



Report on the work about established research (2010-2016)

Director of the CALEM Cabinet – www.calem.eu

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Secularism, Interculturality, Gender, Religiosity:

Contemporary societies' comparative studies

The aim of our past researches was to analyze the reasons of the contemporary emergence in France, compared with analogous situations elsewhere in the world, of public citizen networks aiming at the recognition of minorities' rights, from within Islam. The public emergence of these minorities is made evident in the form of an inclusive report to the Islam of France, and also by the elaboration of social representations and alternative identities/lifestyles (i.e. feminists, gay-friendly, against transphobia and anti-Semitism movements, ecologists), in a political context characterized by the rise of obscurantism on one side, and nationalism on the other one.

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Keywords : *gender, minority, LGBT, islam, public space, alternative identity representation, dehumanization, radicalization, fascism, nationalism.*

I. The context of a new expertise

Today, citizens who define themselves as lesbian, gay, bisexual or transsexual, particularly if they are of Arab-Muslim descent, are under the of scrutiny of unprecedented (self)identity and political pressure. Nevertheless, it is rather difficult to comprehend the precise reasons to this phenomenon. Particularly in France, whereby the questionability of Islam and sexual diversity is even more of a problem, especially when these two dimensions are intertwined. Those that we tend to qualify as "minority" are nevertheless, often without even being conscious of it, at the heart of the European socio-political debates, but also with their non-Islamic counterpart, more and more, from the other side of the Mediterranean Sea.

During my research works, by way of theoretical contributions in social and experimental psychology, in a participative anthropological perspective being accessible by the general public, I analyzed my assimilation during almost five years within an Islamic "LGBT"¹ activism of which I was one of the "gate-keepers". I had three information sources, which I would not have been able to reach if I did not have been committed totally myself, at a "grass roots" level: the testimony of homosexuals who, de facto, were regarded as a "sexual minority"; the testimony of Imams of France and Europe about this subject; the developments of Islamic LGBT activism in the past few years, in particular as a result of the increase of statements/declarations, which were more and more fascist, on behalf of homophobic and transphobic Muslims, even anti-Semitic ones.

1. General description of past research

To further elucidate the sociological and political outlines of this problematic, which is today beyond doubt a concern for all citizens, I dealt, first of all, with the question of the ethnic and sexual minorities within postmodern and secular societies like ours. I determined some of the reasons why, especially today, *vis-à-vis* which particular political and religious tensions, these minority individuals, who are, in fact, "double-minorities", decided to regroup within citizen networks, while inadvertently reaffirming their particular attachment the values of the Republic. I identified hybrid, alternative, intercultural and ethical identity models, proposed by these minorities thusly organized, to continue to live all together, democratically and under full equalitarian dynamics (that is basically my psychology PhD. Content published on the 7th of January 2016 in French, available online: "*Du placard aux Lumières...*").

Secondly, having mapped more in detail the historiographical, geopolitical and cultural context in touch with our problematic, I dedicated the second part of my research to the theoretical analysis, then to the practical consequences of such identities embodiment within our public spaces, today in France (anthropology thesis, defended academically but still under press for the public). I clarified the way certain context of political violence, the rise of nationalisms in Europe, and fascisms on the other side of the Mediterranean Sea, even of the guerrilla warfare at times of our common recent history, has consequences on the well-being, and sometimes the survival, of individuals who are at the "avant-garde" of new social transformations, albeit the main "scapegoats", in a trans-historical and trans-geographical manner, to all forms of totalitarianism been imposed by force or against the will and rights of the average citizen. Precisely, I have described the repercussions of these political, sometimes military and dehumanizing tensions, on the development of these individuals's identities, in particular as it relates to gender, sexuality, but also community or national belonging. I identified the strategies developed by these minorities to survive, while contributing, when it is possible, to the democratic dynamics, in general.

