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Inclusive Mosque, refugees' Shelter  
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*“Double culture & hybridity:  
“Western” & “Eastern”  
Pink-washings”*



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم والصلاة والصلاة على رسول الله النبي الأمي المصطفى  
من يهدي الله فلا مضل له ومن يضل الله فلا هادي له

*Au nom de Dieu, le Clément le Miséricordieux, que la Bénédiction et la Paix  
soit sur Mahomet, le prophète illettré, élevé par le Seigneur.*

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful,  
May Blessing and Peace be upon Muhammad ,  
the unlettered Prophet, raised by our Lord.



# Introduction

Double culture & Pinkwashings:



## After 20 years of double discriminations field studies

In a questioning perspective, **both majority and community social norms**, today the consideration of nationalisms, including those "pink washed" - ***pinkwashing*** (translated in French by "homo-nationalism") - is a fundamental part of my recent analysis. This English terminology combines the word "pink" with the idea of "washing" in the moral sense of the word.

In gender studies, the term *pinkwashing* refers primarily to a **communication technique based on the promotion of LGBT + rights** (lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans), by a company, or by a political entity, a state or any other, to try to change its image and reputation in a progressive, tolerant and open way.



### Pinkwashing Breast Cancer



Breast Cancer Awareness Month Causes Breast Cancer!

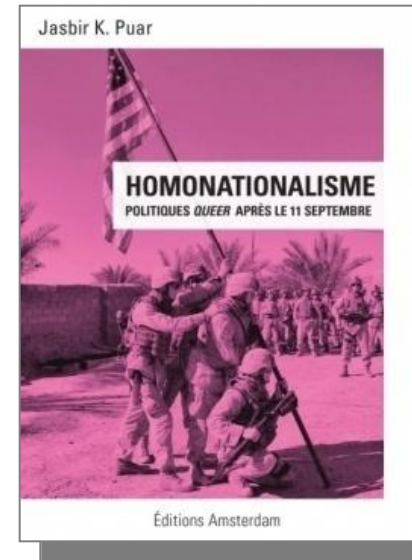
\* "The truth about cancer charities by Janet Maker, Ph.D." - [https://www.opednews.com/articles/The-Truth-About-Cancer-Cha-by-janet-maker-Cancer\\_Charities-161010-515.html](https://www.opednews.com/articles/The-Truth-About-Cancer-Cha-by-janet-maker-Cancer_Charities-161010-515.html)



## After 20 years of double discriminations field studies

This strategy is part of the **influence methods arsenal**,  
in terms of **perceptions management** and ideas or brands marketing .

At the geopolitical level, this strategy consists in making **judgments of political values** on a given country, on the basis of a "homophile versus homophobic" cleavage, in order to **eventually justify a boycott, a colonial or military aggression.**





# I - Double culture & Pinkwashings:

## a. Overview





## A. Dramatic events For 15 years: double radicalization.

Faced with the events that are shaking the nations on **both sides of the Mediterranean**, **our identities tend to be mesmerized by the worst fantasies, the worst abuses.**

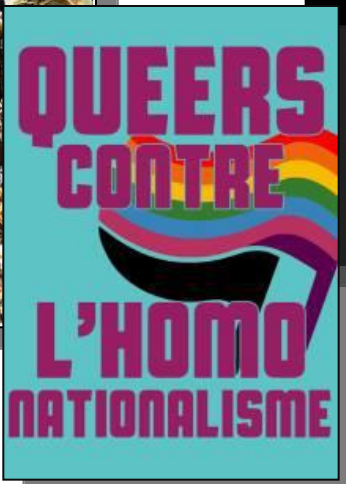
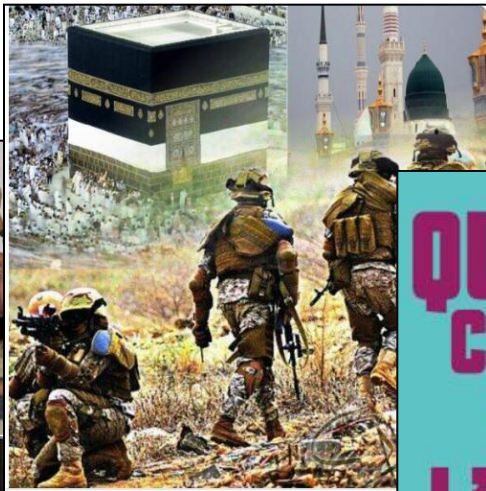
Sexual minorities seem to be both the ideal **scapegoat**, and the issues of bargaining, by increasingly radical **political leaders**, but also by **terrorized populations.**





