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## Searching for balance: Swedish ethnic policy model today<sup>1</sup>



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**Abstract.** The article is devoted to ethnic policy models in Sweden regarding indigenous population, national minorities and migrants. It seems most important to analyze the ethnic policy models (acculturation, assimilation, segregation and integration policy) and circumstances which caused changes in state policy, as well as the efficiency in conditions of the modern crisis situation.

**Keywords:** *ethnic policy models, indigenous people, migration, Sweden, integration, nationalism*

In the second half of the XX century Sweden managed to survive in the conditions of the intensive migration with the absence of any manifestations of xenophobia. The success was in balanced migration policy and integrated activities aimed at increasing of the level of tolerance of the Swedish society. At the same time, the state authorities paid a lot of attention to the indigenous population of the country, its cultural and political autonomy.

Migration crisis in Europe in 2015 reminded that there are some problems in Sweden. Growth in number of migrants in the country is stable and continues. Sweden remains the second country after Germany in the percentage of migrants to the local population. In recent decades, the rate of unemployment among migrants has remains high [1, Bevelander P., Irastorza N.], and many of them are involved in criminal activities.

There is inequality in wages of the Swedes and immigrants - and not in favor of the latter. Part of the Swedish society takes migrants as threats to social stability. The financial crisis, the growing skepticism about the future of the European integration, as well as smoothed Swedish nationalist rhetoric have led to the fact that the support of the right-wing is increasing [2, Tarxien A.S., pp. 99-101]. It can be confirmed by the popularity of the party "Sweden Democrats", which in result of the elections in 2014 received a record-breaking number of votes. For 4 years the party has doubled the number of its supporters (Table. 1).

Table 1

*The results of parliamentary elections  
for the party "Sweden Democrats" (2002-2014) [2, p. 94]*

Year of elections	≈ % votes	Number of seats in parliament
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2002	1,4%	0
2006	2,9%	0
2010	5,7%	20
2014	12,9%	49

This article considers the Swedish models of the ethnic policy of Sweden on indigenous people, ethnic minorities and migrants. The most important is to analyze the ethno-political models, the circumstances caused changes of the public policy, as well as their effectiveness in modern conditions.

### *Ethno-political models of Sweden: the theoretical aspects*

In recent years, a wide range of scientific works has been appeared which are devoted to ethno-national policy<sup>2</sup> of Sweden; migrants and their integration in the Swedish society; indigenous cultures, its revitalization, preservation and development; political representation and guarantees of rights of ethnic minorities, indigenous people and migrants; education, medicine, gender equality and discrimination; suicidal behavior and so forth.

The basic theoretical works in sphere of ethno-national policy are research of the Norwegian anthropologist F. Bart [3]; decolonization methodology of L.T. Smith [4]; works of multiculturalism theoretician W. Kumlyki [5]; research of nationalism by B. Andersen [6], and others. The classic works on the history of the Swedish state policy of the indigenous population are works of R. Quist [7], P. Lantto [8] and K. Green [9], historical works of I. Andersen [10], and others. Theoretical approaches to the study of the state policy towards national minorities are represented in the works of L. Elenius [11], who deals with comparative studies of the assimilation policy of the Finnish population in Sweden and Norway. The works of the researcher V. Vikström are interesting and related to multiculturalism in post-war Sweden, in which the author considers this policy in Sweden as part of the neo-liberal movement in Europe [12]. In recent years, a few general works have been published, written in comparative perspective, and their authors are trying to prove or disprove the thesis of "the end of multiculturalism" in European countries, including Sweden [13]. A separate topic of social research has become bias towards the Arab population of the country [14, Angstrom J., Rooth D.-O.], Islamophobia and racism, including among young people [15, Bevelander P., Otterbeck J.]. At the center of such research there are complex socio-scientific, sociological and psychological approaches that can detect not only the mood of the population in certain regions of Sweden, their background and reasons, but also to connect them with the activities of nationalist social movements and political parties.

<sup>2</sup> Ethno-national policy (ENP) — the policy focused on the normalization of relations between the ethnocultural communities, institutionalization of ethnicity.

Considerable amount of research is devoted to the study of the behavior of migrants in the labor market, as well as issues of discrimination and social inequality. Most researchers agree that the problems of migrant workers in the labor market are caused not only by objective social and economic reasons, but also by the spread of negative attitudes towards migrants, especially from Asia, Africa and the Middle East [16, Emilsson H.]. The current situation threatens the stability of society and indicates the systemic problems of the Swedish state and its ethno-national policies and neo-liberalism as a whole [17, Schierup C.-U., Ålund A.]. Migration issues do not go away from first pages of the Swedish national and regional newspapers, are always discussed in scientific publications and on television as well as the concepts of tolerance, equality and solidarity, which are important for the Swedish society.

These mentioned works have become the theoretical basis of this article in all aspects relating to the direct content of the Swedish ethno-national policy. If we talk about the models of ethno-national Swedish policy, then there 4 models in focus: acculturation, assimilation, segregation and integration model (multiculturalism).