Finally, the last phase of my research was concerned with putting in perspective, mainly, the tenets counter-discourses on such matters which are (re)developing, even at the moment, since the end of the last century, elaborated by sexual minorities who claim to be Muslims, as a result of previous Diasporas living in France, Europe, but also in French-speaking African communities. This analysis was made in comparison to other Muslim communities around the world, in particular in North America and in South-East Asia. It should be noted that this is a historic shift, which I had the chance to analyze, because these minorities clearly intend to regain control upon religious theoretical corpus,

1 Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transidentity.

in particular by the elaboration of a "theology of the Islamic liberation", applied to the sexual minorities, in order to reconcile sexuality and spirituality. Although considered by their most radical coreligionists as "perverts" or "lunatics", the sexual minorities seem to be at the avant-garde of the elaboration of a religiosity, an individual and community ethics, of Islamic inspiration. It is an alternative, inclusive, and progressive ethic, often anarchistic, and sometimes ecological. I clarified the reasons why Islamic religious authorities, today in France, want to grant a more central space to present these questions of gender and sexualities fascist control.

2. A participative scientific paradigm

To put in perspectives the current research, in regards to other research in the same domain of "intersectional" affirmed identities which are more openly disclosed in public, community and private spaces, I shall quote as an example the PhD. thesis of Christelle Hamel (2012) concerning "*risk management of HIV infection by French young people who are descendants of Maghreb native migrants*".

In the case of this thesis, C. Hamel approaches, from an anthropological point of view, the question of identity representations of homosexual Muslims or from Arab-Muslim origin, in this case handbook by means of the question about HIV-AIDS, the "at risk" sexual behavior and of the respect of the self/individual. C. Hamel specifies that her approach is not as a political supporter. Instead as a researcher, her can only observe the semantic orientation of the speech which she receives spontaneously:

"[I found] a very political and critical speech, elaborated by these young people, who emphasize with their words that there is no social policy to empower young people in France. And I am not insensitive to their arguments! I realize that these boys want to speak to me about one thing: racism they incur. Questions about their relationships with girls, sexuality, HIV / AIDS, are far from being their first concerns (...). I had not read anything on intersectionality at that time, it is a literature that I was not familiar with, I discovered it only after my thesis"².

It is the same for my research: the question of ethnical or sexual minorities, of discriminations or risky behaviors, is only a medium I have chosen as a researcher. Focusing our scientific analysis on the relationship to sexuality, or spirituality, therefore the goal of such research is to address, from an anthropological and participatory point of view, the issue of identity representations mutations in our societies, in connection with issues that are at the heart of social policy nowadays in France and Europe.

3. Some salient intersectional perspectives

One of the strong angles of my research approach was to determine what does the Islamic LGBT activism share, as a similar political mechanism, with the Islamic feminism. It was necessary for me to keep in mind that these LGBT, from Muslim confession or cultural background, remain only marginally visible; and that it would be naïve to think that they form a monolithic or singular speaking voice block; knowing exactly which strategy to adopt; to end in which axiological choices, exactly. Furthermore, I was able to notice that these particular minorities may, by some of their representatives, reproduce discriminations towards others, such as: misogyny, transphobia, judeophobia.

However, the objective of my research was not to approach, from an ethnographical point of view, the question organizations sociology, using the emergence of Muslim LGBT associations; but to study the identity transformations embodied by these individuals. The second common theme of my research was to determine if these renewed identity representations are a shift from an Arab-Muslim historiographical inheritance. Or if they are only the expression of a radical, certainly alternative, re-appropriation of democratic, and secularized, Islamic ethical values.

2 Hamel, C. & Clair, I. (2012). « "Dans le même temps, je découvre que je suis blanche..." ». Entretien avec Christelle Hamel », *Genre, sexualité & société*, 7. Available online - <http://gss.revues.org/2380>.

II. Detailed description of past researches

1. *Active and visible sexual minorities in public spaces*

However, the objective of my research was not to approach, from an ethnographical point of view, the question organizations sociology, using the emergence of Muslim LGBT associations; but to study the identity transformations embodied by these individuals. The second common theme of my research was to determine if these renewed identity representations are a shift from an Arab-Muslim historiographical inheritance. Or if they are only the expression of a radical, certainly alternative, re-appropriation of democratic, and secularized, Islamic ethical values.

The term "minority" is often used to political ends, ideological views, or as a categorization tool. Nevertheless from a scientific point of view, we cannot avoid the debate; it is necessary to study the reasons of the emergence of this concept in the public sphere during the past few years. Indeed, according to the epistemological difficulties defining, in a universal way, sexual identities or gender orientations, taking into account political or cultural contexts, it is essential to return to the origins of the terminology used for the particular needs for our research.

