Geographies of the Veil: Violent Encounters in Urban Public Spaces in Malmö, Sweden

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Encounters between strangers, as different users of public spaces, are one of the core subjects for discussion in relation to orders in the public space. The empirical material presented in this article illustrates power relations in public spaces of Sweden, which gives a specific national and nationalist framing. This article is based on interviews with nineteen Muslim women, all of whom wear the hijab. The aim is to illuminate the neglected violence Muslim women are exposed to and to investigate violent public encounters from the point of view of female Muslim citizens. This recounting of encounters strives to understand the “lived experiences of pain” (Ahmed, 2001, p. 360) and what hate is doing in terms of the effects of hate crimes. First the concept of affect and economy of hate is elaborated on, after which the meaning of violence is developed in relation to place and space. By showing how frequent such gendered and Islamophobic violence is, in its different forms, while at the same time being largely an overlooked form of violence, the empirical material implicates that such acts of everyday violence work to establish and maintain a hegemonic social, spatial and political order.

Key words: violent encounters; Muslim women; public space

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The small town of Tomelilla in southern Sweden attracted major national media attention in April 2011 when a Muslim woman from Somalian origin and her six-year-old daughter were repeatedly attacked on their way to and from the local school by people throwing stones and shouting racist phrases. Three times the mother was struck by stones, and once her daughter was struck in the back. After a year of harassment the school nurse, encouraged by the school principal, helped the woman to report the incidents to the police, only to find out a week later that the case had been dropped by the police for lack of evidence. No one from the police had, however, talked to the woman herself.²

Similar racist and misogynic encounters in public space are not uncommon in European countries, but they are often neglected in the public debate on integration and social cohesion, and they are rarely, if ever, included in general reports on the situation of Muslims in the West. Such experiences of violent encounters seldom reach the police or lead to further investigation, since hate crimes are not often reported. Muslim women are in a contradictory position in the West, frequently portrayed as subordinated or vulnerable within their own community, while at the same time repeatedly victims of violent encounters in the public space. Furthermore, they have increasingly become the object of political actions, as recently in Belgium, the Netherlands³ and France, where the wearing of niqabs and burkas in public places and on the public transport system has been banned (in the name of gender equality and/or security). The Swedish National Agency for Education decided in 2012, after a few years of investigation, that schools and teachers can ban face-covering veils if the veils are obstructive to the learning process.⁴
Hence Muslim women in the West are on the one hand regarded as a threat to the Western civilization, and on the other hand subjected to violence and threats themselves. This contradictory positioning of Muslim women in the West provides the starting point for the research presented in this article. The aim is to illuminate the neglected violence Muslim women are exposed to and to investigate violent public encounters from the point of view of female Muslim citizens. This recounting of encounters strives to understand the “lived experiences of pain” (Ahmed, 2001, p. 360) and what hate is doing in terms of the effects of hate crimes. First the concept of affect and economy of hate is elaborated on, after which the meaning of violence is developed in relation to place and space. By showing how frequent such gendered and Islamophobic violence is, in its different forms, while at the same time being largely an overlooked form of violence, the empirical material implicates that such acts of everyday violence work to establish and maintain a hegemonic social, spatial and political order, framed within a Swedish national(-ist) context.

Encounters between strangers, as different users of public spaces, are one of the core subjects for discussion in relation to orders in the public space (Sennett, 1970, Amin, 2011, Staeheli, 2010). The empirical material presented in this article illustrates power relations in public spaces of Sweden, which gives a specific national and nationalist framing. On the urban scale, as in the example from Malmö, an existing socio-spatial order in the public coincides with the ethnically segregated city and the geography of the veil. The common understanding of the public space as an arena for people to meet and encounter each other has been increasingly used in contemporary urban planning at the same time as segregation and exclusion processes are the reality. Public spaces are economically, socially, culturally and political charged and unequally distributed. Segregation processes are constantly at work and frame the geography of the veil and the places assigned to them.
Public spaces are not democratic per se. Regulating public spaces through management, policing or design attracts a great deal of attention from politicians, planners and researchers. In times of regulating public spaces it is important to discuss whether and how public space can be maintained as wide open so all users will feel comfortable there (Staeheli, 2010). This article points at the importance of recognizing a deeper sense of politics “in which agonism and the different conditions for and meanings of self-development are considered, debated, and struggled over” (Staeheli, 2010, p. 70).

Geopolitical violence and encounters in the everyday

Understanding both violence and place relationally, violence is “no longer confined to its material expression as isolated ‘event’ or localized ‘thing’, violence can more appropriately be understood as an unfolding process, arising from the broader geographical phenomena and temporal patterns of the social world” (Springer, 2011, p. 91). Seemingly local expressions of violence are intertwined with wider socio-spatial and political and economic patterns. In these ‘glocal’ (Listerborn, 2013, Brenner, 1998) expressions the Muslim female body in Sweden is interconnected with similar violent expressions in other parts of Europe, as well as with a global geopolitical condition pointing out Muslim bodies as fearsome (Pain & Smith, 2008). A ‘glocal’ approach highlights the need to relate the global to the local scale, and relating the everyday with the geopolitical context. Much literature on gendered fear and violence has been focusing on the everyday and the relationship between marginality, fear and inequality. Through this research, hidden harm, as in the domestic sphere, or police brutality and racist violence has been revealed. On the global scale, as another strand of research, fear is analyzed as a tool of governance, legitimizing national and international actions on terrorism, security or restricting immigration (Pain & Smith, 2008, p. 4). While this literature illustrates the
structure and systems of fear and violence, the emotional and experiential aspects are often neglected when focus lies on the regulation and manipulation of the everyday.

There is a gendered dimension in Islamophobic violence especially since Islam and Muslims are confounded with Islamist movements in the context of globalization. Women and social reforms are given a central role in the Islamist movements and women are also active in several urban Islamist movements, while at the same time as the idea of the veiled, secluded and oppressed Muslim woman is being used as a justification for invasions of Muslim societies by the West (Secor, 2004). In the Western discourses of globalization Muslim women are often interpreted as ‘local’, resisting the expressions of globalization, while at the same time being portrayed as the victims of international Islamist movements as certain movements are understood to be global, while others are identified as local.