## A. Dramatic events For 15 years: double radicalization.

These growing tensions give rise to **hybrid political movements**, but aimed first and foremost at negotiating with the established **ruling elite, managing the economic and therefore political power**, which do not always aim to overcome the cleavages of the old world. on the contrary...







# I - Double culture & Pinkwashings:

## b. Elements of reflection In "The West"



## B. Surprising Alliances: Political Chessboards Radical Changes

Some examples:

**1 - In Northern Europe:** extreme right parties are more powerful than ever. Opposed traditionally to minorities in general, whether religious, ethnic or sexual (1), **some gays still manage to join their ranks** (2), because they think that massive Muslim immigration is a **danger for their freshly acquired rights** (3).



In the Netherlands, **Pim Fortuijn** (ideological father of Geert Wilders): atypical politician, after years at the **Labor Party**, without ever having been able to join neither the **Communist Party**, nor the far-right party attached to traditional family values, he was **fiercely opposed to Muslim immigration**.

He was elected in Rotterdam, before being **assassinated by an extreme anti-racist left-wing activist**, to protect "**the most vulnerable groups**", he said.

(1) L. Zahed (2016). « *LGBT Musulman-es* ». CALEM, Marseille.

(3) In 2012, a Cevipof study showed that 19% of gay men voted Marine Le Pen. At the 2015 regional elections, 32.45% of married gay couples voted Front National: <https://www.streetpress.com/sujet/1493808547-pourquoi-les-gays-votent-fn>



## B. Surprising Alliances: Political Chessboards Radical Changes

Some examples:

**2 - In Western Europe:** Some LGBT + associations are tempted by a **political negotiation with some parties** (especially socialist), in order to obtain the right to “marry for all” (2012).

These associations are surfing on this **homonationalist wave** and **break their links** with organizations considered too "politically incorrect", too "ethnic", not enough "secular“, **forbidding the conquest of power**, according to these parties, in times of crisis and identity phobias.



**In France, Thomas Fouquet Lapar**, president of the ARDHIS (1) and Inter-LGBT (2), already said in 2010 that he **could not work with Muslims** at the risk of all LGBT + refugees or asylum seekers might be assimilated to Islam.

At a public meeting, a majority of Inter-LGBT representatives accepted the fact **that "Muslims" have a "double talk" and can not be "trusted"**. They tried to **exclude HM2F (3) from their deliberations (4)**.

(1) L. Zahed (2016). « *LGBT Musulman-es...* ». CALEM, Marseille.

(2) 2011.

(3) Association of homosexuals Muslims of France, founded in 2010 in Paris, Marseille and Lyon.

(4) Press release of HM2F - [http://www.homosexuels-musulmans.org/l-homonationalisme\\_homosexuels-musulmans-entre-islamophobie-et-antisemitisme.html](http://www.homosexuels-musulmans.org/l-homonationalisme_homosexuels-musulmans-entre-islamophobie-et-antisemitisme.html)



# I - Double culture & Pinkwashings:

## c. Elements of reflection In the « East »





## C. Surprising Alliances: en « Orient »

Some examples :

**3 - In the Middle East:** LGBT + associations are getting closer to **political liberation movements** (oligarchic or colonial oppression), which in exchange for **their implicit support** (1), or at least the **cessation of violence** against sexual minorities (honor killings or condemnation by state homophobia), demand from them to **freeze their relationship with their Western counterparts**, all considered as "imperialist".



In Palestine, **Haneen Maikay**, leader of the main "Palestinian" association, but **based in Jerusalem, Israel** (...), she fights for the right to exist of "queer" Palestinians, themselves under the **perpetual threat of oppression and colonial violence** (2).