*Acculturation* (from the Latin word “acculturare” — “education, development”) is a term used by the German ethnographer V. Krikenberg [18, Kostenko V.V.] at the beginning of the XX century, originally connected with migration and was a result of cultural diffusion.<sup>3</sup> It is just in this interpretation acculturation appears in the works of R. Thurnwald [19, Thurnwald R.] and US anthropologists of the middle of the XX century. Often in terms of acculturation the first contacts between traditional communities and national states are considered.

*Assimilation* (from the Latin “assimilation” — “assimilation, fusion, learning”). In the XX century the representatives of the Chicago school of sociology (R. Park, E. Burgess and others), studying migrants, laid the foundations for the theoretical development of assimilation mechanism: familiarity with the host culture, rebellion against it, attempt to further accommodation and assimilation, when the replacement of the elements of their own culture occurs but presented in culture of the majority. In 1980s the segmental theory of assimilation appeared, which explained the differentiated social situation of migrants and their varying degrees of social success. Theorists of this trend say that assimilation goes only partially, affecting some segments of human life, only those that are necessary for the existence and success. And even this process is very individual and selective. Modern assimilation policy in the Western countries is not anything violent as it was,

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<sup>3</sup> Acculturation — the process of mutual influence, rapprochement of cultures and its results, the perception by one nation the culture of another people totally or partially. The concept of acculturation began to be used in the American cultural anthropology at the end of the XIX century in connection with investigations of the processes of cultural changes of Indian tribes as a result of their contact with the culture of white Americans. See: Entsiklopediia kul'turologii. URL: [http://dic.academic.ru/dic.nsf/enc\\_culture/197/АККУЛЬТУРАЦИЯ](http://dic.academic.ru/dic.nsf/enc_culture/197/АККУЛЬТУРАЦИЯ) (Accessed: 11 October 2016).

during the creation of the national states a few centuries ago. However, the elements of the soft coercion are present and are part of integration policy<sup>4</sup>.

*Segregation* (late Latin “segregation” — “separation”) is a forcible separation of one nation, ethnic group from another, often combined with discrimination of the same group. With regard to Sweden, at different times segregation model was used in case with Sami reindeer herders, gypsies and Arab migrants. It is worth noting the fact that the segregation models of the ethnic policy are not always the initiative of the ethnic majority. In modern world it is increasingly encountered cases when ethnic groups (mostly migrants with a high degree of ethnic and religious differences) limit the interaction with the ethnic majority or other migrant groups.

*Multiculturalism* (Latin “multi” — “a lot”) is one of integration models, discussions about which are carried out from the time of appearance. The idea of multiculturalism comes down to cultural diversity, equality and tolerance; society recognizes the existence of other ethnic groups and cultures, no discrimination is allowed in relation to these groups, they have the opportunity to be involved in social life of the country, have broad political rights and equal opportunities to preserve their traditions and culture, and so forth. [5, Kymlicka W.]. Today it is believed that multiculturalism has not justified itself<sup>5</sup>. The reason for this is increasing number of migrants in Europe and social problems associated with it, as well as growth of inter-ethnic tension, poured out into series of public clashes and riots.

### ***Ethnic policy in Sweden: indigenous peoples, ethnic minorities and migrants***

The historical and political context of ethnic politics in Sweden is traditionally considered in three stages [21, Kvist R., p. 203]: 1548-1846; 1846-1971 and after 1971. These periods are primarily connected with the history of relations of the Swedish population and the Sami. The first stage (1548-1846): in the north, in the Sami lands the Swedish and Finnish settlers began to emerge, the Swedish legislation and taxation system started to spread. The initiator of the hard fiscal control over the northern territories became King Gustav I Vasa, who thus tried to consolidate and strengthen the domestic sovereignty of the state.

Ethnically most part of this period is characterized by active processes of acculturation, in which not only the Swedes were included, the indigenous people of the north and the inhabitants

<sup>4</sup> V shirokom smysle pod assimiliatsiei ponimaetsia protsess utraty iayka, kul'tury, izmeneniia tsnostnykh orientatsii, povedeniia odnoi etnicheskoi gruppy i usvoenie kul'tury drugoi etnicheskoi gruppy, sozдание novoi obshchnosti. Assimiliatsiia mozhnet prokhorit' estestvennym i nasil'stvennym putem.: Migratsiia: slovar' osnovnykh terminov. URL: <http://migration.academic.ru/7/Assimiliatsiia> (Accessed: 11 October 2016).