In understanding the fear, hate and misrecognition directed towards veiled Muslim women, the process of Othering is significant. Lueg expresses the dialectic dependence of this relation:

Clearly, the cliché of the oppressed Islamic woman serves the purpose of distracting us from things that are wrong in our own [Western] society. These defects appear more acceptable if someone else's experience is even worse. /…/Such a point of view allows us to look down on the Islamic countries and reassure ourselves about our own superiority (Lueg, 1995, p. 20).

In a similar vein, Ahmed (2001) points out the ordinariness of the emotions of hate turning the ‘ordinary’ person, place or nation, into the real victim, threatened by the ‘imagined others’. The ordinary fear that their places will be taken by the imagined other and
that their order will be violated or disturbed. But the object of hate, anger or fear, is not always clearly defined. Instead Ahmed talks about hate as an ‘affective economy’. She turns away from the psychological disposition and instead understand ‘the subject’ as “one nodal point in the economy, rather than its origin and destination” as such hate “moves across or between subjects, objects, signs and others” (Ahmed, 2001, p. 348). The economy of hate is illustrated by the provocation borne by the veil as a symbol, and what Scott refers to as the “icon of the intolerable difference” (Scott, 2007, p. 5). Hate is economic as it “circulates between signifiers in relationships of difference and displacement” (Ahmed, 2001, p. 347) and people invest in such emotions to make them meaningful.

The Muslim women in the case study were “forced to embody a particular identity by and for the perpetrator of the crime, and that force involves harm or injury” (Ahmed, 2001, p. 351). The women in the study, regardless of individual differences, were categorized (by the offenders) into a common group, or a serial collectivity (Young, 1994) – based on the symbol of the veil. Hate needs evidence of the antagonism, and the veil carries connotations of gender inequality, absence of integration, and threats to Western ideals. The stereotype of difference needs to be repeated to be reproduced as its origin is not real.

In Ahmed’s discussion on stranger fetishism she points at the idea of the stranger as having a life of its own and as “excluded from forms of belonging and identity, particularly within the context of discourses of nationhood” (2000, p. 5). To avoid a stranger fetishism Ahmed suggests examining the “social relationships that are concealed by this very fetishism” (2000, p. 6) and these processes could be described in terms of encounters, which is meetings that involves surprise and conflict. In Ahmed’s definition of encounters, it does not only include the present, but also the past and the meeting are not between two equals in
harmony, instead it must be understood as antagonistic. Therefore the encounter, which is particular, is put in a context of the general; “encounters between embodied subjects always hesitate between the domain of the particular – the face to face of this encounter – and the general – the framing of the encounter by broader relationships of power and antagonism” (2000, p. 8).

Hate produces places and spatial orders attached to certain signs and bodies. But hatred is also one aspect of re-structuring space when the haters encounter, avoid or confront the targets of their hate, i.e. the Muslim women in this case. Such encounters are part of a negotiation process within a socio-spatial hegemony. One of the key factors to this hegemony is the nation and different expressions of nationalism.

What is violence?

To gain a more nuanced understanding of the meaning of these violent encounters, the concept of violence in this article will be articulated based on the thinking of Bourgois (2001) and Žižek (2008). The legal concepts of violence identify isolated violent acts and the definitions are closely connected to the identified rights of different individuals and social categories, rather than to what are experienced as violent acts or as humiliating. Not all violent acts are made visible, either in law or in the media. Youth violence (by immigrant young males) is at the core of the violence debate today in Sweden (Brune, 2002, Ericsson, et.al. 2002). The common idea that youth violence is the major threat towards society makes it even more important to illuminate and analyze other types of violent acts, different experiences of violence and to relate violence to symbolic and structural contexts which gives the violent acts a meaning within an economy of hate.
Scholars like Bourdieu (1990), Bourgois (2001), Žižek (2008) and Listerborn, Molina and Mulinari (2011) claims that the physical violence needs to be contextualized to reveal underlying power relations. Moreover these scholars illustrate that it is not always clear cut who the victim is and who is the offender. Furthermore is also a spatial aspect to violence. Springer argues that “violence sits in places in terms of the way in which we perceive its manifestation as a localized and embodied experience” (Springer, 2011, p. 90), but this understanding may be changed if space is theorized as “derived from the broader geographical phenomena and temporal patterns of the social world” (Springer, 2011, p. 90). The seemingly “irrational” and meaningless violence is thus reframed in a way which deepens our understanding of it. Taking the “spectacular” violence (Žižek, 2008), which gains the media attention, out of its place and contextualizing it in relation to other places and structures, is suggested by Žižek, who describes how subjective, symbolic and systemic violence forms a triumvirate. The triumvirate of violence put forward by Žižek recapitulates the four forms of violence identified by Bourgois in his empirical work in El Salvador and US inner city environments. His definition includes direct political, structural, symbolic and everyday violence (Bourgois, 2001). Žižek and Bourgois differ in their theoretical perspectives, but share the aim of positioning violence in a broader understanding, and identify different dimensions of violence.

Subjective violence, according to Žižek, is the visible, spectacular and physical violence, with an identified victim and offender. Subjective violence attracts media attention and instigates fear. All the focus on subjective violence “enacted by social agents, evil individuals, disciplined repressive apparatuses, fanatical crowds” (Žižek, 2008, p. 9) may however distract our attention from the locus of trouble. He claims it is a need to theorize
violence, which allows us to understand these acts in a broader societal context. Žižek is not focusing on the experiences of violence or the individual suffering. Rather than a direct confrontation with it, as it may risk becoming too emotional, he wants to understand the role of violence in the society and culture. Bourgois’ definition of everyday violence resembles, but slightly differs from Žižek’s concept of subjective violence as it does not originate from a theoretical claim instead it is based in an empirical study. The everyday-ness of the violence and the individual lived experienced is emphasized in his definition; “Daily practices and expressions of violence on a microinteractional level” (2001, p. 9). The focus on the normality and routines of petty brutalities and terror at the community level, which creates a common-sense or ethos of violence prevents “explaining away individual-level confrontations by psychological or individualistic approaches that blame the victims” and illustrates how violence can become a culture of terror (Bourgois, 2001, p. 10). Everyday violence as related to everyday racism (Essed, 2005) acted out in casual daylight contexts, is legitimatized through portraying Muslims as a discursive threat. The elderly, the drunken person, the employer or colleague who acts disrespectful or violent towards Muslim women, all believe their opinions are generally accepted. We need to ask ourselves where these beliefs originate. This kind of “normalized” violence is part of the existing order of society. The violent acts towards the Muslim women are not visible, because this violence does not complete the idea of for example street violence. It is not visible because it is part of the ordinary.

