

THE MIGRATION CRISIS AND EXTREMISM AS A CHALLENGE TO THE NATIONAL SECURITY OF THE KINGDOM OF SWEDEN AND DEMOCRACY IN THE SCANDINAVIAN REGION

МІГРАЦІЙНА КРИЗА ТА ЕКСТРЕМІЗМ ЯК ВИКЛИК НАЦІОНАЛЬНОЇ БЕЗПЕКИ КОРОЛІВСТВА ШВЕЦІЇ ТА ДЕМОКРАТІЇ У СКАНДИНАВСЬКОМУ РЕГІОНІ

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The article examines the problem of Muslim migration to the Kingdom of Sweden. The Muslim diaspora, and in particular the Turkish and Arab ones, today play an important role in the social, economic and demographic spheres of the country's life. The Muslim diaspora in Sweden began to form in the sixties of the twentieth century. After the end of World War II, the country needed cheap labor. The first workers came from Turkey. Ten years later, they began to bring their families and receive Swedish citizenship. In 1979, political refugees from Iran began to arrive in Sweden, who fled after the fall of the Shah's regime and the victory of the Islamic Revolution. In the eighties, even more refugees from Iran began to arrive in the country, fleeing the Iran-Iraq War. In the 21st century, residents of Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria arrived in the country, who also fled from wars in their countries. Muslim migrants formed their diasporas. They are not homogeneous. The divisions are based on religion, into Shiites and Sunnis, and on ethnicity. A parallel society has developed in Sweden. There are difficulties in the integration of Muslim migrants. This is explained by the underdeveloped state program for the integration of the new population, poor knowledge of the Swedish language and low level of education. Muslim migrants live in large cities of the country in separate areas, forming their own enclaves. In such enclaves, their own economy is developing, usually represented by small businesses, cultural customs are preserved, communication occurs in the native languages of the migrants, Turkish, Arabic, Farsi or Urdu. The birth rate among migrants is high. Experts fear an increase in the number of Muslims due to the natural population growth in the diaspora. Muslim youth in Sweden feel like strangers. They become a target for the propaganda of Islamic fundamentalism, which pushes them to commit terrorist acts, which leads to a threat to the national security of the country. Also, all of the above factors contribute to the growth of xenophobia and Islamophobia in Swedish society, which increases the popularity of right-wing political parties that offer quick radical solutions to the current problem. The Swedish government approaches the solution of all of the above problems systematically, by increasing programs for the integration of migrants, offering Swedish language courses, educational programs, solutions to the issue of employment and deradicalization among Muslims to prevent the spread of Islamic fundamentalism.

Key words: Sweden, Islam, Islamophobia, terrorism, migration.

У статті розглядається проблема міграції мусульман до Королівства Швеції. Мусульманська діаспора, а зокрема турецька та арабська, сьогодні відіграють важливу роль у соціальній, економічній, демографічній сфері життя країни. Мусульманська діаспора у Швеції почала формуватися у шістдесятих роках ХХ століття. Після закінчення Другої Світової війни, країні була потрібна дешева робоча сила. Перші робітники приїжджали із Туреччини. Через десять років вони почали привозити свої сім'ї та отримувати шведське громадянство. 1979 року до Швеції стали прибувати політичні біженці з Ірану, які втекли після падіння режиму Шаха та перемоги Ісламської революції. У вісімдесятих роках до країни стали приїжджати ще більше біженців з Ірану, які втекли від Ірану-Іракської війни. У ХХІ столітті до країни приїхали жителі Афганістану, Іраку та Сирії, які так само втекли від воїн у своїх країнах. Мусульмани мігранти сформували свої діаспори. Вони не однорідні. Поділ відбувається за релігійним принципом, на шиїтів і сунітів і за етнічним. У Швеції склалося паралельне суспільство. Спостерігаються проблеми з інтеграції мігрантів мусульман. Це пояснюється не розвинутою державною програмою з інтеграції нового населення, слабким знанням шведської мови та низьким рівнем освіти. Мігранти мусульмани живуть у великих містах країни в окремих районах, формуючи власні анклав. У таких анклавах розвивається власна економіка, зазвичай представлена дрібним підприємництвом, зберігаються культурні звичаї, спілкування відбувається рідними мовами мігрантів, турецькою, арабською, фарсі або урду. Народжуваність серед мігрантів висока. Експерти бояться збільшення кількості мусульман за рахунок природного зростання населення серед діаспори. Мусульманська молодь у Швеції почувається чужою. Вона стає ціллю для пропаганди ісламського фундаменталізму, який підштовхує їх до здійснення терористичних актів, що призводить до загрози національної безпеки держави. Так само, всі перелічені фактори сприяють зростанню ксенофобії та ісламофобії у шведському суспільстві, що збільшує популярність правих політичних партій, які пропонують швидкі радикальні рішення проблем, що склалися. Шведський уряд підходить систематично до вирішення перелічених проблем, методом збільшення програм з інтеграції мігрантів, пропонуючи курси вивчення шведської мови, освітні програми, вирішення питання працевлаштування та дерадикалізації серед мусульман для запобігання поширенню ісламського фундаменталізму.