They organize themselves and adopt a **grouping and visibility tactic**, but is this necessarily distinct from the traditional approaches of "LGBT+"?  
Should it go as far as the **boycott of associations which have different points of view, all considered "imperialists"**, as in 2012? (3)

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(1) Associations such as Helem in Lebanon considered in 2010 positive to work in the southern districts of Beirut, in agreement with Hezbollah, to make prevention against HIV / AIDS.

(2) "Queer Politics and Haneen Maikay" (2012). Available online: [http://www.alqaws.org/articles/Queer-Politics-Haneen-Maikay?category\\_id=0](http://www.alqaws.org/articles/Queer-Politics-Haneen-Maikay?category_id=0)

(3) Boycott of the French association HM2F, South African TIC, and all associations wishing to go to the international congress organized in Tel Aviv. Many field activists demanded the resignation of H. M.

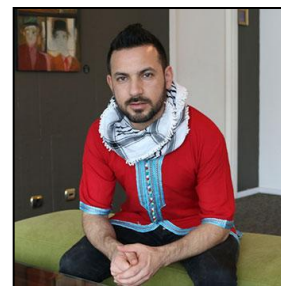


## C. Surprising Alliances: en « Orient »

Some examples :

**4 - In North Africa:** some community leaders think that **the LGBT + liberation movements in Europe** may have **violent counter-costs** on the individuals associated with them, willingly or not, on the other side of the Mediterranean.

**Too much visibility in Europe, would kill visibility in the Maghreb?**



**In Algeria, Yahya Zaïdi:** leader of the main confederation "Arab" (1) intervenes several in public conferences (ILGA and others) to affirm that the movement of **"inclusive mosques"** (2012 in Paris), because of authorities who are afraid of being overwhelmed by civic movement **fuels homophobia and state transphobia in the Maghrebs** of citizens' liberation (revolution 2011).

He will call for a **boycott of inclusive Muslim France in 2010** deemed too **"Islamist"**; as in 2011 also judged too **"Zionist"** because they worked for interreligious dialogue with Jews (2).

(1) Officially registered in 2013 in Belgium - <https://www.societes-belgium.com/le-r-seau-mantiqitna-p5lh/>

(2) supra.



## II - Double culture & Pinkwashings:

a. Question: Is there a good and a bad pinkwashing?

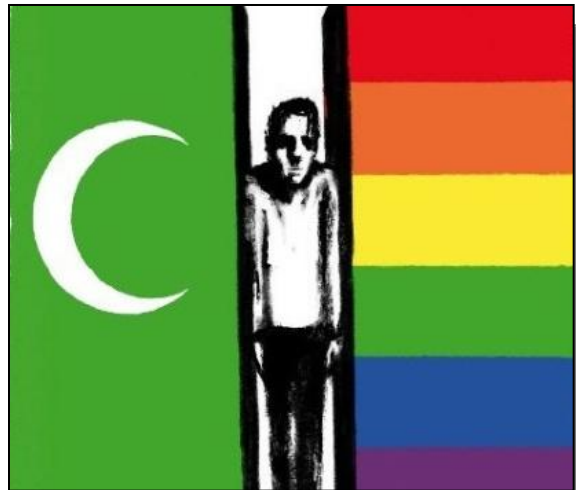


### A. Questions

Why are these counter-intuitive political alliances being produced?

Do they have any justifications in terms of human rights advancement?

Is there a good and a bad homonationalism, according to given contingencies?



→ *Finally, are individuals from dual cultures aren't still the losers of these partisan and exclusive struggles?* ←





### A. Do the ends justify the means?

Some previously described alliances (working as LGBT + with extreme parties like the *Front National* or *Hezbollah*) raise the issue of **Islamophobia** and **Judeophobia** of many activists who **call themselves "anti-Islamist"** but who boycott Muslims in general, or who **call themselves "anti-Zionists"** who are interested in colonialism only when Jews are concerned.

On the other hand, there can be no denying the fact that **war, colonization and terrorism** hinder advances in the **acquisition of rights, especially of minorities** who are the poor cousins of civil rights, especially **in times of crisis** (some historical exceptions but this remains a cross-cultural rule).