This terminology has been put forward since the early 2000s, to overcome the misunderstandings and controversies, provoked by the more deeply culturally rooted terms, such as "gay" or "lesbians". The conference of Yogyakarta in Indonesia (2006) was organized by a group of experts and politicians from around the world to discuss human rights. The minutes of this conference, commonly known as the *Yogyakarta Principles*, historically specify:

"The term "sexual minority", or "sexual minorities", refers to people whose sexual orientation or practices differ from the dominant heterosexual paradigm. This term encompasses sexual orientation and gender identity, including those who identify as being lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender or intersex, or are MSM or women who have sex with women.

Besides, in regards to my research more particularly, with the social, often violent climate known in the Arab-Muslim world today, these sexual minorities, when they are visible in the public space, expose themselves to numerous forms of social and political violence. Far from any cultural essentialism, some organizations such as *Human Right Watch* established a direct link between the British laws, against sodomy in the 20th century, and the ones which still exist today within certain postcolonial societies of the southern hemisphere:

« Colonial legislators and jurists introduced such laws, with no debates or "cultural consultations," to support colonial control. They believed laws could inculcate European morality into resistant masses. They brought in the legislation, in fact, because they thought "native" cultures did not punish "perverse" sex enough. The colonized needed compulsory re-education in sexual mores. Imperial rulers held that, as long as they sweltered through the promiscuous proximities of settler societies, "native" viciousness and "white" virtue had to be segregated: the latter praised and protected, the former policed and kept subjected »³.

Alas, it would be risky to superimpose a postmodern, western, societal model, on Arab-Islamic post-colonial social dynamics which do not directly correspond to the same criteria of categorization, for various reasons: impossible visibility in the public space, rejection or denial of all or part of one's sexuality, lack of the observed behavior homogeneity.

Moreover, one of the challenges of this kind of research is to describe the observed phenomena in an objective way. That is to say, one has to discern whether one is observing the

3 (2008). *"This Alien Legacy : the origins of "sodomy" laws in British colonialism"*. Available online - <http://www.hrw.org/en/reports/2008/12/17/alien-legacy-0>

behavior of homosexuals or transsexuals who are Muslims, or simply the homosexuals and transsexuals behavior itself.

Hence, the main question from the beginning of my research was to determine if the discrimination of minorities in Islam is simply due to a colonial inheritance impossible to overcome, or an up and coming process yet to be implemented in the postmodern Islamic ethics. Even there, the analysis of the theoretical corpus regarding dehumanization and fascisation of identities, as well as the discursive analysis of the main principals, made throughout my researches, allowed me to deepen the understanding of the alternative Muslim identities in France, as well as the analysis of determining factors regarding epistemological and political violence.

2. The public emergence of minorities political demands

Muslim minorities in France and Europe, from a general point of view, assert more and more clearly the fact they want to gain a sense of control upon the theoretical, ethical and social Islamic corpus, in order to reconcile sexualities and so called "Islamic" identities. They want to affirm that power most certainly publicly, but also within what is now globally called "LGBT communities" as well as the general Muslim communities of France. They assert, under the pressure of new geopolitical and economic tensions, their will to rephrase tenets and applications of the current Islamic ethics.

I have noted that this counter-discourse does not only embody a given posture, answering the most dogmatic extremists among us. I determined how this alternative Muslim activism is similar, or not, to the Islamic feminism, in regards to its elaboration and sometimes its lack of direction; most of the Islamic feminists are silent on the question of sexuality, in general, and on that of the diversity of genders in particular. However, I did not establish any "essential" theory about Islam; I am left with facts and testimonies, mainly from Islamic authorities of France, and also from representatives of Muslim LGBT minorities, to determine what their political strategies and their respective messages are.

The challenge of my researches was to avoid the stumbling block which would have consisted in wanting to give lessons to Arab-Muslim societies, and the fast-changing social and political communities of the Diaspora. Plus, such approach would have been considered as the demonstration of what some to be an "International gay" lobby expression⁴, despite the protests of LGBT activist movements.