Ключові слова: Швеція, іслам, ісламофобія, тероризм, міграція.

Introduction. The Kingdom of Sweden faces a national security problem caused by Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism. High levels of migration, as well as high birth rates among migrants, may lead to a demographic imbalance in the near future, when the native population becomes smaller than the descendants of migrants. Weak integration of Muslim migrants creates a problem for Swedish society, creating a parallel society with its own religion, culture and customs. Lack of access to education and work creates poverty, which stimulates a sense of anger and alienation, which can be used by radical Islamic organizations whose goal is to export their ideas outside the Islamic world. Islamic extremism and terrorism generate a sense of Islamophobia in Swedish society, developing into aggressive behavior towards Muslim migrants, as well as the popularity of right-wing political parties that use a populist strategy and offer quick solutions to the migration issue, which can threaten democracy in Sweden and disrupt social harmony.

The article's main goal. The study is conducted to study the problem of Muslim migration to Sweden. The issues of Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism, which pose a threat to the national security of the Kingdom of Sweden, were also studied.

Recent literature review. The problem of the Islamic diaspora in Sweden has been researched by scholars such as Goran Larsson, Simon Sorgenfrei, Stefan Hedlund, Alex Gylden, Henrik Emilsson, Erika Willander, Andie Flemstrom etc.

The main research material. Today, Sweden is seeing an increasing role of Islam and the influence of Muslims on the social, religious and political life of the country. As in most countries of the European Union, Muslims began to come to Sweden after World War II, in the 1960s and 1970s. Between the 1960s and 1985, the majority of Muslim migrants who came to Sweden to work were Turks and immigrants from the Balkan countries. These migrants came through employment programs offered by Swiss companies involved in heavy industry, or they looked for work themselves. Muslims began to settle in large cities such as Malmö, Gothenburg and Stockholm.

For the first ten years after arriving for work, the Muslim men did not plan to stay. They wanted to earn money for a better life at home. Many of the first wave of migrants shared these ideas, which did not help them integrate into Swedish society. Gradually, the migrants' plans changed, and they began to bring their families.

In the 1980s, Sweden experienced a large influx of refugees from Iran. The reasons for this were the Islamic Revolution in Iran in 1979 and the political terror that followed, as well as the Iran-Iraq War. The majority of migrants from Iran were political migrants and war refugees. The majority of the Iranian diaspora in the 1980s was secular or even hostile to Islam. But this trend changed towards the end of the 1990s,

when several Shia religious institutions were opened in Stockholm. Since the beginning of the 21st century, the Shia Islamic diaspora has been replenished with migrants from Lebanon, Iraq and Uganda.

During the seventies and eighties, Muslim migrants began to bring their families to Sweden. In the nineties, a correlation emerged between the wars in various Muslim regions and the migration of the population to the country. In the first half of the nineties, refugees from Somalia and Bosnia began to arrive in Sweden. Thus, between 1990 and 1993, approximately 150,000 people from the former Yugoslavia asked for asylum in Sweden. From Africa, 16,000 Somali citizens and 12,000 Ethiopians arrived in the country. In 1999, during the Kosovo war, Kosovo Albanians also became refugees who asked for asylum in Sweden [1, c. 12–13].