But we can not deny that some LGBT + are at least **as motivated by a humanism as by fascistic and partisan ideologies** of the type "them" against "us". This is called "**dysphoria**": a form of ethico-political schizophrenia tinged with militant opportunism, acting on two **representations of the world that are supposed to be opposed**, and doing so at the same time.



### A. Do the ends justify the means?

Thus, the definitions that we develop of pinkwashings are themselves conditioned by this inclusive or partisan postulate of our citizen struggles.

For example, Jasbir **Puar** (a queer activist of Pakistani origin, a teacher at Rutgers University in the UK) **defines homonationalism as:**

*“the proliferation, occupation, and **suppression of queernesses** in relation to patriotism, war, torture, security, death, terror, terrorism, detention, and deportation, themes **usually imagined as devoid of connection to sexual politics** in general and queer politics in particular”.*



As for me, I will add that our definition of homonationalism **must include all opportunistic use of struggles for LGBT + human rights, for partisan ideological purposes** (2015). Not only those we disagree with.



## II - Double culture & Pinkwashings:

b. Universalist

« post-identities » Hybridity

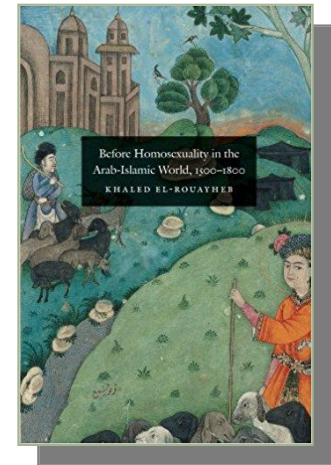


### B. Common points on both sides of the Mediterranean

Therefore, the only way to get **out of the doubly partisan ideologies** on both sides of the Mediterranean is to be universally inclusive, to go **beyond exclusive and fascistic identities**.

Because anyway, as late Mohamed Mezziane said (historian, EHESS):

«*It is disturbing to **compare the current legal offensive of several Arab and Muslim** countries against homosexuality with - concomitant - **decriminalization and the acquisition of a legal status for homosexuals in many Western countries** (offensive in contradiction with the commonly held Idea of the Muslim societies' tolerance for these sexual practices) »*  
(2005 - <http://mohammed.mezziane.free.fr/>).



Thus, even if **the level of the economic crisis is higher in North Africa and the Middle East**, in these times of crisis the minorities (ethnic, religious, linguistic and sexual) were / are, again, the **designated scapegoats** of virile Ideologues on **both sides of the Mediterranean** (Rouayheb, 2009).





## B. Combine our efforts against all forms of fascism

These minorities have the choice between conforming, as more or less secure "subordinates" (Spivak, 1988), to a more and more fascistic majority (see "identity beam", "phallus"); or to focus on an inclusive and post-identity universalism (Bhabha, 1998), by helping society as a whole to overcome its phobias in times of crisis (Moscovici, 2004), towards greater equality for all (Habermas, 1992).

Just as recommend it authors such as Yves Gonzalez  
(researcher in Arab and Medieval Studies at the CNRS):

« Rather than **opposing supposedly distinct civilizational entities**, against a backdrop of mechanical metaphors (shock) or organic metaphors (grafting), it would be quite the opposite to attack (...) a **true historiographic taboo**, the one that obeys, since so long, the study of the intertwined relationships, over the centuries, **between Islam and European cultures**.

Thus, instead of focusing as one persists on the points of divergence, it is time to focus more on the "blind spots of history" which sometimes reveal **some "inventive hybridities"**, in any case more of a revealing familiarity of a **certain cultural community**» (1).

(1) Gonzalez-Quijano, Y. (2006). « Jocelyne Dakhli, *Islamicités* », Archives de sciences sociales des religions, 134 ; 147-299. Available online - <http://assr.revues.org/3502>



## II - Double culture & Pinkwashings:

c. Go beyond all  
"infrahumanization" mechanisms



### C. Double culture in response to a dual instinctive discrimination

**In times of crisis** (economical, identity, then political), **uncontrollable phobias** are at their peak, and minorities are the target of a dehumanizing **ideologies & propagandas**: the **unconscious belief** that a social group is "**more human**" than another; it's an **animal instinct**



Social groups who feel in danger thus **reinforce their exo-group boundaries**, by applying a catharsis on scapegoats.