From this particular point of view, how this current societal transformations will allow the Islamic sexual minorities of France to get out of the hétéronormative, hegemonic, identity straightjacket? Will that liberation be done in alliance with Muslim authorities of France (such as the *CFCM*⁵).

I did not either try to stack, blindly, my observations to what is collectively considered to be a "homonationalist" standard, which would try to direct ideologically the sexual practices of "Arabs", in Europe and elsewhere, by forcing the concerned individuals into systematic "coming-out". This standard is allegedly stemming from a "gay" culture, which would be standardized by elitist western sexual minorities' representatives, and Arab middle-class individuals, who would want to consolidate their political demands by imposing them to all citizens.

It is the thesis of Joseph Massad, who is a Christian from Palestinian origin, teaching at Columbia University of New York. J. Massad is very hard in his criticisms of the homosexual liberation movements, sometimes on the verge of the unfounded accusations⁶. These sexual minorities, more and more politically organized in the West, on the pretext of wanting to liberate homosexual Muslims, would westernize them, with the collaboration of Arabic intellectual elites which are completely convinced of the legitimacy of the societal transformations by which they live on a daily basis. Without taking a personal stance in this partisan debate, as a scientist, I cannot overlook such attitude which nevertheless seems to point to a certain indecisive tension, in the dysphoric representation some people - the "Arabs"-, as well as the others - the "Westerners"-, have of their own identities⁷.

4 Massad, J. (2008). « *Desiring Arabs* ». University of Chicago Press.

5 « Conseil Français du Culte Musulman ».

6 Massad, op. cit.

7 Djellad, D. (2000). « *Cet Arabe qui t'excite* ». Balland, Paris.

3. Sexualities still questioning contemporary societies

Thus, I choose to study more specifically these societal transformations, and the political, civilizational, and sometimes violent questionings, which they utilized, from the point of view of conceptual relationships between sexual practices and social organization.

In Europe, Muslim imams such as Tareq Oubrou – imam of the Bordeaux Mosque - in 2010, asserted that it is the duty of every Muslim to fight against any forms of direct or indirect violence, towards sexual minorities. Nevertheless, the same imam, a member of the Muslim brothers and still member of the very radical UOIF⁸, supported at the same time - before retracting - that homosexuality can be compared with bestiality, which is against " the Islamic ethics ". The heterosexual standard, thus, according to him, is made imperative by its representation of the Divine and the "natural" order of things in life. I noticed clearly that imam T. Oubrou does not say, on the other hand, on what, then, this ethics is based; as if it was about an evidence-based fact.

Furthermore, numerous Islamic authorities, in the West and the Arab-Muslim world⁹, assert strongly that homosexuality is formally forbidden for a long time in Islam. Nevertheless, this is only a false paradox, I have demonstrated that it is a historic fact to say that sexual behaviors, considered today to be a "transgression" - according to a social order governed in public by "heterocentered" standards - were tolerated, for the centuries, in the Arab-Muslim world, as long as they were limited to the private sphere; a tolerance which expressed itself most probably until recently, early 21th century¹⁰, in the entire the Arab-Muslim societies, including in the highest spheres of the Islamic power¹¹, since Antiquity¹².

I developed this idea according from the academic representation of the first centuries of Islam, which mark a clear break with the homophobia of postcolonial Arab-Muslim States, all the way to the so-called "Islamic" state, which claims to be DAECH, which imprisons, even executes, the individuals belonging openly to sexual minorities; just like it mirrored in Europe, until the 18th century, what has been described as the era of the "abnormal"¹³. This process which consists of surveying, and even of punishing, minorities described as abnormal by a centralized power, according to fascist identity standards, qualifies in social psychology as a form of dehumanization.

III. Post-colonial elaboration of newly re-established identities

1. The dehumanization of sexual minorities in Islam

This ideological radicalization takes place in a systematical, trans-geographical, and trans-historical way, by different kind of dehumanization of minorities' identities steps, pushed by unilateral, centralized fascist institutions.

This notion of dehumanization is defined as the belief according to which the members of our social group (the endogroup) would be more human than those of a human group whom we consider, by nature, as different (exogroup). This unconscious social phenomenon is, in reality, the source of all forms of discriminations and it is caused, one way or another, by the lack of intellectual, economic and political emancipation of the population which are generally blindly draped under the cloak of the majority, which tries to identify "scapegoats", to externalize their most unfavorable psychological and political tensions.