Symbolic violence, which accompanies subjective violent acts, is embedded in language and in the way meaning is given to people or places: “…verbal violence is not a secondary distortion, but the ultimate resort of every specifically human violence” (Žižek, 2008, p. 57). Rage-provoking, stereotyping and the creation of scapegoats are defined as
symbolic violence. It is the symbolic violence as a context that legitimizes violent acts towards Muslims. This exposure to symbolic violence may be internalized and affect self-confidence and health. Symbolic violence, for Bourgois, illustrates how domination operates via the misrecognition of power structures and the perception of social orders as natural and self-evident (Bourgois, 2001).

The third dimension of violence is called systemic and follows functioning political and economic structures. It is often invisible and not easily tangible, “but it has to be taken into account if one is to make sense of what otherwise seem to be ‘irrational’ explosions of subjective violence” (Žižek, 2008, p. 2). Structural violence, as it is defined by Bourgois, also refers to the political-economic organization of society, and he stress how the macro-level systems effect the local and on the individual.

When examining violence and violating acts in this way, not only physical spectacular attacks should be in focus, but also other forms of violent expressions including verbal abuse and discrimination. Even though Bourgois has a phenomenological and embodied approach and Žižek follows a poststructuralist focus on representations, their understanding of violence remains close. Both approaches will also help to further understand the violent acts that Muslim women encounter in public spaces in the West.

Neither Žižek nor Bourgois stress the geographical or spatial dimensions of violence, something which is highly relevant for the understanding of violent encounters in this specific study, as it is clearly related to the segregated urban landscape. The inner city of Malmö has like many other Swedish cities undergone a gentrification process where the economic, as well as symbolic, production of spaces, is interpreted by the Muslim women as
not welcoming. Instead, they feel included in the other places, i.e. the underprivileged urban outskirts. In Sweden, the neighborhoods where most Muslim women live are often stigmatized and feared by Swedes, but regarded as safe and tolerant by the women who live there. Other places and neighborhoods, in contrast, often regarded as ‘good areas’, are perceived as threatening by the Muslim women. The different dimensions of violence come together in the urban and spatial experiences of hate.

The meaning of the veil in a Swedish context

Of the Nordic welfare states, Sweden has the highest ratio of citizens born in a foreign country (15 percent of the total population). In the Swedish statistics there is no category of ethnicity, religion or race. Instead “foreign background” is used to define people who either are born abroad themselves or people who are born in Sweden but with both parents born abroad. Malmö, the third largest city in Sweden, located in the south on the border to Denmark, has 300,000 citizens. In Malmö the number of people born abroad is 30.5 percent (2012, to be compared with the national average of 15 percent), and with citizens with both parents born abroad (foreign background) added the percentage is 41 percent. This category includes in Malmö 170 different nationalities, mainly immigrants from Iraq, Denmark\(^8\), Yugoslavia, Poland, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The most recent groups, beside Syrians and Iraqis, are from Afghanistan, Turkey, Pakistan, Lebanon and Kosovo (The City of Malmö 2012).

Since no statistics are kept on citizens’ religious convictions there is no official number of Muslims in Sweden or Malmö, so the available numbers of Muslims is merely an indication. The Islamic Centre estimates that 250,000 – 300,000 people in Sweden have
some affiliation to Islam on a national level, which would make the corresponding figure for Malmö approximately 45,000, i.e. 15 percent of the population of the population in Malmö. But the Swedish Commission for Government Support to Faith Communities estimates that there are some 110,000 Swedish citizens with their backgrounds in different parts of the world active in Muslim congregations. According to the PEW research institute approximately 451,000 people (i.e. 5 percent) in Sweden (in 2010) came from Muslim countries (which of course also could mean that they migrated due to not being Muslims). The majority of them do not practice their religion.

After 9/11 in 2001 and the growing focus on Islamism in a global context, there has been a shift in how Muslims are regarded also in the Swedish society. The political understanding of the Muslims between 1975 and 1990 focused mainly on practical aspects of the religion, such as access to halal meet and religious education in schools. Since 2001 much more focus is on Muslim values, norms and threats on the Western society (Cato, 2013). But even earlier, in the late 1980s Islam was mentioned as a problem in the political debates. At that time Islam was related to migrants from the former Yugoslavia and threats related to the war going on there (Hvitfelt, 1998). Later on, in the 1990s and onwards, the focus has been on extremism and anti-Semitism stemming from the Middle East. The European xenophobic fear of the Muslims, of terror, sharia laws and oppression of women are in common with Swedish xenophobic political parties (Cato, 2013). Research on structural racism in Sweden reveals racist patterns at several public departments and authorities (de los Reyes & Kamali, 2005) as a symptom of structural and systemic violence. This Swedish Government Official Report identified and mapped structural mechanisms of religious and ethnic discrimination. By shedding light on the reproduction mechanisms of racism, they turned away from emphasizing the individual level, and instead focused the
roles of authorities and institutions. The research raised an important discussion, but had few practical political implications.

In Sweden, approximately 20 percent of Muslim women wear a veil, usually the hijab. Covering the face is very unusual. Ouis and Roald argue that probably many more Muslim women in Sweden would like to wear a veil, but they do not do so because they believe it would limit their chances on the labor market (Ouis & Roald, 2003). As part of the economy of hate, the veil carries different symbolic meanings in different national and social contexts. In the West it is commonly associated with the absence of or lack in integration, gender equality and modernity, and with religious extremism (Staeheli & Nagel, 2008, Moors, 2009). Migrant women are often described as unable to act politically in the public (Listerborn, 2008) and the practice of veiling becomes a sign of this absence of integration or commitment to liberal democracy (see also Gökarıksel & Mitchell, 2005, Ehrkamp, 2010). Feminist scholars have pointed out the misreading of such interpretations. As Staeheli (1996) argues, the private sphere can also contain political organizations. Still, the common understanding is that the more the veil covers the body, the less the integration. The veil is also described as threatening the Western order. Veiled women are portrayed as a homogeneous group regardless of individual differences, and as coming from a pre-modern society. They are described as hindering the economic development of the nation and impeding its regional and global connections through their visible expressions of difference (Gökarıksel & Mitchell, 2005, p. 149).12 Behind a shroud of integration ideals, highly emotionally charged political issues are concealed.