It is an **uncontrollable phenomenon**, but one that we can act on in the long term through education and awareness of our phobias.

It is a perceptive **illusion produced by an individual or a group of individuals**; This is the "ideal" recipe to ostracize an individual, **without feeling guilt !**

### **A FATAL SOCIAL ILLUSION**

***"The denial of humanity associated with extreme intra-group violence, can lead to genocide "***

1) Leyens & al. (2009). "From infra-humanization to discrimination:

*The mediation of symbolic threat needs egalitarian norms". Journal of experimental social psychology; 45-2, p.336-344.*



### C. post-identity hybridity against all fascist categories

These underlying **infrahumanization mechanisms** are the same **trans-geographically and trans-historically**: to bet on those who hold power and to ally with them in order to survive, even if it means sacrificing the weakest.

**It is the basis of "tribalism"**, in the psychoanalytical sense of the term, which has its roots in **the most animal unconsciousness**, within each of us.

In the field, **two strategies have recently been identified** to get out of these partisan and ultimately infrahumanizing dynamics towards "subordinates":

- « **disidentification** »

- « **gender fuck** »







## II - Double culture & Pinkwashings:

d. Two examples of  
disidentification strategies



### D. post-identity hybridity against all fascist categories

#### 1) « **disidentification** » :

Late Estéban Muñoz (Adjunct Professor of Performance Studies at the Tisch School of the Arts at New York University), deals here with the **management of violence produced**, first, in the sense of the **heteronormative, white, bourgeois majority, towards** all those considered as citizens belonging to a so-called "**subordinate**" minority:

*"Disidentification is supposed to describe **survival strategies** practiced by individuals belonging to a minority, in order to **negotiate a phobic majority public sphere**, which continually evades or punishes the existence of subjects that do not conform to the **fantasy of normative citizenship**" (1).*

Strategies including "**queers of colors**" that E. Muñoz goes so far as to call it "**drag terrorist**": the product of a culture, according to E. Muñoz, where some young people listen to **music connected to homophobic, transphobic lyrics**, before choosing a **more radical social path of integration / disintegration, terrorizing** for most of their fellow citizens (myth of "good Arabs" or "good Europeans")

(1) Muñoz, J., E. (1999). « *Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics* », Introduction. University of Minnesota Press, USA

(2) Muñoz, J., E. (1997). « The White to be Angry' : Vaginal Davis's Terrorist Drag », in *Social text* n° 52/53, *Queer transexions of Race, Nation, and Gender*, p. 80-103. Introduction. University of Minnesota Press, USA.



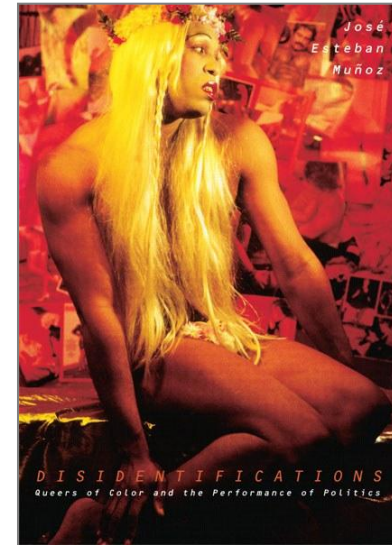
### D. post-identity hybridity that disturbs gender

#### 2) « *gender fuck* » :

It is in **1974** that the term appears clearly under the pen of Christopher Lonc, in an article entitled "**Genderfuck and its delights**", in reference to the *Cockettes*, a group of American drag queen. In his book *Camp Grounds: Style and Homosexuality*, David Bergman reviews Lonc's article. He writes:

*"I want to **criticize the roles of woman and man**. I want to try to show how much **they are not normal**. I want to **ridicule and deconstruct** the whole of this **restrictive cosmology of identifications**"(1).*

From this point of view, **Gender Fucking is a parody** of the gender codes, but also of the bodily and **behavioral expectations attached to it**. By fucking gender, one expresses his/her/their contingency, his/her/their eventuality: his/her/their "**ipseity**". Nevertheless, Gender Fucking is **not outside gender**...