In parallel to this psychological analysis, who certainly allow to a certain extent to understand the motivations of individuals from a theoretical point of view, I found the historiographical and philosophical approach of Michel Foucault a big source of inspiration to seize, in a global, and especially, coherently plausible way, the sociological processes which lead a community to practice mass discriminations. M. Foucault asserted that:

8 « L'Union des Organisations Islamiques de France ».

9 See for instance Al-Qaradâwî, on Al-Jazeera "*Sharia and life*".

10 Chebel, M. (1995). « *Encyclopédie de l'amour en islam* ». Payot, Paris.

11 Larivière, M. (1997). « *Homosexuels et bisexuels célèbres : Le Dictionnaire* ». Déletraz, Paris.

12 *Polis*, from the antique grec πόλις.

13 Foucault, M. (1999). « *Les Anormaux : cours au collège de France* ». Gallimard, Paris.

"The speech about the raising of moral standards, it is a childish speech, it is a speech among which the epistemological, quite whole organization commanded by the fear and the raising of moral standards, can be only derisory, even compared with the madness"¹⁴.

This way of considering individuals, not so much according to what they consider to be, but according to behaviors which are considered to be extreme, does not seem to be connected specifically to the gender theory applied to Islam's analysis. Furthermore, it helps putting into perspective the criticisms made most of the time to Muslims, allowing me to see clearly find out the real determinism regarding homophobia, Islamophobia, and Judeophobia genesis, from within Arab-Muslim communities.

In conclusion, I noticed how the pseudo-Scientifics and pseudo-religious expertise allowed, in connection with the dehumanization of gender minorities, and in lieu of judiciary punitive actions, to manipulate the representation of standards concerning what is "normal" in human nature.

I observed the direct consequences of these unconscious community processes, especially on the question of responsibility which cannot be any more questioned because, finally, at the end of these processes, the subject is to be responsible for everything and to be responsible of nothing. I have clarified why, in Islam, the case of the "legal vacuum" about homosexuality illustrates perfectly this transformation of the relationship to sexualities, because it is described more and more as a crime in the eyes of the "Islamic law" (the *fiqh*); however, it does not mean that there is any irrefutable proofs, in this condemnation, from a theological or spiritual point of view, nor from a jurisdictional one, clearly defined by the Quran or by the prophetic tradition (hadiths).

In any case:

"at a certain moment thus, whether it is at the end of the 17th or at the end of the 19th century, the general opinion made about homosexual relations, a sin related to theft or to adultery, made way for the idea that they were rather revealing of an abnormal psychological or physiological constitution"

My past research highlighted the counter-discourse, militant thus to be considered as such, using the fact that this is at the same time, not only a political or a religious issue, but especially a sociological problem, draped in an ethno-theological coat: these aspects of discriminations are indeed inextricably connected in Europe, since the 17th century, but also within the Arab-Muslim societies, along with the import of this modern knowledge from the West.

2. Secondary experiences which reinforced my theoretical research and premises

a. A year of research in South Africa (my report below for the Stellenbosch University alumni)

"Of course the French and the South African contexts are much different. Nevertheless in French also words like "transformation", or "diversity", "integration" and "equality of chance" are often misused. What is equality when in some neighbourhood almost 50% of youth, mainly for Arab popular background living in France for generations, are not able to find a job because of their surname? What is diversity when most student in Stellenbosch, not coming from a white Afrikaans background, are not able to emancipate from their families still in need of their financial contribution to the family's wellbeing?"

We have to focus on individuals, students' point of view on these matters, and here anthropology and sociology are offering the best of tools. We have to understand, with their own words, what is it to be black or colored in Stellenbosch, a post-apartheid rainbow nation they say. We have to understand what is it to be an Arab-Muslim living in France, a post-colonial nation they say. Mixing so called "races", or different social groups generally speaking, in a public space (Fraser, Warner) does not suffice making them equal. There is first of all a vicious cycle, a parallel between the physical incapacity to mobility and the social one.