To understand the debate about veils in a Swedish context, the national narrative of gender equality needs to be taken into account. As Ouis and Roald (2001) stress,
the role of women, including aspects such as sexuality and gender equality, is the main interest amongst non-Muslim Swedes when Islam is being discussed. The “Islamic view of women” seems to be a real concern in Swedish society. As the notion of gender equality is at the core of nationhood, the emphasis on cultural differences and ‘risk groups’ among ‘immigrants’ as an undifferentiated whole establishes an assumed uniform difference (de los Reyes, Molina & Mulinari, 2003, Keskinen et al., 2009). Gender issues and migration policy are two pivotal aspects of the Swedish welfare state, but they are seldom seen as connected or interrelated. Work-related migration was common in the 1960s; and from the 1970s and onwards refugee policies were liberal compared with those in the other Nordic countries. However, these liberal policies have been reformulated in recent years, in line with the harmonization with (harsher) migration policies within the EU (Schierup et al., 2006).

The history of migration has not been incorporated into the Swedish tradition of promoting gender equality (since the 1930s). As several researchers have pointed out, the quite successful Swedish feminist movement has not been equally successful in including immigrant women in the emancipation process. In fact, these women have been quite invisible within the movement (de los Reyes, Molina & Mulinari, 2003, Towns, 2002, Knocke, 1991). A denial or a lack of understanding of gendered ethnic discrimination and racism distorts the analysis of gendered relations (Keskinen et al., 2009). Defining integration in relation to issues of gender and equality leads on the one hand to, culturalization and ethnification of different expressions of sexism or family relations, and on the other hand, defining ‘Swedish-ness’ as a gender equal identity. The idea that immigration works negatively for the Swedish gender equality are not only to be found amongst the nationalist right wing groups, but also amongst authorities dealing with gender equality in general. Several gender equality help-programs directed to certain housing areas
and specific migrant groups, not the least from the Middle East, confirms this thinking (de los Reyes, Molina & Mulinari, 2003). The feminist post-colonial critique of the Swedish feminist movement indicates that there is a link between nationalism and the Swedish (traditional) feminist movement which is based in the formation of the welfare state and the iconic ideology of the “Peoples Home” (Folkhemmet) which is framed within a specific idea of the nation. The Sweden Democrats (ultra-right-wing and xenophobic) draws extensively on the idea of “Peoples Home” and the idea of gender equality as a Swedish marker. Sweden, like the other Nordic countries, is often perceived as outside global colonial histories. A colonial mind or white supremacy, however, is not only linked to colonized land, but also to ‘complying with colonialism’ (Vuorela, 2009), which can be expressed, for example, by ‘subordinated inclusion’, where immigrants are given formal citizenship rights, but are still discriminated against in most of the political and social spheres (Mulinari & Neergard, 2005), and given status of being gender un-equal.

Only a few studies has been carried out on experiences of Islamophobia in Sweden, and they conclude that Muslim women often experience disrespect to a higher extent than other women experience in public space, including workplaces. The majority had not reported the incidents in which they were involved to the police. These studies also support the idea that relations between non-Muslims and Muslims in Sweden has developed in a negative way since the 9/11 of 2001. Since they take the form of surveys, there is no further information about the consequences of these encounters. Since 2006, The National Council for Crime Prevention in Sweden has officially recorded Islamophobic hate crimes. During 2012, 310 incidents were reported to the police in Sweden. The most common incidents were threats (via post, text message, telephone), while 9 percent of the incidents
involved physical violence. In half of the incidents, the offenders were unknown to the victims.

Much research related to the debate on the veil concerns Muslim identities, placing issues of religion and faith more centrally within social and cultural studies. Often based in feminist and anti-racist theory, a new understanding of the development of social geographies of Muslims and Islam is emerging. In Sweden there is a growing body of research literature on Muslim women’s and girls’ practices and how these women and girls negotiate everyday life situations. While women wearing veils in a European context are often perceived as an expression of failed integration, Muslim women who decide not to wear a veil are regarded as part of a successful integration process. As Fernando points out, women’s bodies and dresses are central to the politics of integration as women’s bodies “have consistently served as the site upon which citizenship and national identity have been variously constructed” (Fernando, 2009, p. 384, see also Scott, 2007). Ehrkamp even argues, from a German perspective, that “the uncovering of women’s bodies and wearing Western dress, now becomes the condition of membership rather than a benefit of citizenship” (2010, p. 27). A failure, or refusal, to integrate becomes a threat to the nation’s cultural values (Gökariksel & Mitchell, 2005). Commonly, problems connected to structural discrimination, social and political issues are conflated with individual and religious oppressions (Fernando, 2009). In popular culture, as well as in academic writing, Muslim women are repeatedly cast as the victims of” their own” men, submissive, oppressed and not ascribed as agents, or given a ‘critical perspective’ (Mohanty, et.al., 1991, Bullock, 2002, p. 39).

Instead of focusing on subjective experiences of identity, religion, dress codes or gender, this article sheds light on the lived experiences of violent encounters in public
spaces, and on the effects of those experiences. Pain and Smith (2008) argue for the need to embody geopolitics by “focusing on how particular bodies are used and represented, in evaluating discourses and in highlighting everyday experiences” (2008, p. 6) as well as to locate and ground geopolitics, to understand how these processes are played out in the everyday. This study on violence against Muslim women in Malmö does illustrate this relation, in a global, national and urban context.

Encountering Malmö

In the planning documents of Malmö the municipality on the one hand describes the city as multicultural and embracing the diverse population in a process of becoming a vibrant and creative city based on knowledge economy. On the other hand the municipality has made claims on national level to get help to steer migrants away from the city to other municipalities (Mukhtar-Landgren, 2008). Malmö suffered from heavy industrial decline in the 1970s and 1980s due to close downs of the shipyard Kockums and the textile industries, followed by a high rise in unemployment. At the same time as Malmö was struggling with a shrinking tax-base many refugees settled in Malmö. In the early 1990s the city managed to turn the image of Malmö around, from an industrial town into a young and cool university town, but the economy of the city is still weak. Today many Swedes regard Malmö as a cosmopolitan city due to its international population, while at the same time the nationalist party Sweden Democrats is increasing in popularity and racist violence occurs. In an international context, however, the city of Malmö is often portrayed as a city of crimes and violence. Specifically the growth of the Muslim community has received media attention both nationally and internationally (see for example the ‘Eurabia’-episode on Fox News “Swedes Reach Muslim Breaking Point”)

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Turning to the interviews with the women in Malmö presented in this article, it is revealed that the offender is commonly an older person (estimated to be between 55 – 70 years old) and is often another woman. None of the women interviewed had reported any incident to the police, and all but one of them had personal experiences of threats, intimidations or violence. Unlike other hate crimes, Islamophobic crimes target women more often than men. Some interviewees understood this as an expression of the fact that Swedish women did not dare to comment on Muslim men, but that Muslim women seemed to be an easier “target”. However, it is also likely that the greater visibility as a Muslim, because of the veil, is relevant.