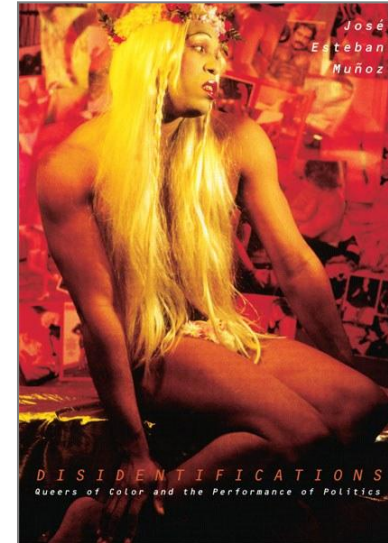




### D. post-identity hybridity unsuited to certain contexts

*Gender Fucking* is not outside gender. It is, on the contrary, all against him, **so as to push it, to disturb it**. In other words, *Gender Fucking* is a **gender technology**, in the sense of Térésa de Lauretis (2007), in that it is based on gender to **propose a new formulation** of disrupted and therefore to be disturbing boundaries.

It is a form of political identities **disidentification intellectualization**, perceived by some as a "lack of discretion", which **could prove not only dangerous** for the main concerned, **but also counter-productive** for the visible minorities, especially **in North Africa** (2).



(1) University of Massachusetts Press, 1993.

(2) Zahed, L. (2017). "Tunisie arc-en-ciel". CALEM, Marseille.



## III - Double culture & Pinkwashings:

Discussion: reasons for hope?





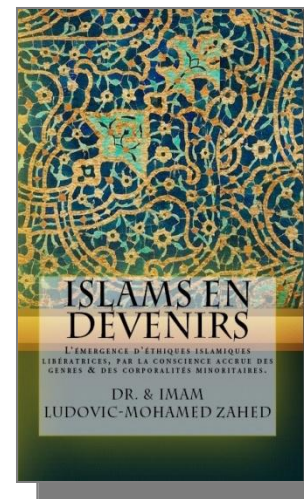
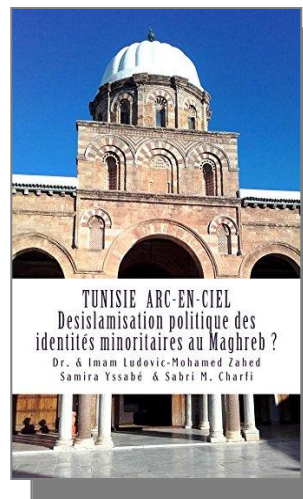
## Discussion – more repression...

There are, of course, **epistemological and cultural limits to this parallel between the "East" and the "West"**, with regard to the liberation of minorities who, in times of crisis, must **first of all free themselves from fascist, nationalistic, virilist and heteronormative identities**.

Especially in recent years, in the Maghreb, **State repression against minorities** seems to have strengthened up



- Heavy prison sentence for "sodomy"
- Public and media opprobrium
- Regional ban



In Tunisia (a progressive exception in the so-called "Arab-Muslim" world?), The jurists concerned by this problems believe that **the peak of such repression** against the so-called "sexual" minorities **crystallized in 2015**, in the same time of a rise of declarative homophobia in the majority public opinion, considering more and more clearly the militancy for **LGBT + rights as a Western "import" into the lands of Islam**.



## Discussion – radicalization also amongst subalterns...

In fact, among the North African countries, **Tunisia is undoubtedly the most educated and the most egalitarian country**, from both an economic and a constitutional point of view. Yet, it is also the **first recruiter of young candidates for the so called “jihad”** (Maghreb), just like **France** (Europe).

Thus, dual culture may be a force, but it can also be a source of **internalized and repressed, dysphoria, then exteriorized with violence**, including among individuals belonging to a sexual minority, who fail to **reconcile in peace dual belongings**, intersectional cultures, philosophy of life **and sexual identity**.



