recognition. Thorsten Hagerstrand, a Swedish geographer who is known for his works on migration, cultural diffusion and time geography also noticed that [2]. What you could only dream of at the beginning of the twentieth century has become a reality already by its middle. The world became global, and the restrictions that still remained in it increasingly acquired formal content with time, and finally were eliminated or simply erased as the rudiments of the past eras. Colonial politics, authoritarian and totalitarian forms of government in the former metropolitan areas of Europe are replaced by a new system of values, political and socio-cultural coordinates, primarily justified by the freedom of the individual and the role of the individual in the society, regardless his characteristics, given by the nature, and peculiarities, racial or religious affiliation - humanity has acquired its oecumene [3]. Something the great philosophers of the Renaissance and Enlightenment dreamed of is finally beginning to take the final ideological shape and materialize.

However, the very theory of multiculturalism did not justify the hopes placed in it. By the end of the first decade of the 21st century, mainly within European states, a number of prominent foreign and Russian political figures believe that the theoretical basis of the hypothesis of multiculturalism seriously disconcerted with the existing reality. European politicians themselves, the leaders of European states began to state that it entered its crisis stage. This was most evident after analyzing the first results of the "Arab spring", its political and sociocultural consequences for the European communities. Scientists and researchers, politicians and experts of predominantly humanitarian specialties diverge only in assessing the degree of criticality of the theory and the European model of the political theory of multiculturalism, whether it is a crisis or rather a failure?

From 2010 to 2014, the model of the European theory of the politics of multiculturalism was met with criticism from almost all the leaders of European states sounded which described it as frankly not justifying their hopes, if less correctly, as a failure. Particularly strict experts emphasized its inefficiency and unjustified cost. The programs brought about by the policy of multiculturalism, which were the burden of social and economic responsibility on local budgets, eventually became a financial resource for the taxpayers. Speakers separately highlighted the crisis of adaptation models aimed at integrating migrants, which in fact do not assist migrants get accustomed to life in new realities, but make them become a class of new lumpens and sansculottes, living, and most often parasitizing on social benefits from the state. These models were based on the European theory of multiculturalism in completely different states of Western and Northern Europe. Therefore, based on the example and experience of their own countries, they have proved and continue to confirm its inefficiency.

In 2014, the authoritative work of the director of the Cultural Change Institute School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, Professor L. Harrison, "Jews, Confucians and Protestants: the cultural capital and the end of multiculturalism" was published in the Russian translation. The main thesis of it was that the end of the period of multiculturalism is a fait accompli, and that the era of cultural racism is coming or has already come [4]. In 1991, in his work, a Swedish researcher Ake Sander already predicted the problems that his country was due to face only in 2016 [5].

Based on the above, it can be stated that the theory as well as practice, in implementation of the European multiculturalism policy is in deep crisis, if not failed. In the European society, a few years before the European migration crisis, the expression "dead brides of multiculturalism" appeared. This means a series of European girls, representatives of the autochthonous population, being raped and cruelly murdered by migrants mainly from the Muslim world. A classic and canonical example of this trend was the terrible story of a Swedish girl Elin Krantz, who, ironically, spent her whole life calling for multiculturalism in the social networks, and who even starred in the movie, where it was advocated [6]. However, it is necessary to note the fact that freedom is a relative and most often unattainable concept for girls from Muslim migrant diasporas in European societies. Their deviation from tradition, principles and practices adopted in the family and closed domestic society is often punished with death, which is called "Murder for [the sake of] honor." [7]

With that modest number of Muslims, who currently reside in Europe — continental Europe is a home for only 2.7% of all Muslims in the world — according to quite rough and generalized estimates equals 44 million. And this accounts only for 6% of the total population of Europe. We see trends, problems and vectors of their direction that are already impossible not to question, let alone to deny, which will be discussed in more details below. Year by year, the growth of the Muslim population is recorded in Europe. If we look at this problem on a global scale, then despite the wars that tear up the Islamic world - an increase in the Muslim population in the world is a global trend. In the meantime, the same wars are forcing the Muslim population to spread all over the world and go beyond natural, cultural, historical, semantic borders of the Islamic world. At present, from 38 to 41% of the world's Muslim population live in states where Islam is not the dominant religion, meaning outside the traditional Islamic world, thereby actually expanding its boundaries.