During the winter of 2008-2009, nineteen interviews were conducted with Muslim women in Malmö, Sweden. The selection was based on their experience of wearing the hijab, covering their hair and shoulders, in Malmö, but besides this they differed in age (between 20 – 60 years old), original nationality, housing situation, social class, family conditions and area of residence. Some were born in Sweden, while others had only lived here for three years. Only one woman did not wear the hijab at the time of the interview. The sample does not intend to be representative, since the aim is to capture different types of personal experience in order to make an in-depth, qualitative analysis. They were approached by the research team through several different channels, such as personal contacts, language schools, university, day-centers, open day-nurseries centers for children and parents, and a few times through the women’s own networks. The interviews lasted for approximately an hour and they were performed in different places such as a room proximity to where they were at the moment, for example their school or work place. The interviews were performed in Swedish, but sometimes with assistance of a friend if the interviewee’s
knowledge of Swedish was inadequate. They were informed about their role in the research process, and how the material would be used. When the research results were presented for the first time at an open seminar all the interviewees were invited and two of them attended. All interviews were transcribed and analyzed in terms of the themes of violent acts and everyday use of the public space.

The methodological approach is based on narrative methods as the voices of the women were in focus and the questions posed were open, to provide space for the women’s own stories. The questions were about the women’s personal experiences of encounters when wearing a veil in public places. They were asked about places where they felt at home as well as not at home and how they reacted to experiences of verbal or physical abuse. Some women openly expressed appreciation at having the opportunity to give their version of being a Muslim woman in Malmö as this was the first time anybody has asked them about the veil, instead of just speculating and condemning. Narratives are always presented from a specific perspective and told with an aim. The credibility given to people’s narratives depends partly on the person’s social position (Johansson, 2005). Power relations are inherent to both the narrator’s and the listener’s understandings of the narrative. In this research project, contesting existing power relations was deliberate.

The narratives of the women have been analyzed and contextualized in a way that shifts their narratives into a different context, i.e. that of research. Although we did not ask for the women’s life stories, it sometimes happened that they told them, and their life stories then became part of the context of the situations we analyzed. In the tradition of feminist research, this article aims to give voices to women and to contextualizing their experience politically and socially. The power relation between the interviewer and the
interviewee is of course difficult to grasp but it should be noted that the interviewers felt that some of the women were trying to please by telling of positive experiences, while their body language told a different story.

The women are not presented as a homogeneous group. The only thing all the women interviewed have in common is that they define themselves as Muslims, and that they appear as Muslims in public by wearing the hijab. Their backgrounds and lifestyles differ, as well as their reasons for wearing the veil. As discussed above, the main aim is not to understand Islam or religious practices in Sweden, but to focus on the experiences of encounters when wearing the veil in public places. Therefore the article will not get into the particularities of the women’s lives.

Violent encounters in Malmö

To get an understanding of what kind of experiences these women are confronted with this empirical part of the article gives examples of violent acts structured along the lines of the triumvirate set out by Žižek and Bourgois, i.e. the subjective/everyday, symbolic and systemic/structural violence. The subjective violence experienced by these women included for example pushing, spitting, having dogs set on them, or someone attempting to pull off their veil. Although the violence embraces not only physical aspects, physical encounters did occur. The different dimensions of violent acts eat into the everyday lives of the interviewed women.

Hana is 30 years of age, married and has two children under the age of five. She has been living in Malmö for seven years and calls herself a love-migrant, as she moved...
here to marry a Swedish man. They live in a central part of town. Hani has several stories to
tell about violent encounters, which often happens in the presence of her children. This
situation happened when she went to a supermarket, located in the center of the city.

Another incident was at the shopping mall. I went to the grocery store and went to pick up a
basket. The pile of baskets was almost empty, so I had to bend rather deep to get one. There was a
man of maybe 75 who started kicking his grocery cart at me – not once – that could have been an
accident, but several times, and I said “No, no, stop it, what are you doing?” 19

First, she was confused, and then afraid. As many other incidents they
occur without any words being said from the perpetrator. The hate is expressed
through acts and body gestures. In the area she lives, there are very few Muslims and
she believes the situation would be different if Muslims were more visible in her
neighborhood. Hani also tells another story that hurt her very much:

"It was summer and I was pushing the pram – my first child. A women cycled by, she was
between 50 and 55. She slowed down, and I thought she wanted to ask me something – directions
or the like….but she just looked at me and said – You Muslim cunt….I did not get it at first. The
woman cycled away fast, and I tried to run after her. I wanted her to look me in the eye and say
it…."

She told her husband and they went out together to find the perpetrator,
but with no success. At similar incidents she has been trying to take a photo with her
mobile phone. Commonly with other stories told by the interviewees the perpetrator
shamelessly disappears or ignores the victims attempt to encounter on an equal term.
The shocking and hurtful words made the victim perplexed at first, before she realized
what had happened. Hani is never exposed to similar violent encounters when she is seen together with her Swedish husband, these events only occur when she is alone or with her children. The exposure to violence is clearly related to her gender and her social status as Muslim in a Swedish context.

Nabila, age 42, has been living in Sweden since 19 years, with her husband and five children. She was in a similar vein confronted with violence when she visited a park in the city center for a walk with her teenage daughter. As they were walking through the park a Swedish woman set her dog run after them; “Yeah, once, and it was a woman that time too. She let her dog run after us: we just kept on running. My daughter was fifteen years old.” Also Nabila has several stories to tell, for example once being pushed away from the cash till in a shop by a Swedish women or being abusively commented at on the bus. She believes the situation has gone worse over those years she has been living in Sweden, in the sense that the physical violence in these acts are prominent.