In 2015, the migration crisis began in the countries of the European Union. Sweden was no exception in this social process. During this period, 162 877 people applied for asylum in Sweden, accounting for 12.4% of all applications submitted in the European Union. In the first six months of 2015, an average of 4,000–5,000 asylum applications were submitted per month. But in the autumn, this figure increased rapidly. In September and October, 24,000 applications were submitted. In November, 40,000 asylum applications were submitted. The majority of refugees were citizens of Syria and Afghanistan [2, c. 9–11].

As of 2025, there are approximately 800 000 Muslims living in the Kingdom of Sweden. This is 8% of the total population of Sweden, which is 10.54 million people. With the high birth rate and migration, the number of Muslims in the country will continue to grow [3].

It is quite difficult to determine the demographics of Muslims living in Sweden, and there is no clear data. It is believed that among all the countries of Western Europe, the Kingdom of Sweden has the greatest diversity of Muslims. The main part is from countries such as Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Somalia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Albania. Also, among the Muslims of Sweden there are immigrants from the former Muslim republics of the USSR, as well as Kurds from the Kurdish regions of Turkey, Iraq and Iran. All of them differ greatly in cultural customs, ethnicity, political views, social class, level of education, etc.

Muslims in Sweden should be divided into separate groups. The first group is ethnic Turks who speak Turkish, profess Sunni Islam and have formed a separate diaspora. The second group is people from Arab countries such as Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, and the Palestinians. They are united by the Arabic language and Sunni Islam. We will also separately highlight the group of Shiite Muslims from Syria and Lebanon. Next come migrants from Iran who profess Shiism. Next comes a group of Muslims

from the Balkan countries such as Albania, Kosovo, Bosnia and Herzegovina. People from the African continent are represented by such groups as Somalis, Eritrea, Ghana, Gambia, Nigeria, Liberia, Senegal, Sudan. There is also a group of people from Pakistan and Afghanistan [4, c. 11–15].

It would be wrong to think that all Muslims in Sweden form an Islamic diaspora. All these groups are divided, atomized and separate groups. It would be more correct to unite them into a Turkish group, Iranian, Arab, etc. Their unification is primarily influenced by their country of origin and language. Secondly, they can be divided by religion, that is, which mosque, Sunni or Shiite, they will go to pray in. Thus, we can observe the Turkish diaspora. People from Turkey who speak Turkish and attend a Sunni Mosque. And the Iranian diaspora, speaking Farsi and attending a Shiite Mosque. These two groups may not be interconnected. That is, there is a pyramidal system of division by country, ethnic group, language and direction of Islam.

The majority of Muslims in Sweden live in large cities, such as Stockholm, Malmö, Uppsala, Västerås. An analysis of the religious situation in the Kingdom of Sweden, prepared by the "Swedish Agency for Support of Religious Communities" reported that there are several hundred Islamic religious institutions in the country, including mosques and Islamic religious, cultural and community centers [5, c. 22].

The Swedish news portal Samnytt notes that in 25 years in Sweden, the number of mosques has increased by 4200%. Today there are approximately 300. Many Islamic religious institutions are not officially registered, which creates a problem with counting their number. Attempts to accurately count the number of mosques in the country are often perceived as manifestations of Islamophobia.

Also, there is active construction of new mosques all over the country. Despite the fact that they are built on donations with active advertising on social networks, they quickly receive the necessary amount due to the transfer of large sums of money from Muslim countries such as Saudi Arabia, Iran, Qatar, Turkey. Billions of dollars are allocated from these countries for the development of Islamic infrastructure in Sweden.

In the former industrial areas of the Schwyz cities, abandoned Christian churches are being rebuilt into mosques. A prayer room is being set up in the main hall and a minaret is being added to the main building. Also, in recent years, many Islamic public organizations have appeared in Sweden, such as the Islamic Cooperation Council, the United Islamic Associations of Sweden, and the Swedish Muslim Association [6].

Separately, it is worth mentioning the Shiite religious centers. These include the Imam Ali Islamic Center in Stockholm, the Nur Al-Huda Islamic Community in Trollhättan, Husseinia Al Hauraa Zainab in

Västerås, the Shiite Society in Malmö, the Al-Hussein Cultural Society, the Al-Hadi Islamic Cultural Association in Kristianstad, the Al-Montazar Association, the Association of Islamic Unity, the Zainabiya Islamic Center, and the Islamic Cultural School. These public and religious organizations offer Arabic, Swedish, and English language courses, religious ceremonies, daily prayers, religious lectures, weddings, sports and literature clubs, travel, Islamic holidays, Koranic studies, publishing of Islamic literature, and religious and Arabic language textbooks [7].