<sup>5</sup> See: Sovet Evropy: mul'tikul'turalizm opasen dlia ES. URL: <http://www.telegraf.lv/news/sovet-evropy-mulytikulyturalizm-opasen-dlya-es> (Accessed: 09 August 2016); Sailer S. Fragmented Future: Multiculturalism doesn't make vibrant communities but defensive ones // American Conservative, Jan. 15, 2007. URL: <http://www.theamericanconservative.com/articles/fragmented-future/> (Accessed: 09 August 2016).; see also: [20, West E.].

of border areas, but also migrant groups coming to the territory of the Swedish state. Acculturation as one of the models of national policy, implies the existence of contacts between the various groups, accompanied by the diffusion of cultural elements. Cultures are converged, enriched, changed, common structural elements appear, reflected in everyday life, language, religion and so forth. In addition to the cultural changes, psychological adaptation to living in close interaction with other cultures happens.

In the XVII century in the north of Sweden the mining industry appeared. Churches, schools, the Swedish administration appeared in the Saami areas, the Sami were recruited into the army, and were taken to the transportation of the mined metal. Since that time a gradual abandonment from the model of acculturation and transition to a policy of assimilation started, together with the active colonization of the northern regions. As a result, the Sami found themselves at their own lands side by side with Swedish and Finnish farmers, and traditional beliefs of the Sami gave way to Christianity almost in all the northern lands of Sweden.

In XVI-XIX centuries Sweden conducted the active foreign policy. Migrants already lived at its territory. In the past several Swedish cities were part of the trade routes of the Hanseatic League (XII-XVI centuries). Since that a lot of German lived in Stockholm, and Finnish immigrants settled in the north. In addition, being in Kalmar union (1397-1523), united Sweden, Norway and Denmark into a single state with the dominion of the latter, led to the fact that Norwegians and Danes came to Sweden, who culturally and linguistically were not very different from the local population. During that period, the same laws existed at the entire territory of Sweden which did not take into account any ethnic differences. Exceptions were the acts regulating the Jews and Gypsies stay in the country. Ethnic Policy in Sweden, as in most European countries, started to be formed in the middle of the XIX century. The coexistence of cultures at the previous stage gradually led to the fact that acculturation model was replaced by assimilation and the dominance of the Swedish culture. At the second stage (1846-1971) Sweden consistently pursued a policy of assimilation of the indigenous population of the north of the country, as well as to certain groups of migrants.

Sweden assimilation policy was primarily stipulated by rapid growth of the mining industry, as well as the development of woodworking, actively began in the 1870s. The North of Sweden became attractive to the large number of immigrants, not only for the Swedes, but also for residents of neighboring states, who came there to find the job. Indigenous Sami people ceased to be a numerical majority in the north. In the second half of the XIX century the Swedish was the official language at schools. The Sami language was the language of interpersonal communication,

used at home or at the time of traditional crafts. The similar situation was with the languages of other ethnic groups.

At the end of the XIX century in Sweden there was the economic interpretation of the concept of ethnicity regarding the Sami: whoever owned the reindeer, they led a nomadic life, engaged in fishing and hunting — was considered the Sami; someone who led a sedentary life and was engaged in agriculture — was not considered the Sami, despite ethnicity [21, Kvist R., p. 208]. Many Swedish Sami did not own the deer and were sedentary, and thus lost its official ethnic status of the indigenous people. In political terms, their existence was ignored, they were considered by the Swedes.

The Sami, leading nomadic way of life, from the state point of view, deserved protection. However, the protection of their traditional way of life meant their segregation, i.e, separation from other ethnic groups living in the country. In Sweden special legislation acts were implemented about the use of pastures (1886 and 1898) according to which the Sami lost and individual right to own the pastures, which now has been transferred to the Sami settlements. After the acts of 1928 and 1971 came into effect, the Sami lost the opportunity to choose for themselves reindeer activity, hunting or fishing — now it was a privilege given by the state [22, Torp E.]. After executing of the first acts about the reindeer breeding and use of pastures, new organs of power and control appeared in the lands of the Sami, which not only enforced the legislative execution but fulfilled the social functions that almost completely deprived the Sami of their traditional way of life.

The state not only controlled the lands, but also interfered with social relationships of the Sami population through health care system, education and social assistance, which replaced similar structures of the Sami society and made it more "civilized". As a result, the Sami culture lost its traditional practices, knowledge, lifestyle, gradually becoming more and more "Swedish".

At the beginning of the XX century the government carried out the forced resettlement of the Sami to more southern areas. In 1908 Olof Bergquist, the head of the Royal Commission of the Sami schools, proposed the creation of a separate system of education for the Sami. In 1913, a law on the Sami schools came out and mobile "school-plague" for children of the Sami reindeer-herders appeared. The remaining Sami did not fall under the law and trained at ordinary Swedish schools. Later they were allowed to visit the Sami schools, but they were not popular with the majority of the Sami population.

Assimilation policy in Sweden had mainly economic motives. From the economic point of view, the ethnicity to the Sami was justified. Land-use initiatives, school education, health and

social welfare, at first glance, carried blessing. However, in practice, intervention in existing social relations of the Sami community just ruined it, substituting similar structures, formed by the Sami for centuries. As a result, many religious practices were forgotten, as well as traditional knowledge about use of nature, crafts, and the number of the Sami language speakers was sharply reduced.