What is now happening in Northern Europe with Muslim population, is difficult to define otherwise than a conscious or unconscious social experiment that has global significance and far-reaching consequences. What is this experiment and what may be its meaning - we do not know yet. So far, from us, as from the general public, its real consequences also remain hidden. But if we only imagine that it actually exists, then at this moment it is necessary to stop, and to clarify its uniqueness and differences from all the other ones that are taking place at present.

The process of transformation of the sociocultural and political space of the Nordic countries has a number of peculiarities and stages of migration processes and is worthy of separate research and consideration. Here we turn directly to a specific and very illustrative example of Sweden. According to official Swedish statistics, only in 2016 it officially registered and accepted 162 877 immigrants on its territory, 4/5 of which come from the countries of the Muslim world. For comparison - according to the official Swedish statistics, as of July 31, 2017, the total population of Sweden was 10 065 389 people. [8] From 2011 to 2014, the Muslim population of Sweden multiplied by only 2%, and by 2015 it was at least 7.5% of the total population of the country, but as early as 2017, only according to the most conservative estimates, the Muslim population of Sweden has reached 14-16%, that is from 1,4 to 1,7 million people, which means that it has increased by two times in Sweden from 2015 to 2017. The available data makes it possible to conclude that the Muslim population becomes the second largest population in Europe after the Christian (Catholic, Protestant or Orthodox), and the fastest growing religious group on the whole European continent, and Islam, respectively, the second most faithful religion, in Sweden, as well as throughout the whole region of Northern Europe [9], with the exception of Iceland.

The number of Muslims in Sweden is only slightly inferior to their number in France, the most populous Muslim country in the EU (with the exception of the Balkan Peninsula, where Muslims

constitute a significant autochthonous part of the entire population of the country). However, Muslims in large numbers began to arrive in France after the Algerian War (November 1, 1954 - March 19, 1962), and this process took almost 70 years to reach the figure that is relevant now. And it should also be noted that the Muslim population that arrived in France for almost seven decades had an almost homogeneous composition, and what is very important in this matter is their common cultural and semantic basis. However Sweden accepted approximately the same number of people in just 15 years. What is also important, a little less than half of the entire Muslim population currently living in the country - came in the last 3 years [since 2015], and they all represent completely different micro and macro worlds of the Islamic world from Western Sahara to Mindanao, and from the Volga region of Russia to Sri Lanka (Ceylon).

The difference in culture and way of life sometimes leads to much more serious contradictions. The difference in *adat* - the traditional laws [pre-Islamic law] that already brings a different "background" of problems, and sometimes these problems have such an unsolvable nature that each of the Muslim communities is forced to segregate from the dominant or trying to dominate the community or class that creates direct or indirect conflicts. As an example, one can mention that [the case of Sweden] it is undesirable for Somalis to appear in Turkish prayer houses, and those who come from the North Caucasus sometimes even live quite an isolated religious life, hidden from the eyes of strangers, which per se contributes neither to their integration, nor to their adaptation in the host societies. [10]