The social and everyday life of Muslim migrants is complicated. The majority of Muslims live in disadvantaged areas of large cities in Sweden. Several factors contribute to this. The first is the high level of unemployment and poverty, which forces these people to settle in areas where rent is not very high. The second factor is the low integration of migrants into Swedish society. Migrants live in their own ethnic and religious communities, where they feel more comfortable. The majority of migrants live in houses built under a program called the "Million Program" in the three largest cities of the country: Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö. The Million Program is a Swedish state program for the construction of affordable housing that was in effect between 1965 and 1974. Such housing is panel apartment buildings [8, c. 63–65].

Many migrants live in poverty and are unemployed. They are often discriminated against in the labor market because of their religion, ethnicity, and low level of education. Unemployment among Muslims in Sweden is 10 times higher than among the native population. Those migrants who have jobs are engaged in low-skilled, low-paid work. Muslim migrants are also discriminated against for their beards, national clothing, and the hijab for women, which covers their faces [9].

The situation is also complicated in the education issue. There is no clear information on the level of education of Muslim migrants in Sweden, as such studies have hardly been conducted. There are independent Islamic schools in Sweden. General information about the education system among Muslims is very limited [10, c. 19–23].

Due to the ever-increasing number of Muslims, political parties and public organizations representing their interests have emerged in Sweden. Although Muslim political activity is only just developing in Sweden, Muslims are already making demands in various areas of public life. The most well-known political party representing the interests of Muslims in Sweden is the Nyans Party. The party was founded in 2019 by Mikael Yuksel, a former member of a centrist party that was closely associated with the radical Turkish Islamic organization Grey Wolves.

The party positions itself as an organization that defends the rights of all migrants and ethnic minorities, but a more detailed analysis showed that

the emphasis is on protecting the rights of Muslim migrants. The party advocates the fight against xenophobia, Islamophobia, solving the problem of housing shortage, developing programs for the integration of migrants into Swedish society, building a multicultural society, criminalizing the denial of the Bosnian genocide, criminalizing the desecration of the Koran, legalizing the wearing of the hijab and all Muslim clothing in public places, encouraging the employment of migrants in the Swiss economy, breaking off relations between Sweden and Israel, imposing sanctions on EU countries that refuse to accept migrants, removing Hamas from the EU's list of terrorist organizations, helping Bosnia and Turkey join the EU [11].

There are also various public organizations in Sweden whose purpose is to represent and protect the interests of Muslim migrants. These organizations include the Muslim Council of Sweden, the Islamic Association in Sweden, and other smaller associations [12, 13].

In the second decade of the 21st century, Sweden has faced social manifestations such as Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism. The two main Islamic extremist organizations that pose a threat to the country are the Muslim Brotherhood and the Islamic State. The Muslim Brotherhood emerged in Sweden in the 1970s after the repression of this Islamic political organization in Egypt. In a short period of time, the Muslim Brotherhood has become the dominant organization representing the interests of the Muslim minority in Sweden. The dominant position of the organization allows them to receive financial assistance from the Swedish government and to be a member of the Federation of Islamic Organizations in Europe.

During its existence in Sweden, the Muslim Brotherhood has created affiliated Islamic organizations such as the Islamic Association in Sweden, the Swedish Muslim Council, Islamic Relief in Sweden, the Association for the Study of Ibn Rushd, Young Swedish Muslims, the United Islamic Communities of Sweden, and the Islamic Schools of Sweden.

The threat posed by the Muslim Brotherhood is the propaganda of Islamic fundamentalism, and an attempt to monopolize information about Islam in their hands. Members of the Islamic organization try to infiltrate political parties in Sweden and educational institutions to spread propaganda of Islamic fundamentalism. To some extent, the Muslim Brotherhood is considered a more dangerous organization than Al-Qaeda or the Islamic State, since they focus their efforts on soft power, without resorting to open violence [14].

The second Islamic extremist organization operating in Sweden is the Islamic State. The country has not been as heavily targeted by Islamic terrorists as Western European countries, but has been used more as a base for Islamic fundamentalists.