Hard assimilation policy was carried out in respect of the Finnish population of the north of the country, as well as tornedals - Finnish people living in the valley of the river Torneelven and speaking special dialect of Finnish Meänkieli. The objective of the Swedish government was to make the Finnish residents as “real Swedes”, strictly forbidding them to use their native language [23, Pietikäinen S., Huss L., Laihiala-Kankainen S., Aikio-Puoskari U., Lane P.].

Besides the Sami and the Finnish population of the north, the policy of assimilation and segregation was extended to migrant groups. One of the first migrants in Sweden were Jews, who began to appear in the country still in the VII-XI centuries. The first information about Jewish communities belongs to the XVII century. Assimilation policy towards the Jews had a pronounced religious orientation and was supported by the Christian church. The attitude of the society and the ruling elite to Jews was also ambiguous until the mid-1940s. For a long time, public opinion was influenced by the church, which vigorously opposed the spread of Judaism. Many kings and queens of Sweden treated the existence of the Jewish communities as opportunities for economic growth of the state, but in the country for centuries anti-Jewish laws acted, forbidding Jews to settle in Sweden without a change of religion. The Swedish legislation allowed Jews to settle in strictly defined areas, prohibiting them to hold public office [24, M. Wenger]. Changing of public attitudes, followed by the change of the political model came in the mid-1940s, when Sweden took a lot of Jews from occupied Norway, Denmark, Hungary and other states. The condemnation of anti-semitism, the triumph of human rights, as well as the change in the model of the Swedish ethnic policy in the postwar period led that today Sweden is a country where there is no anti-semitism, and the Swedish Jews have made a significant contribution to its cultural development.

One of the most disenfranchised and oppressed ethnic groups in Sweden was group of gypsies or Caal, who appeared in the XVI century. In the XVII century they were expelled from the territory of the state. Those who refused to leave the country, were killed without trial. Gypsies were forbidden to migrate to Sweden, and those who, in spite of the risks, entered the country, were forced to assimilate and to hide their ethnic origin. Until the middle of the XX century they almost did not live in Sweden, but later began to move here from Finland [25, Thurfjell D.].

With the end of World War II, the Swedish ethno-cultural landscape began to change rapidly, the fact is that economic development required to increase the number of labor force, and

this pushed the external labor migration to Sweden. The basic model of the behavior of the Swedish government towards migrants remained the policy of assimilation. In 1967 the immigration rules were introduced according to which all foreign nationals, except citizens of the Nordic countries were required to obtain a residence and job permit before entering the country. In the next periods, the Swedish authorities used measures to regulate and limit migration, but number of migrants continued to increase. Since the mid-1960s. the active implementation of programs to study Swedish language began, as well as social adaptation of immigrants, special newspapers and magazines for migrants were issued, etc.

*At the third stage* (after 1971) Sweden changed its ethnic policy towards indigenous peoples and migrants, consistently embodying the ideals of multiculturalism: in Constitution and the migration policy, education, media and broadcasting, as well as at home and the army. Legislative commitment to multiculturalism can be traced primarily in the Swedish Constitution. Thus, Ch. 1. item 1 reads: "Public institutions must ensure the right of everyone to equality and participation.

Public institutions must fight against discrimination based on gender, race, national or ethnic origin, membership of a linguistic or religious group, the presence of certain restricted functional possibilities, sexual orientation, age or other circumstances of a personal nature. Equal opportunities must be given to ethnic, linguistic and religious minorities to preserve and develop their culture and social life"<sup>6</sup>.

In 1975, legislation acts on migration policy and policy towards national minorities were implemented on the basis of legal equality, freedom of choice and cooperation. The primary purpose of the immigration policy was the integration of immigrants in Swedish society proclaimed [26, Callas K., K. Kaldur, p. 9-15]. In 1976, all immigrants who lived in Sweden for three years, received the right to vote and to stand as a candidate in elections to local authorities. In 1997, Sweden officially approved the policy of integration by adopting a package of relevant bills, and after 10 years, Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality appeared, which was responsible for the implementation of multiculturalism policy.

In sphere of education, multiculturalism is manifested in the internationalization of the education. The degree of internationalization can be different depending on the community or the municipality, as well as on their national composition. The meaning of school policy is to enable

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<sup>6</sup> The Constitution of Sweden. The Fundamental Laws and the Riksdag Act. 2016. URL: <http://www.riksdagen.se/en/SysSiteAssets/07.-dokument--lagar/the-constitution-of-sweden-160628.pdf/> (Accessed: 11 July 2016); The Constitution of Sweden. Chapter 1. Basic principles of the form of the government. 2016. URL: <http://www.riksdagen.se/en/SysSiteAssets/07.-dokument--lagar/the-instrument-of-government-2015.pdf/> (Accessed: 11 July 2016)

representatives of different ethnic groups to receive education, which is in harmony with their culture, to get to know the Swedish culture, as well as to comply with international standards in the field of modern school education. For this purpose, there are classes for those who speak not well or does not speak Swedish. For some people there is the possibility to study in their native language while learning the Swedish language. Recently, much attention is paid to development of minority languages. On the territory of Sweden there are 5 of them: the Sami, Jews, Gypsies, Swedish Finns, tornedals. In Sweden, there are weekend schools in communities and cultural centers, where it is possible to teach native language, to get acquainted with the culture and so forth. At the same time schools introduce children not only with the Swedish culture, but also with culture of other countries. School education is one of the ways of upbringing of the ethnic patience, tolerance and understanding of other cultures.