Such encounters mainly take place in central parts of the inner city as for example in shops, shopping malls, parks or on public transport and less often in the suburbs where most Muslim migrants lives, along the segregated geography of Malmö. Verbal abuse was the most frequent type, and took place in different settings: on the street, in shops, on buses, at playgrounds, at workplaces and at schools. The comments were sometimes patronizing and sometimes threatening. A variation of being threatened, patronized and verbally abused by mainly other women seems part of the everyday.
Another story is told by another Muslim woman, Ashia age 42, who describes the hurt of being misrecognized and unwanted.

“It happened almost every summer: An old lady, maybe in her 70s. I was walking with my son and it was beautiful weather, early in the morning – she approached me and said; “go back to your own country” or “Yikes”. It hurt and cut deep into my soul”

Aisha was on her way to a playground in the central part of the city when she was encountered. Hurtful comments and violence may be internalized, as Ahmed (2001) pointed out, and effect self-confidence and health (see also Bourgois, 2001).

Violence is part of the everyday surroundings as the following quote illustrates. Anna moved to Malmö from a smaller town, since Islam is more accepted in Malmö and there is a mosque. She has a large family, with a husband, six children and several grandchildren. She has been living in Sweden for 23 years, but through her family she still has a global network. After Anna was visiting her physiotherapist she was confronted by a Swedish man:

“Sometimes people say bad words. Yesterday, for example, I went to a physiotherapist and then I went to a local shopping mall. There were a lot of people. I sat down on a bench and ate a sandwich I had with me. I felt like people were staring at me. An old man looked at me [indicates up and down with her eyes] and said bad words and then he spit on the ground in front of me. Sometimes it makes me so tired. I sit on the bench and eat and I say or do nothing. There are people who stare with hate in their eyes. I think they believe all Muslims are the same, that they are no good…”
To get away from the perpetrator she moved to another bench. On the question of whether she feels at home in the city, Anna hesitates for a while and then says: “I don’t know”. The hesitation in her answer illustrates the ambivalent position the violence gives her in the city.

As part of the symbolic violence, embedded in the language and in the way meaning is given to people or places, the verbal outbursts are part of developing the geography of the veil. In these cases the subjective offenders are visible to the victim, but following Žižek (2008) we also need to ask what these violent acts hide or are a part of, behind the subjective, spectacular and visible violence. Through understanding the context, the content of the economy of hate is being illuminated. These comments hurt, on an individual level, but also because of being exposed to an economy of hate, as Anna explains. She has been trying to get in contact with the persons who say’s those hurting things, but it is difficult. Then Anna tends to carry those emotions inside; "If they spit at me, I feel sad because I have done nothing wrong. I do not understand why they do it.”

The situation of people spitting in front of them is a reoccurring theme in the interviews. It is abusive and also carries a strong symbolic meaning of disrespect.

Symbolic violence includes misrecognitions and humiliating words, acts and gazes, which make the women self-conscious about their visibility and vulnerability. It also influences their expectations and possibilities in society. Lina, age 29, were born and raised in Sweden, but converted to Islam three years ago. Since then she has noticed a huge change in the way she is encountered, not the least when it comes to expectations on her values; “For example, it is regarded as out of question that I may be a feminist since I am a Muslim. As a Muslim it seems that they expect me to be submissive and un-equal.”
The visual gazes are difficult to define and can be understood as an expression of internalized symbolic violence, as they create insecurity. Elena, age 40 and living in the suburbs, assumes she is not welcome into the spaces where self-identified Swedes socializes and hang out:

“...You know, I consciously avoid the square downtown. It may be my presupposition. There are restaurants, and it is easy to feel when I pass by like people are staring at me. Maybe it is just a feeling. But I do avoid that square and take a detour around it if I have to go that way...”

The geography, defined as the places the women include in their world, is highly dependent on similar experiences. In many incidents, the women were with their children (of different ages), and these incidents will affect the children’s perceptions of Swedish society as well. Amina, age 55, is engaged in a woman’s organization and gets to hear many stories from different parts of the city. She is highly educated and had a professional life before moving to Sweden. After four years in Sweden (she moved here in 1991) she had an accident and became wheel-chair bound:

“...Once I was with a girl, driving my (electric) wheelchair with her walking behind me. We met a woman who was drunk and said many bad words to the girl. The girl was very scared and cried a lot. I told her that the woman had been drinking and that she should not be upset about it. But the girl never wanted to walk the same route again.”

Amina often takes on a role of explaining and supporting other women, and not the least in relation to mobility. Restriction in space and in mobility is an important aspect of oppression. Marilyn Frye describes is as; “The root of the word 'oppression' is in the
element ‘press’...Something pressed is something caught between or among forces and barriers which are so related to each other that jointly they restrain, restrict or prevent the thing’s motion or mobility. Mould. Immobilize. Reduce” (Frye in Rose, 1993, p. 144). The experiences of oppression risk delimiting Muslim women’s mobility and become part of a geography of the veil.

The spatial dimension of systemic violence is revealed in the segregated urban landscape. As mentioned earlier the Muslim women define the urban outskirts as safe, while other neighborhoods, in contrast, which is regarded as ‘good areas’ or ‘Swedish areas’ such as the high income area of Limhamn in Malmö, are perceived as threatening by the Muslim women. When asked, where she did not feel at home, Lena, age 29, refers to such a villa area:

“I do not feel at home in Limhamn, although I have never been there...but it says in the newspaper that people in Limhamn do not like immigrants, but I do not know. But if somebody looked at me there, I would think she was wondering what I am doing there…”

She has been living in Malmö since she was 11 years of age, works as a nurse, and she feels at home in the city, but consciously avoid areas she defines as Swedish. She lives in the outskirt of the city, in a migrant-dominated area, where she feels safe and at home. Two other informants say they would never leave their housing area after dark alone, as they only feel safe in a neighborhood where most inhabitants are migrants like themselves.
Systemic and structural violence reinforces discriminating patterns, as it ‘locks’ the Muslim women into a specific context and place. The symbolic value of Swedish-ness signals a no-go-area for this woman, while the ‘migrant-areas’ are home-territory. Lena who was born in such a villa area and later converted to Islam, also mentioned that she did not like to go back to her the house where her father still lived, as she felt all the neighbors staring at her. The geography of the veil sits in places which are entangled with violent imaginations, or the economy of hate that the women have experienced.