Sweden has been the target of several terrorist attacks. In 2010, on September 11, two bombs exploded in Stockholm, killing one person and injuring two. The terrorist was an Iraqi who had moved to Sweden in 1992. The motives were jihad, the Swedish military presence in Afghanistan, and a reaction to Swedish artist Lars Vilks' depiction of the Prophet Muhammad as a dog [15].

On September 11, 2011, in the Swedish city of Gothenburg, the Islamic terrorist organization Al-Qaeda intended to blow up an exhibition center where an exhibition of works by the artist Lars Vilks was taking place. Four people were arrested by Swedish police [16].

In 2016, police in Sweden foiled a terrorist attack planned by a member of the Islamic State. The suspect was sentenced to five years [17].

On April 7, 2017, an Islamic State terrorist hijacked a truck and ran over 5 people, injuring 15 others. The motive was Islamic terrorism, jihad and protest against the Swedish presence in Iraq [18].

Sweden took part in the fight against terrorism together with the countries of the Western coalition.

Between 2001 and 2021, Sweden participated in military and civilian operations in Afghanistan. Sweden provided humanitarian aid and developed civil society. Swedish armed forces participated in combat operations. The task of the Swedish military was to maintain security in the regions of Afghanistan. During the twenty years of presence in Afghanistan, 9,500 Swedish soldiers served in the country. Six Swedish citizens died during this time [19].

Since 2015, the Swedish Armed Forces have participated in the military training of military units in Iraq. Sweden also participated as part of the joint coalition in Operation Inherent Resolve to counter the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria. Since 2016, Sweden has provided \$320 million to support regional security in Syria. Sweden's main strategy is to combat Islamic terrorism in various countries in order to prevent it from penetrating into Europe [20].

Sweden is faced with the problem of its citizens participating in the fighting in Syria and Iraq on the side of terrorist organizations. This already poses a threat to the country's national security. According to estimates by the Swedish Security Service, approximately 300 Swedish citizens have joined Islamic groups such as the Islamic State, Al-Qaeda and Jabhat al-Nusra since 2012 [21, c. 13–14].

Faced with the migrant crisis and Islamic fundamentalism, Sweden has adopted various strategies to counteract the social challenge. Former Gothenburg mayor and member of the Social Democratic Party, Anna-Sofie Hermansson, admitted that as early as 2009, police and journalists in major Swedish cities warned that migrants and Islamic fundamentalism were becoming a major problem for municipal security and could soon become a national

problem. At that time, the Swedish authorities did not realize the depth of the problem and ignored it when it could have been prevented. The problem became visible by 2014, when some Swedish citizens began regularly traveling to Iraq and Syria to fight on the side of Islamic fundamentalists. Now there are a significant number of supporters of Islamic fundamentalism in Sweden who are trying to infiltrate educational institutions to spread their ideas among children and students [22].

Sweden has developed a strategy to counter Islamic fundamentalism, extremism, terrorism, their propaganda and the integration of Muslim migrants into Swedish society. The strategy includes such measures as prevention and early warning, the fight against terrorism, the promotion of social cohesion, tolerance and foreign religion and culture and inclusiveness, the integration of parallel society into Swedish society, cooperation with other European countries in solving these problems [23, c. 4–14].

Conclusion. As the study showed, the problem of Islamic fundamentalism poses a high threat to the national security of the Kingdom of Sweden. This

problem has several sides, which must be addressed by using different social strategies. The first part of Muslim migrants could not integrate into Swedish society for several reasons. The Swedish authorities did not show due activity in integrating Muslim migrants, not promoting mass study of the Swedish language, opening courses where one can study the language, increasing educational programs, especially paying attention to school and university education and creating jobs for Muslim migrants. It is also necessary to combat Islamophobia at the state level. Islamophobia is a big problem and an obstacle to the integration of Muslim migrants. A parallel society has emerged in Sweden, which continues to live based on its old cultural principles and lives in separate areas of large cities in Sweden. These people live in separate areas and are in their own information space. Various Islamic fundamentalist organizations, especially Al-Qaeda and the Islamic State, recruit Muslim migrants to carry out terrorist attacks, thereby threatening the national security of the country. Taking timely measures to integrate migrants can prevent future problems for Sweden.

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