The situation is similar in the Swedish media and broadcasting. According to the Broadcasting Act (1996): "the individual or organization engaged in broadcasting and having a state license, must ensure that its activities reflect the fundamental concepts of a democratic society"<sup>7</sup>. The same law requires to reflect the multicultural nature of ethno-cultural landscape of modern Sweden, as well as to inform about the life, achievements and difficulties of different ethnic groups and cultures in the country.

The Swedish government allocates funds to support a variety of ethno-national-organizations, ranging from organizations of indigenous people and minorities to cultural centers of migrants. In Sweden, it is not banned the wearing of traditional clothing that mostly relates to immigrants from Islamic countries, and this rule also applies to wearing of traditional headgear in the army.

With the course of time, the Swedish ethno-national policy evolved from acculturation to multiculturalism. The existence of acculturation, as a political model was stipulated by economic motives. This model is most characteristic for the relations between the Sami and the Swedes, as well as for some largest groups of migrants of the medieval period and modern time. The transition to the model of assimilation is accompanied by a process of national construction and affected the indigenous peoples, ethnic minorities and migrants. Political motives and changes in international relations in the middle of the XX century led to a revision of the policy of assimilation and transition to the integration model, to multiculturalism. In practice, this does not mean the disappearance of assimilation. Assimilation has become softer and less visible: is quite difficult to

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<sup>7</sup> The freedom of the press act. URL: <http://www.riksdagen.se/en/SysSiteAssets/07.-dokument--lagar/the-freedom-of-the-press-act-2015.pdf> (Accessed: 10 June 2016)

be a part of the Swedish society, to socialize, to find a job, friends and be a part of society without mastering of the Swedish cultural code and language skills. Thus, it is clear that the circumstances force to assimilate, and the state provides only the possibilities by ways of the integration programs for migrants, for example.

At the same time, no one and nothing prohibits individuals to practice their own culture. The inability or unwillingness to absorb the part of the Swedish culture necessary for integration creates a situation of alienation of the individual or the whole group. Segregation model, which is characteristic for the earlier periods of the history of Sweden, now is not so much initiated by the host community as by migrants themselves. This is related mainly for those coming from Asia, Africa and the Middle East, living aloof from the world in Sweden, trying to recreate the culture and social relations of their country.

### ***Unsolved problems of the Swedish multiculturalism***

In spite of wide initiatives in the policy of multiculturalism, in Sweden there are unsolved issues relating to indigenous people, ethnic minorities and migrants, who are the source of social tension and ethnic conflict.

**National minorities.** On the territory of Sweden, as mentioned above, five national minorities live: the Sami, Jews, Gypsies, the Swedish Finns and tornedals. All of them for a long time are part of the Swedish state and have experienced the policy of assimilation, and in multiculturalism conditions are having a period of cultural revitalization. On the territory of Sweden about 20 thousand the Sami live<sup>8</sup>, Swedish government officially classifies them as one of five national minorities registered in the country. The Sami people in Sweden do not have so many opportunities to defend their own rights. Constitution and the existing legislation guarantee them cultural autonomy, but the political influence of the Sami is not as high as in neighboring Norway. They are poorly represented in the Swedish parties and, therefore, very small number of people is employed in the national politics to defend the interests of the Sami. Sami organizations apply directly to the Government on various issues, often with no support within the Sami community and, as a result, their actions do not have a proper result. It is assumed that the Sami Parliament (Sametingslag) should defend the interests of the Sami population, but it exists mainly as the administrative body, rather than as a real political force of the national scale. Thus, the Swedish state encourages the development of the Sami culture and language, and the Sami self-government in the form of the Sami Parliament and the local power of the Sami authorities and

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<sup>8</sup> The Sami — an indigenous people in Sweden // Sami Parliament URL: <http://www.samer.se/2137> (Accessed: 10 May 2016).

communities. On the other hand, the Swedish government has not ratified ILO Convention № 169 (1989), has not supported the UN Declaration on Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007) and has refused to officially recognize the Sami indigenous people, retaining solution of all political and economic issues and limiting the scope of Sami self-government social and cultural aspects.