At the same time, the most open and integrated local Muslim religious communities, such as Tatars, Bosnians, some Turks, actually do not even represent 5% of the entire Muslim community in the region in the Nordic countries. For example, from 1917 to 1998, i.e. almost 80 years – the Tatars and Turkic-speaking ethnic groups constituted the absolute majority of the Muslim community of Finland. Even now this fact creates the long-term problems faced by these communities in the states of the Northern Europe, and soon this problem can become common for the whole nation. If at present the so-called "old Muslims" or "old Muslim communities" is an example of the so-called "Europeanized Muslims" who currently occupy their high place of honor in the Muslim spiritual hierarchy of the Northern European societies (in fact, the place of a mediator between the ummah and the state), possibly in 5-7 years (by 2025-2027), the longest (10-15 years till 2035-2040), they will have to give their place to nationals of Muslim communities from Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, Somalia and Pakistan. To those more significant in their number, maybe even, more weighty from the point of view of Islamic knowledge, but definitely less integrated into European society. There is little likelihood – we should underline that it is quite little – that they [the "old communities"] will be able to save their seats due to the compromise of their figures multiplied by the high level of their personal and individual integration, however, over time, the dynamics of the Muslim community growth in each of the Nordic countries certainly will not develop in their favor. And this process will be irreversible, which isn't even going to be a problem for these communities specifically and their representatives, yet another challenge for the governments of the Scandinavian states.

Norway and Sweden by 2020 will cease to be considered fully Christian countries, since the share of the practicing Christian population in them will fall below the level of 50% of the total population. Christianity in this respect becomes a ritual-ceremonial, in general and cumulative understanding - the traditional ritual part of the life of the Northern European society, nothing more. If the demographic dynamics of replacement is preserved (and in this example – particularly, replacement), the ethnic composition of the Nordic countries, to the extent that we have observed in the last 5 years, then by 2025 and after 2027 the Christian values will also be compromised in favor of more progressive ones, which correspond to the new reality and fit into a new reality for the Nordic community, but it is unlikely to be the traditional paradigm of thinking for its Muslim part. So far this has been only manifested in a few incidents like a scandal with a Christmas tree in Danish Kokkedal [11], but this is only "for now" and the key word here is "only". One way or another, in not so distant future, this will affect all spheres of life of the North European society. And we cannot but mention that the states of Northern Europe have no understanding of these events.

As on January 1, 2017, every 10th inhabitant of Northern Europe is a Muslim. In Sweden only there is a Muslim population which equals the population of five Iceland territories. If the same trend continues (without repeating the events of 2015), then by 2025-2027, it will be every 5th, and by 2035-2040. each 4th (see Table 4).

Table 1. The number of Christians in the Nordic countries in 2006 and as of January 1, 2017 (in%) *

Country	Number of Christians as of January 1, 2017			Number of Christians in 2006
	Lutherans	Catholics	Other Christian Believers	
Kingdom of Denmark	75,9% [12]	1,0%	-	82,6%
Republic of Finland	71% [13]	0,2%	2,5%	84,2%
Republic of Iceland	69,8% [14]	2,5%	11,3%	76%
Kingdom of Norway	71,5/53% [15]	1,6%	2,7%	82,7%
Kingdom of Sweden	41,0% [16]	2,0%	9,0-10,0%	84%

(Compiled by the authors after processing statistical evaluation materials)

Table 2. The number of Muslims in the Nordic countries in 1975, 1995, 2006, as of January 1, 2016 (in%)

Country	Number of Muslims in the Nordic countries			
	1975	1995	2006	2016
Kingdom of Denmark	0,6%	2,1%	4,2%	5%/9,4-11,2% *
Republic of Finland	0,001%	0,2%	1%	3,5-4,7%
Republic of Iceland	-	-	0,01%	0,33-0,67%
Kingdom of Norway	0,001%	1,3-1,5%	3%	5,7-7,3% / 25,2% **
Kingdom of Sweden	0,25%	2,3%	5%	10,7-14,5%

(Compiled by the authors after processing statistical evaluation materials)

** The Danish authorities do not register the religious affiliation of people other than members of the National Church (the Church of the Danish People), while local researchers take into account only members of registered communities.*

*** 25.2% of all people practicing in Norway. [17]*

(Compiled by the authors after processing materials of national statistical evaluation bureaus)

Table 3. Religions in the Nordic countries as of November 1, 2016 (in%) according to official statistics