14 Foucault, M. (1999). « *Les Anormaux. Cours au collège de France* ». Seuil, Paris.

Not speaking about the fact that post-colonized cultures produce individuals not willing to get low jobs their fathers and forth-fathers did all their lives until death; plus, families also tend to maintain a tension to appropriate their children, the next generation, like they have been the economical anonymous and replaceable property of their former social superiors, as all “subalterns” tend to be (Spivak). Freedom of consumerism does not produce automatically freedom of consciousness, self-determination and self-definition of ipseities.

No doubt that biopower is still playing a huge role in social interactions within post-colonial nations. The issue of equality and social mobility has to be entirely reassessed. What could you get, in terms of sociological paradigm, from French LGBT racists telling Arab-Muslim LGBT it is because of them they have homophobic issues in France: because all Muslims are supposedly, in their racist view, dangerous liars. What could you get, in terms of sociological paradigm, from a South African LGBT community publishing “gay” magazines were only white models appear in the nice pictures? Could we still call these mechanisms liberating ones?; the example of the big issue after the Marathon gay kiss is a proof that obviously these liberating mechanisms are style a work in process.

How social groups affirming to fight back any discrimination for generations tend to reproduce them, within themselves, so evidently? These who knew discriminations in their private space, know perfectly how to reproduce them; plus, they belong to subaltern minorities which are often discriminated per nature. This means they are more subject to irrational fears than other dominant social groups (Moscovici). Some intellectuals name that “hosti-pitality” (Derrida)”.

b. An exhaustive list of my past publications

COLLOQUIUMS, SEMINARS & CONFERENCES

Scientific seminars (co-organisor)

- Co-organisation (with Jean Zaganariis & al.) of an international colloquium, *Qu'est-ce qu'un corps vulnérable ?*, 5 may 2014, EGE, Rabat (CERAM/EGE/CALEM).
- Co-organisation (with Jean Zaganariis & al.) of an international colloquium, *Qu'est-ce qu'un corps vulnérable ?*, 15 february 2014, EGE, Rabat (EGE/CALEM).
- Co-organisation (with Stéphanie Latte-Abdallah) of Abdennur Prado and Laure Rodriguez Quiroga's conference (Universidad Complutense de Madrid), *Du féminisme islamique à l'engagement LGBT : quel islam inclusif pour quelles citoyennetés en Europe ?*, 22 november 2012, EHESS, Paris (IISMM/EHESS/CALEM).
- Co-organisation (with Stéphanie Latte-Abdallah) of Amina Wadud's conference (Virginia Commonwealth University), *Sexualité, genre et nouvelles théologies islamiques*, 13 décembre 2011, EHESS, Paris (IISMM/EHESS/CALEM).

Scientific seminars (guest)

- Presentation within the seminar of Corinne Fortier and Tassadit Yacine, *Genre et subjectivités en Islam, au Maghreb et au Moyen-Orient*, 18 february 2016 (EHESS).
- Presentation within the seminar of Florence Bergueaud-Blackler, *Offre d'islam en France et en Belgique : Progressive Inclusive Muslims*, 8 december 2015 (IREMAM/ENS).
- Presentation within the seminar of Catherine Grevet & al., *Femmes et religions : Théologien-nes féministes et gay-friendly de l'islam, une approche historiographique*, 14 november 2015 (CIÉPHUM/UMONS).
- Presentation within the seminar of Phuong Mai Nguyen & al., *The middle in the West: bound by mutual interest*, 9 december 2014 (CALEM/ Amsterdam applied sciences University).
- Presentation within the seminar of religious facts anthropology, *Questionning gender and sexual diversity*, 22 october 2014 (CALEM/Western Cap University).
- Presentation within the symposium of Zethu Matebeni & al., *Queer en Afrique : nouvelles théologies islamiques de la libération*, 2 june 2014 (HUMA/Université du Cap).