Despite the existence of the Sami Parliament (Sametingslag) and broad opportunities for the development of culture, the Sami are still not able to be officially called the indigenous people of Sweden. Collective rights of the Sami for the traditional territories often contrary to the economic interests of the Swedish state. In addition, in Sweden there are many Sami organizations, political parties, but they can not agree among themselves on the collective right to lands.

Still, the positive changes take place. In 2009, the Sami village Girjas supported by the Swedish Sami Union put the law on the state, trying to regain the lost in 1992 rights. In February 2016 this village, where 26 deer farms and 94 registered reindeer herders, achieved recognition of their rights to the sole hunting and fishing at the surrounding area<sup>9</sup>. The court decided in favor of the Sami and thus created a precedent that could be used by the other Sami settlements. Nevertheless, the future of the Saami rights to land is still remains unclear.

The Sami, with the support of the international movement of indigenous peoples, as well as international organizations will continue to try to regain the rights to traditional territories under the current Swedish legislation. In addition, the Sami, undoubtedly, will protest against the expansion of the mining industry in the north of Sweden, which is contrary to the economic interests of the state.

Political participation of other four national minorities in Sweden (except the Sami) is limited by the presence of their representatives in Swedish political parties, public organizations and the existence of measures for the protection and development of minority languages. Thus, multiculturalism for four of five national minorities is approximately the same as for migrants. The only difference is that they are legally recognized as national minorities, their national languages have special protected status, and more attention is paid to their cultural development.

All of the above is true for the Swedish Jews, Finns and tornedals, but the situation with the Swedish Gipsies is not quite definitive. The Gipsy community live in Sweden rather detached, solving all their problems within the community. A special commission was set up in 2006, which

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<sup>9</sup> Sweden's indigenous Sami people win rights battle against state // Guardian. 03.02.2016 r. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/feb/03/sweden-indigenous-sami-people-win-rights-battle-against-state> (Accessed: 12 July 2016); Saamy protiv Shvetsii // Inosmi. 13.05.2016. URL: <http://inosmi.ru/world/20150513/228016428.html> (Accessed: 08 May 2016)

deals with the problems of Gipsies in Sweden, and helps to establish a dialogue with the society and the state<sup>10</sup>.

Recently, besides Gipsies (Kaal), the Gipsies from Romania began to appear. In 2014, Sweden tried to negotiate with Romania, and call on the latter to take greater responsibility for their Gipsy population, thus trying to draw attention to the plight of these people who are forced to seek a better life in the EU<sup>11</sup>. The negotiations have not achieved any positive result. Gipsy question remains one of the most difficult moments of ethnic relations in Sweden due to the fact that many of the newly arrived Roma are not integrated into Swedish society and become a source of social tension.

**Migrants.** In XX-XXI centuries Sweden experienced four waves of migration. The first of them was during pre-war and post-war periods, when the Jews arrived in the country in search of refuge. Many of them were denied in asylum because of the strong anti-Semitism that swept Sweden during the Second World War. Refusal in asylum was caused by the desire of the Swedish government to minimize the threat of Nazi invasion. However, already by the end of the war the situation was changed, and Sweden began to take Jews from neighboring states, and anti-Semitism started to diminish. After the war in the country there were refugees from the Baltic states, as well as survivors from German concentration camps. At this stage, the migration policy was reduced to the active reception of the refugees, who had to settle in the country. The economy of post-war Sweden required workforce, so there were no strong social shocks related to migration at that time.

The second wave of migration (1949-1971) is associated with the rapid economic growth and the need for labor. Migrants from Finland and other European countries came into the country. They were attracted by the legal equality between the Swedish and foreign workers. Thus, migration policy came down to organized search of skilled labor for the needs of the Swedish economy, the provision of equal social guarantees for migrants and nationals. Officially, the policy of recruiting migrant workers was completed in 1972. In that period migrants from northern countries were dominated. It was considered that they did not require any adaptation program and that they would be able to integrate into Swedish society on their own.

The third wave of migration to Sweden (1972-1989) was related to the increasing humanitarian migration in the world in connection with the escalation of regional conflicts at

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<sup>10</sup> Aleksandrova M. Tsygane v Shvetsii: obrazets dlia vsei Evropy? // Russkaia sluzhba BBC. 09.07.2009 URL: [http://www.bbc.com/russian/international/2009/07/090707\\_roma\\_sweden.shtml](http://www.bbc.com/russian/international/2009/07/090707_roma_sweden.shtml) (Accessed: 26 July 2016)

<sup>11</sup> Makridova I. Strategia Shvetsii v otnoshenii tsygan // Inosmi. 10.04.2014. URL: <http://inosmi.ru/world/20140410/219437499.html> (Accessed: 26 July 2016).

African continent and in the Middle East. During that period, Sweden became a truly multi-ethnic and multi-confessional country, which faced the challenge of integrating of the large numbers of new citizens. The first steps to the integration policy of Sweden were made in the mid-1970s. In 1989 Sweden again resorted to regulate migration flows and accepted refugees only within the framework of Geneva Convention of 1951.