Country	Christianity			Islam	Buddhism	Judaism	Atheists or agnostics
	Lutherans	Catholics	Other Christian Believers				
Kingdom of Denmark	76,9	1	-	4,8 - 5	-	-	13,0
Republic of Finland	72,9	0,2	2,5	3,5-4,7	-	-	24,3
Republic of Iceland	71,5	3,6	7,3	0,33-0,67	0,3	0,1	5,7
Kingdom of Norway	72,9	2,5-5	2,7	5,7-7,3	0,2	0,01	13,6
Kingdom of Sweden	63,2	2	9,0-10,0	10,7-14,5	1	-	17/46*

(Compiled by the author after processing materials of national statistical evaluation bureaus)

**Phil Zuckerman, Associate Professor of the Department of Sociology, Pittser College, writes that in recent years, several scientific and academic sources have posted the data that the percentage of atheists in Sweden is between 46 and 85 %, although officially, only 17% of respondents identified themselves as "atheists". [18] Something similar, which looks like a trend, with figures that vary in percentage only, can be clearly seen in Iceland and Norway. [19]*

Table 4. The share of Muslims in the Nordic countries from 1975 to 2050, in% of the total population

Country	Number of Muslims in the Nordic countries				
	1975	1995	2006	2016	2050
Kingdom of Denmark	0,6%	2,1%	4,2%	5% /9,4 -11,2%	18 - 25%
Republic of Finland	0,001%	0,2%	1%	3,5 - 4,7%	7 - 9%
Republic of Iceland	-	-	0,01%	0,33 - 0,67%	1 – 1,5%
Kingdom of Norway	0,001%	1,3-1,5%	3%	5,7 - 7,3%	13-15%
Kingdom of Sweden	0,25%	2,3%	5%	10,7 - 14,5%	23 - 27%

(Compiled by the authors after processing materials of national statistical evaluation bureaus)

3. Share and concentration of the Muslim population in Sweden, in dynamics (1997-2030)

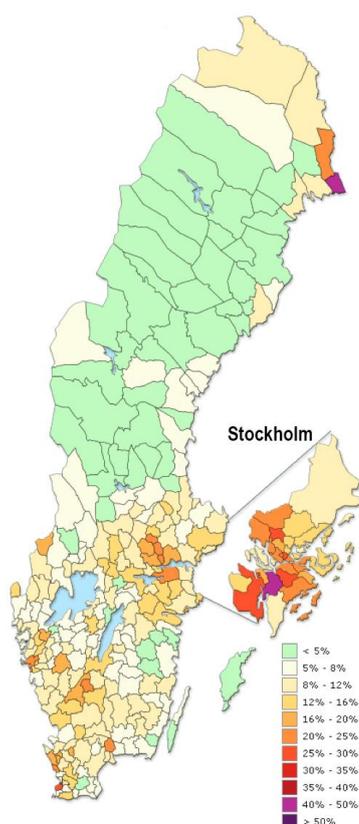


Figure 1. Share and concentration of the Muslim population in Sweden in 1997-2000.