- Presentation within the seminar of the francophone association of Boston University by Saïful Saleem, *Radically alternative Islamic LGBT corporalities & religiosities*, 23 april 2014 (AFBU/BU).
- Presentation within the seminar of Lerna Ekmekcioglu, *Women and Gender in the Middle East and North Africa*, 25 april 2014 (Massachusetts Institute of Technology).
- Presentation within the seminar of Djamel Bekkai, *Topics and Arab cultura*, 25 april 2014 (BU).
- Presentation within the seminar of Liliane Dusewoir, *Composition and conversation*, 25 april 2014 (BU).
- Presentation within the seminar of Michel Bondurand, *Représentations et réalités de l'islam en France*, 13 november 2013 (Sorbonne/AUP).
- Presentation within the colloquium organised by Bleisch Bouzar Petra & al., *Des croyant-e-s comme les autres... ou pas? Homophobie dans des traditions religieuses / Gläubige wie die anderen auch... oder nicht?*, 21 june 2013 (HEP/Université de Fribourg).
- Presentation within the seminar of Jocelyne Dakhli, *Harem et Déspotisme*, 15 january 2013 (CRH/EHESS).
- Presentation within the seminar of Florence Bergueaud-Blackler & Martine Gross, *Identités et pratiques homosexuelles dans le judaïsme, le christianisme et l'islam*, 14 may 2012 (EHESS).

Other conferences, colloquiums & workshops (coordinator)

- Co-organiser of the international interfaith colloquium of GIN (100.000 euros budget), *GIN-SSOGIE – global interfaith network*, january 2014 (CALEM/GIN).
- Co-organiser of the international interfaith colloquium of CALEM (11.000 euros de budget), *CALEM – European inclusive Islam*, august 2010 (CALEM/European council).

PUBLICATIONS

Books

- Zahed, L. (2016). *Islam hier, islam demain* (anthropology thesis). A paraitre (Geneva).
- Zahed, L. (2016). *Du placard à la Lumière : LGBT Musulman-es face aux obscurantismes, aux homonationalismes* (psychology thesis). Des ailes sur un tracteur, Paris.
- Zahed, L. (2013). *Queer Muslim Marriage*. Kindle, France.
- Zahed L. (2012). *Le Coran et la Chair*. Max Milo, Paris.
- Zahed L. (2011). *Révoltes extraordinaires : un enfant du sida autour du monde*. L'Harmattan, Paris.
- Zahed L. (2010-2013). *Green Books against homophobia and islamophobia (III tomes)*. HM2F, Paris.

Book chapters

- Zahed, L. (2016). « A radically alternative Islamic LGBT corporalities and religiosity » (under press), in *Leituras Antigas*. Pernanbuco Univesridade, Brazil.
- Zahed L. & al. (2015). « Une religiosité islamique LGBT radicalement alternative », in *Les LGBT font bouger la société*, p. 172-187. Des ailes sur un tracteur, Paris.
- Zahed, L. (2011). « *Des Ténèbres vers la Lumières* », in *Annual report of SOS Homophobie*. SOS homophobie, Paris.

Journal codirection

- Zaganianis, J, Zahed, L. & al. (dir.), « *Cahiers de la transidentité* ». Special issue (to be published in 2016).

Scientific articles

- Zahed, L. (2016). « Les femmes et les LGBT arabo-musulman-es à l'avant-garde des mutations du rapport au religieux », *Miroirs : revue LGBTQIF des corps contemporains* (special issue, under press).
- Zahed, L. (2016). « Théologues féministes et gay-friendly de l'islam », *Cahiers internationaux du symbolisme* (special issue, to be published).
- Zahed, L. « Corporalités et islamité LGBT radicalement alternatives : L'avant-garde de nouvelles théologies islamiques de la libération ? ». *Concilium* (under press, october 2016).

Bibliographical report

- Zahed, L. (2013). « Habib, Samar (ed.): Islam and Homosexuality | Kugle, Scott Siraj al-Haqq: Homosexuality in Islam »; in *Cahiers d'études africaines (Masculin pluriel)*, 2013, p. 209-210.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

Articles & Tribunes (presse)

- *Théologues féministes de l'islam* (Le Monde, with Stéphanie Latte-Abdallah; Tribune 18 february 2013).
- *Ludovic-Mohamed Zahed: gay et musulman, il garde le prêche* (Jeune Afrique; 19 april 2013).
- *Je suis gay, marié et musulman: l'islam n'a pas à contrôler ma sexualité* (Nouvel Obs ; 11 january 2013).
- *Why I want to open a gay friendly mosque in Paris* (The Guardian; Tribune, 26 november 2012).
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