The fourth wave of migration (1990 — up to now): since 1997 in Sweden officially there is a policy of integration, and the government declares about committal to multiculturalism. In the field of migration regulation continues. Migration legislation underwent reform in 2000. Regulation of migration flows, as well as the emergence of adaptation programs, social support for migrants allowed to maintain social and economic stability in the country. Multiculturalism in Sweden denotes also more and equal opportunities for migrants to maintain their culture, religion and language. With the course of time, the number of migrants has continued to increase.

Statistical data for the last 5 years show that the number of refugees has increased for certain categories in 3-5 times. Many people come to the country for family reunification program. Significant amount of diasporas of migrants from Asian, Middle Eastern and African countries have appeared, whose level of integration into Swedish society is below due to cultural and religious differences.

Table 2

*Migrants in Sweden due to migration (2010-2015)*

Category of migrants	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Students (not EU)	8 197	2 535	2 003	2 040	2 764	2 862
Working migration (not EU)	4 826	6 355	6 048	5 154	5 357	6 263
Working migration ( EU)	3 502	4 590	4 859	4 609	1 672	447
Self-employed population (EU)	158	196	194	154	56	24
Relatives of EU citizens	3 029	4 031	3 581	3 040	1 167	701
Students (EU)	748	823	1 081	1 491	459	210
Non-EU citizens with residence permit in another EU country	234	383	471	818	1 009	1 257
Wealthy citizens of the EU	635	625	494	502	183	84
Working migration, family members of EU citizens	3 018	4 285	5 658	5 376	5 666	6 168
Family members of non-EU citizens	17 843	16 381	18 803	15 655	15 411	13 132
Relatives of the refugees	3 486	2 681	4 242	11 728	11 532	16 118
Adopted children, non-EU citizens	231	177	171	147	135	79
Refugees, accepted in the framework of international conventions	3 458	3 219	4 979	8 082	11 631	14 050

Category of migrants	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Asylum seekers	7 377	6 800	7 394	14 741	18 828	17 252
Individuals with special circumstances	1 012	1 513	1 567	1 750	1 767	2 209
Temporary residence permit for non-EU citizens	3	10	6	1	9	1
Other permits to stay for refugees, non-EU citizens	1	1	7	7	8	9
Other permits to stay, non-EU citizens	980	2 098	821	768	661	678
Residence permit	0	10	15	8	5	11
Unknown	11 830	10 850	12 492	11 932	20 454	24 571

The source: Statistics Sweden. URL: <http://www.statistikdatabasen.scb.se> (Accessed: 12 July 2016)

There are special public institutions involved in monitoring of the integration problems; they deal with popularization of the idea of bilateral involvement (immigrants and host community); opposition of the ethnic discrimination, racism and xenophobia; assistance for new migrants; administrative support of municipalities. The Swedish government determines the equality of rights, obligations and opportunities for all, regardless of ethnic or cultural background, as the purpose of the integration policy<sup>12</sup>.

In Sweden there are programs to improve the quality of education and its accessibility for immigrants and their children; professional courses for migrants; small business support programs. Despite this, entire generations of migrants from Asia, Africa and the Middle East can not or do not want to find job in Sweden, and are engaged in criminal activities. Bearing in mind easy conditions of Swedish prisons, many of them are not afraid of criminal punishment. Increased criminalization and isolation of migrants contribute to the emergence of xenophobic sentiments among the Swedish population. Most aggressive part of them has them in form of extremism. Migrants, in turn, also often act as agents of mass riots in the streets of the Swedish cities.

The riots on 14-28 of May 2015 in a suburb of Stockholm were the largest during the last 5 years. The cause of the collisions of migrants to the police was the murder of elderly immigrant who threatened the police with cold steel. The riots lasted for a few days in Stockholm and in several other cities<sup>13</sup>. The emergence of a large number of Syrian refugees, and increase of the

<sup>12</sup> Poiasnitel'naia zapiska Ministerstva integratsii i gendernogo ravenstva Shvetsii o politike integratsii // Ofitsial'nyi sait Pravitel'stva Shvetsii. URL: <http://www.government.se/content/1/c6/13/77/34/5b7683a6.pdf> (Accessed: 05 April 2016)

<sup>13</sup> Molodezhnye volneniia okhvatili uzhe neskol'ko gorodov Shvetsii // TASS. 25.05.2013. URL: <http://tass.ru/glavnie-novosti/575098> (Accessed: 11 May 2016)

flow of refugees from Asia and Africa has led to the fact that already in autumn of 2015 a number of camps for temporary detention of refugees were attacked and fired<sup>14</sup>.

Already at the beginning of 2016, the Swedish Foreign Minister Anders Egeman said that the country intended to begin the deportation of refugees from the Middle East and Africa, who have been denied in refugee status. There are rallies and protests in the country. The Swedes and migrants protests<sup>15</sup>.