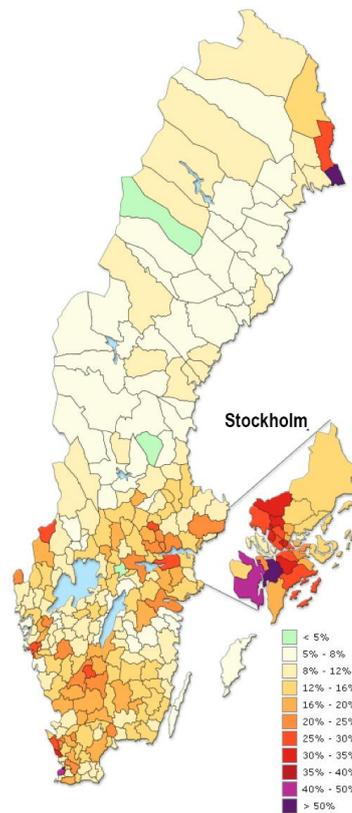


Figure 2. Share and concentration of the Muslim population in Sweden in 2010

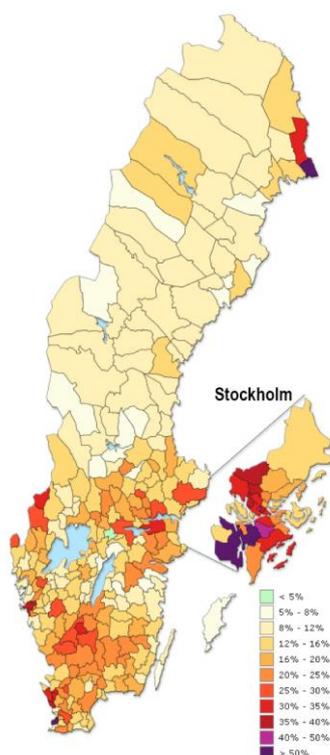


Figure 3. Share and concentration of the Muslim population in Sweden by 2020

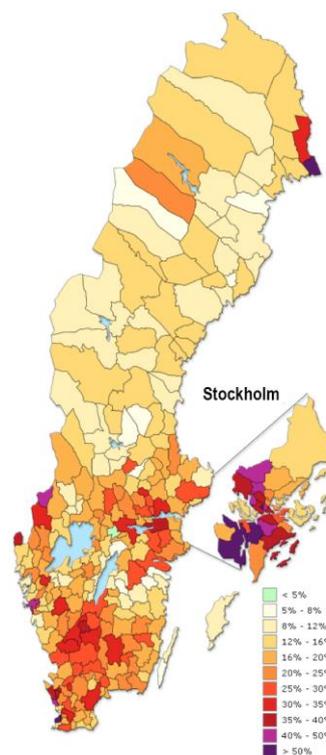


Figure 4. Share and concentration of the Muslim population in Sweden by 2030

4. Conclusion

Major conclusions of this paper:

- , The problem of spontaneous growth of the Muslim population, communities and organizations can be felt in Northern Europe most acutely, problematically and symptomatically — like nowhere else. This is the only region of the world in which Islam and Muslim communities witnessed a significant, serious and confident growth in the XXI century;
- As of January 1, 2017, every 10th resident of the Northern Europe is a Muslim. Only Sweden hosts Muslim population comparable to the population of five Iceland territories. If the same trend is preserved (not repeating the events of 2015), then by 2025-2027 a Muslim will be every 5th, and by 2035-2040. every 4th citizen;
- Looking at Sweden, it is possible to imagine the paradox of the whole situation: in 1975 the Muslim population of the Kingdom was 0.25%; in 2017, according to official data, it is every 10th citizen, according to unofficial data, the Muslim population of Sweden balances between 14,5 and 17,5%. 75% of all Muslims in Sweden live in two agglomerations, of which: 53-55% in the metropolis of Stockholm and Uppsala, 20-25% in the one that forms the capital of Denmark - Copenhagen and the Swedish city of Malmö, connected by the Öresund Bridge in the absence of the actual border between the states. This circumstance creates a single region in which, according to estimates, from 280,000 to 350,000 Muslims live. Islamic diffusion and ghettonization of the territory - objectively characteristic of northern territories due to their geographic, climatic, and sometimes geomorphological features — only makes the emerging situation worse;

- The conflict potential of the whole so-called "Islamic world" and its rapid internal transformation guarantee a stably high level of migration to Northern Europe with the prospect of these flows' increase;
- Deconstruction and reformatting of the so-called "Islamic world" from the outside, including the "soft power", is likely to turn into a complete catastrophe for it in the paradigm of current realities with all the ensuing consequences, both for the whole world and the Nordic region in particular;
- In most countries of Western and Northern Europe, local Muslim "parallel societies" already exist or are being formed. Their influence on the state level will increase with the time while maintaining the present dynamics.

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