The systemic violence lays in the structural dimension of the society, as for example the urban segregation, or in the difficulty of entering the labor market. Most women feel that the veil is the reason they are discriminated. Sometimes the veil is put in relation to other local systemic norms. In Malmö 40 percent of all the work related travels are done by bicycles (The City of Malmö, 2013). Not using a bike in combination with wearing a veil is then too far from the accepted norm. Eman, 55, is working as a home assistant to elderly people, and wants to get a permanent position:

"One employer actually told me, because I always wear a veil and a skirt, not trousers, and he said to me “as long as you do not wear trousers and not use a bicycle you will not be permanently employed here”. I thought that was horrible.”

She was given specific conditions referring to her Muslim identity in relation to the possibility of a permanent employment. The systemic violence acted out here, interferes with her possibility to plan her economy and time.
Adding differences in a list illustrates the difficulties of being accepted. With black humor Petra, 29, explains the obstacles to find work:

“I do believe that the veil makes it more difficult to find a job. When you write your application the first thing they see is an Arabic name and they go “Oh, an Arab” and then when they see you in front of them, then they think: “Oh, disaster, she wears a veil. That means she cannot work 8 hour days, maybe she has a baby, maybe she just focuses on the family, they are stupid” or “She is religious, then she has to fast and that means….” See how many negative things….”

The narrative tells of experiences of being defined as bodies out of place. The aggression they encounter tells them they act wrongly, they dress wrongly and they should not be where they are. It is not simply an encounter between an islamophobic person and a Muslim body, the experiences are directly associated to what it means to be a Muslim in the West today. The violent acts become a vital part of an economy of hate, which reproduces the distance between the offender and the victim. However, the Muslim women are not to be seen as victims, as they clearly enter places not assigned for them and therefore break existing norms and orders. They clearly break with the hegemonic social and political orders.

These examples of encounters in the city of Malmö, framed in a triumvirate of subjective, symbolic and systemic violence shows how violence is acted out in a wider context and system, where it is permitted to utter disrespectful, threatening and hateful words to Muslim women. Understanding violence in this way makes it impossible to consider the experienced violence as something marginal, performed or executed by peculiar individuals who may be defined as Islamophobes. The discursive and spatial situation, on both an urban and a national scale, creates this racist and sexist opening.
Consequences of the economy of hate

The experiences of pain are coming through in the interviews as the triumvirate of violence and hate influences the subject and their everyday strategies. Some develop strategies of softening the encounters by being extra friendly, inviting or acting as Muslim representatives or “ambassadors of Islam” (Bullock, 2002, p. 47). Several Muslim women in the interviews did not portray themselves as victims, neither within Swedish society nor within the local Muslim community. But in different ways the Muslim women in this study were prepared to encounter prejudices and antagonism. To be aware of the negative images is a kind of symbolic violence that eats into the self-confidence. Hani, 30, talks about how she is portrayed in Sweden:

“You know, as a Muslim you feel rather exposed. Because the media...well, they show Muslims as terrorists. Everything that happens in the world seems to be blamed on the Muslims... so people around me, they maybe regard me as a little terrorist. You don’t know. So, you are exposed. It affects me negatively; it does, and I do not feel respected as you probably do. Just because of the veil and being a Muslim, you are simply marked as a terrorist. This make you feel mistreated, and a bit hurt.”

When women, by persisting in wearing a veil, challenge and redefine the national norm, resisting segments of the society seem to experience feelings of fear, anxiety and discomfort, as well as hate, anger and resentment. Such emotions can also be expressed by prominent figures, as for example nationalist parties, which reinforce the idea of whom belongs to the nation (Moors, 2009). Nationalist expression in combination with a backlash of the ideal of multiculturalism (Mitchell, 2004, p. 642) creates a harder social climate. Paradoxically, in a society that celebrates authenticity and ‘being yourself’, Muslim women
are expected to assimilate (Moors, 2009). This assimilation approach also affects the ‘subject of integration’ as this quotation by Nabila, 42, illustrates:

"…from the beginning I did not like the Swedish language or how the Swedes were treating us, so I thought I did not want to learn Swedish. Who would give me a job anyway? Why should I learn to speak Swedish? Women with veils just cannot find good jobs, so why bother learning Swedish?…/…but now, I want to learn Swedish, so I know what people are saying and so I can answer them.”

Nabila has been living in Sweden for many years without learning the language because the motivation was low, but recently she had found motivation in the possibility to be able to speak back at people who treat her disrespectfully.

As Ahmed illustrates, it is clear that emotions are not a private matter. Being subjected to a triumvirate of violence, the Muslim women in Malmö are put in a marginalized position. However, their fear and their exposure to violence are seldom taken into account when understanding ‘integration processes’. And paradoxically, the interviewees are aware that they may be regarded as terrorists even though they themselves may be political or war refugees, and furthermore subjected to violent encounters in the city.

The globally inflamed and confrontational approach to Muslim communities and individuals ‘lands’ on specific bodies in local environments, as the veil ‘provokes’ others in the surrounding society. Violent acts towards Muslims are made invisible or ignored within a discourse where Muslims are portrayed as violent and as threatening the world order of modernity and the future.
Conclusions

The geography of the veil described by the informants is clearly overlapping the socio-economic segregation of the city, where areas are defined in terms of being “Swedish” or “immigrant areas”. However, the everyday life activities blur such imagined and real borders and the public spaces become arenas for encounters. The violent encounters these women talk about often occur in places which would not be defined as dangerous or no-go-places, rather the opposite. The different kind of violent acts seem invisible to most citizens, or is just being neglected, as it does not fit into the common understanding of urban violence. The violent acts these women experiences are part of an economy of hate, and the subjective, everyday violence therefore needs to be contextualized in relation to symbolic geo-political violence, and in relation to structural and systemic violence, as these different forms of violence are related from the point of view of the Muslim women interviewed. The stories told about violent encounters clearly show the gendered and nationalist framing of the incidents.