Swedish citizens are dissatisfied with the fact that most migrants do not work and live on benefits. In practice, it means that the Swedish working population alimnts a large number of migrants, who do not work, and also do not want to integrate, and to respect the country's laws. The problem has no solution in the Swedish society, where anti-immigrant sentiments and nationalist parties are becoming more and more popular. Political and public figures talk much about unity and tolerance, cultural diversity and religious tolerance, but riots and ethnic clashes continue to be repeated. Probably, ethnic tensions will remain at the same level, until the problem of migrants living in Sweden is not solved and further tightening of immigration legislation is not going to happen, which would reduce the flow of refugees into the country, as well as to regulate migration flows in favour of the Swedish economy.

### **Conclusion**

Why the Swedish multiculturalism does not work in case with migrants? The reason for this imbalance is in migration policy. In recent years, an excessive number of refugees has come in the country, whose cultural and religious experience is significantly different from the Swedish. The difference in culture and mentality is really significant, and mostly comes down to the difference between the eastern traditionalism and liberal values of the West, which are often opposed to the cultural values of the East and are perceived negatively by migrants. In addition, refugees are often those who share the radical views.

The second reason blocking multiculturalism in Sweden, is the low level of education and language skills of migrants. Most of them do not speak Swedish. Despite the training programs, language remains a problem for many, because it takes years to study it. Low level of education also limits the possibility of integration, since it is practically impossible to find a decent-paying job. Immigrants searching for a livelihood, on the one hand, are involved in criminal activities and lead a marginal life, and on the other hand, immigrant communities are getting more closed,

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<sup>14</sup> V Shvetsii sozhgli lager' dlia bezhentsev // RBK. 24.10.2016 URL: <http://www.rbc.ru/rbcfreenews/562b740e9a79478a9ad70977> (Accessed: 15 June 2016)

<sup>15</sup> Moreno F. Shvetsiia: nenavist' k shvedam // Inosmi. 23.05.2016. URL: <http://inosmi.ru/social/20160523/236613417.html> (Accessed: 01 August 2016)

which is negatively perceived by the Swedes, and leads to all sorts of discrimination both at the household level, and at the labor market.

The third problem of multiculturalism in Sweden is in broad social guarantees for migrants from troubled and recessionary regions of the world, which bring a huge number of people to the country every year. The prevalence of this group of migrants in the migration flow structure can not have a positive impact on social relations and stability. The Swedish government is trying to regulate migration. Several times during the post-war period, Sweden tightened immigration laws and went over to controlled migration policy. But what to do with the already arrived migrants to integrate them? The problem does not have 100% effective solution until now in modern Sweden.

The complex migration situation in Sweden presses back the unresolved problems of national minorities. First of all, of the Sami, who are using Swedish and international law try to defend their rights. The situation with the Sami in Sweden has many similarities with the Russian policy towards the indigenous peoples of the north. In both cases the interests of the indigenous population of the north face with the economic interests of big business and the state. The only difference is that the Swedish Sami have a little more freedom via the Sami Parliament, which in its essence and functions is identical to the local authorities at the territories of Russia where indigenous peoples live, except that in Sweden they have larger ethnic representation and greater volume of financing of social and cultural projects. All this creates the illusion that the Swedish state defends the rights of the Sami. Although, in practice, support is provided only for language and culture, political and economic aspects are still the responsibility of the state.

The Swedish experience in solving cultural and ethnic conflicts to some extent is useful for Russia, which face with similar problems in relation to indigenous peoples and migrants from Asian countries. Careful study of the problems of the Swedish society, as well as the analysis of the use of certain regulatory practices of inter-ethnic interaction in a crisis can be used as in the case of an open inter-ethnic conflicts in the regions of Russia, as well as for the development and implementation of programs and inter-ethnic tension prevention practices. Ethnic aspects of Russia's domestic policy are much more difficult as the country is more diverse culturally and ethnically [27, Zaykov K.S., Tamitsky A.M.]. However, the situation in the northern regions has a lot of similarities, especially in the sphere of preservation and development of culture of the indigenous peoples.

With regard to migrants, Sweden has accumulated a few decades of experience of the creation of the system of integration of people with different cultural and confessional characteristics, which is also an interesting example for the Russian Arctic regions. In addition, the

Swedish government manages to resolve disputable issues in relations with indigenous peoples, maneuvering between the international standards and their own economic needs, i.e, on the one hand, protecting the rights of indigenous peoples, and on the other, leaving the control of resources in hands of the state. Sweden, as Russia has not ratified the ILO Convention № 169 and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples<sup>16</sup>. In addition, the Swedish government does not recognize officially for the indigenous people of the north the status of "indigenous people", and calls them a "national minority", that does not prevent Sweden to be one of the leading states in protecting the rights of indigenous peoples. The rights of indigenous peoples, environmental safety, as well as the industrial development of the northern territories are relevant for Russia, which as Sweden, tries to find an effective model for resolving these disputes.

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