The offenders are commonly described as ‘older’ and female perpetrators are more often mentioned than male offenders. This research is not sufficient to be able to explain the reason for this, but seen in the context of Swedish nationalist discourse it seems plausible to relate their hate to existing ‘norms’ of gender equality, gender roles and immigration, and how this articulates with Swedish nationalism. It also rhymes with the common understanding amongst the women that younger people in Malmö are much more used to the fact that people come from all around the world. At the end of the day, 30, 5 % of the population in Malmö is born abroad, which means that inhabitants with a ‘glocal’ (Listerborn, 2013) lifestyle are probably about half of the population.
The consequences of the hate effect different dimensions of life. The most common manifestation is feelings of exclusion and marginalization from public spaces and public life, due to encounters that are described as uneasy or as antagonistic. To be accountable, recognized and respected as relevant people is in many ways the opposite of the experiences of pain (Ahmed, 2001) and marginalization. But nobody is a stranger (Ahmed, 2000, Koefoed & Simonsen, 2010) - rather he or she is constituted as a stranger in relation to specific bodily or mediated encounters and within spatial ambivalences between the near and the distanced. One becomes a stranger when one experiences the feeling of being a stranger and when “we recognize somebody as a stranger, rather than simply failing to recognize them” (Ahmed, 2000, p. 21). The older Swedish women who perform violent acts in relation to the Muslim women in Malmö want to keep the distance between “them and us,” as it becomes meaningful to recognize the Muslim women as the Other, and as a danger to the existing national and urban order.

The symbolic violence is identifying these women not only as the Other, but also as part of an international terror regime threatening ‘Western’ ideals. This relates to what Cindy Katz (2007) calls banal terrorism, based on a nationalist claim to solidify the nation. The ‘routinization of terror talk’ creates spatial social relations of antagonism and fear. Koefoed and Simonsen (2010) illustrate further how the banal terrorism is being integrated in the bodily urban experience of Muslims living in Copenhagen. The feeling of being out of place relates, however, most to the national scale and less to the urban scale. Their interviewees more easily identify themselves as a Copenhagener, than being Danish. Clearly, the urban scale is where both the violent encounters are acted out, and where
solidarity can be experienced. It is where the everyday life is performed and the necessity of the everyday breaks the orders of hegemony – by default or on purpose.

The systemic dimension of violence is underlying these different aspects of violent expressions which produces and reproduces spatial patterns of segregation, exclusion and power. In times of strong xenophobic and racist movements in Europe these violent acts are likely to increase. But in a time of backlash of multiculturalism in the West (Mitchell, 1994), several scholars argue that there must be other ways of addressing difference than just refusing it (Scott, 2007, p. 180). Responding to global fears on national and urban levels, for instance by implementing laws as in France, or by being blind to street conflicts between different groups of citizens as in Malmö, with references to laïcité (secularism), individual rights, freedom of speech, security or gender equality, cannot be seen as constructive because the only thing this does is to “reaffirm the unacceptable difference of Muslims” (Scott 2007:181). Expressions of Islamophobia, in a wider perspective, concern the uses of and the power over distribution of places and the (violent) negotiation of space.

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Notes

2. Article in the daily paper *Sydsvenska dagbladet*, [http://www.sydsvenskan.se/sverige/stenen-i-ryggen-blev-droppen](http://www.sydsvenskan.se/sverige/stenen-i-ryggen-blev-droppen), 8 April 2011. In August 2012 similar events occurred in Forserum, another small town, where citizens with Somali backgrounds told of violent incidents of abuse, stones being thrown at them and other incidents, resulting in large groups having moved away from the village.

3. In 2005, the Netherlands was the first country where a law prohibiting the public use of the “burqa” won a parliamentary majority. Still, only 0.002% of the population wore veils covering the face. The aim of the law was to achieve settings “where no woman yet been seen wearing a face-veil” (Moors 2009:399).

4. The Swedish National Agency for Education; [http://www.skolverket.se/polopoly_fs/1.165937!Menu/article/attachment/Helt%C3%A4ckande%20sl%C3%B6ja%20slutlig.pdf](http://www.skolverket.se/polopoly_fs/1.165937!Menu/article/attachment/Helt%C3%A4ckande%20sl%C3%B6ja%20slutlig.pdf), 4 April, 2012.

5. A quotation from Bourdieu illustrates his complex understanding of symbolic violence; “[t]he very lifestyle of the holders of power contributes to the power that makes it possible, because its true conditions of possibility remain unrecognized…” (1990a, p. 139).

6. A symbolic reference to the Latin triumvirate (“of three men”) which was a political regime dominated by three powerful individuals, each a triumvir.

7. A similar broad understanding could be found in the definition from the *World Report on Violence and Health* (WRVH): "the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation." This has been taken further by Violence Prevention Alliance; See: [http://www.who.int/violenceprevention/approach/definition/en/index.html](http://www.who.int/violenceprevention/approach/definition/en/index.html), 14 September, 2012.

8. The number of emigrants to Denmark has decreased since 2011. This migration is closely related to fluctuations in the labour and housing markets and other cyclical economic aspects. A major change in relation
to emigration in Denmark had to do with a law adopted in 2002 stating that an emigrant to Denmark who was married to a Danish citizen had to be at least 24 years of age to be allowed into the country. Living in Sweden temporarily is locally known as “svensklösningen” [the Swedish solution].

9. Islamic Center; http://www.mosken.se/historik.htm  4 June 2012


12. In Turkey, the unveiling became an important symbol of women’s emancipation as a means of creating the modern state (Göle 1996).

13. This has historically given these countries a positive position in conflict mediation and as especially suitable actors in international peace processes (Keskinen et al. 2009).

14. The Swedish Integration Board (closed down in 2007) conducted a survey of 90 Muslim women wearing veils, focusing on their experiences of discrimination (Englund 2006). In 2003, a report based on dialogues with religious organizations, including a survey of 176 Muslims on their experiences after 11 September 2002 was published (Larsson 2003). In 2005, the city of Gothenburg completed a study which included interviews with eleven Muslims, seven of whom were women (Högfeldt 2005). See also Gardell (2011).

15. There are now studies of converts (Månsson 2002, Roald 2004, Sultán Sjöqvist 2006), young women negotiating gender norms in relation to religious activities (Karlsson Minganti 2007), and research on how Muslims “live” and perform Islam (Ouis & Roald 2003, see also Roald 2001). This research illustrates the variation of religious practices and performances in a transnational context, and shows how these practices challenge social norms in the West. Similar studies has been made in other European countries (Watson 1994, Reece 1996, Fadil 2007, Dwyer 1999, 2000, 2008, Koyuncu Lorasdağ 2009). In such research, the role of women (and the veil) is sometimes addressed in relation to Islamophobia, xenophobia and discrimination (Bullock 2002, Secor 2002, see also Koefoed and Simonsen 2010).


17. The research was conducted with research assistant Johanna Sixtensson who performed the interviews with the author as her supervisor. Sixtensson also transcribed the interviews and made a summary report in Swedish.
References