It was true for several MSM  
("men having sex with other men"):

- **Omar Mateen** (Orlando bombings, 2015 - 1)
- **Mohamed Lahouaiej Bouhlel** (Nice, 2016 - 2)



(1)<https://www.msnbc.com/all-in/watch/orlando-man-recognized-gunman-from-gay-dating-apps-704915011508>

(2)<http://www.slate.fr/story/121241/bisexualite-homosexualite-refoulee-attentat-nice>



## Discussion – spirituality as a factor of emancipation...

Consequently, these intersectional issues related to the hybrid identity problematic - either emancipating or generating xenophobic tensions - are complex and depend largely on the psychology of the individuals concerned, their sociological profile, their family environment, their level of education, etc. (see diagram 1 in the appendix).

Thus, according to Dr. Olfa Mandhouj (1), spirituality can be considered for some individuals as a factor of emancipation:

- reinforced social bond,
- decreased emotional disturbances and stress,
- better management of illness or depression,
- better adaptation to incarceration,
- better management of self destructive behaviors (addictions, suicide, acts of violence, etc.)



(1) Dr. and psychiatrist, O. Mandhouj, *La place de la spiritualité dans la prise en charge des maladies mentales et des addictions*, thèse de sciences, spécialité Médecine-Psychiatrie, dirigée par le Professeur Henri Jean Aubin, Université Pierre et Marie Curie, Paris, 2015.



## Discussion – spirituality as a factor of suffering

But spirituality can also act as a reinforcing factor of suffering:

- neglect of medical care by religious command,
- negative psychological impact based on guilt,
- anguish of divine punishment,
- excess of religiosity can lead to mental disorders and vice versa (1).

In addition, in social psychology we know that being discriminated against does not make you a victim. Different strategies of defense of the ego can be put in place by a discriminated individual:

- 1 – effective coping strategies; higher self-esteem than normal
- 2 - a valued image of their group; depression scores significantly low
- 3 - levels of normal religiosity or radicalization (with equal level of perceived violence?)

Thus with → "a correlation between high self-esteem, low or nonexistent depression, low social desirability on the one hand, and satisfaction vis-à-vis the sexuality, the body, positive feedback from the environment, few aggression, on the other "

(« LGBT musulman-es... », 2015).



## IV - Double culture & Pinkwashings:

Conclusion: stay aware





## Conclusion – toutes les formes de nationalismes peuvent être des facteurs secondaires puissant de soutien à la propagande fascistes

Thus, just like national belonging, religion can be used to reinforce **(xeno) phobias**, especially in postmodern, materialist and individualistic societies, where religion is, increasingly, **rejected outside the public sphere**.

Especially if ideological positioning, such as **“pinkwashings”**, reinforces this dichotomy between identities considered to be antinomic, if not **enemies** by essence.

And the statements of some Arab intellectuals that tend to **reinforce fascist identities** are also to be consider as **pan-Arabic and therefore homo-nationalists**, for instance:

*“The gay international and its activists are largely responsible [in the Arab world] for the intensity of repressive campaigns [against sexual minorities]”* (Massad, 184-185).

Or: *“The homosexual lifestyle does not exist in working-class neighborhoods. This is not a blemish”* (Houria Bouteldja, 2013 - see also *“Les féministes blanches et l'empire”*).





## Conclusion – non-partisan inclusive hybridity, through non-essentializing de-Islamization of political identities

Despite this, most of the individuals belonging to to a minority (especially sexual, cultural or religious ones), **cultivate the idea of a dual community belonging, through fluid and interconnected subcultures, through post-identity cultural hybridity.**



Would these alternative, hybrid, identity representations mirror the hegemonic patriarchal nationalism, constitute a **form of prevention against the "return" of a religious radicalism**, instrumentalised for more and more formally fascist, virilist, nationalistic and xenophobic purposes?

In the same way that there is an increasingly extreme radicalization, which feels that it loses the fight of identity, there are signs of a **real disidentification** which begins with minorities, before asserting itself among the greatest number of citizens concerned, as a form of "**political identities' de-Islamization**", which goes on, as in any democracy, by **taking into account the well-being of the greatest number**, then by the **separation between all the powers** (politics, media , religion, justice system, etc.).



**Let's work for open, interconnected and inclusive,  
at all levels egalitarian societies**





# Double culture & Pinkwashings:

## Appendix

(recap graphs about crisis determining factors)



# Recap graphs about crisis determining factors

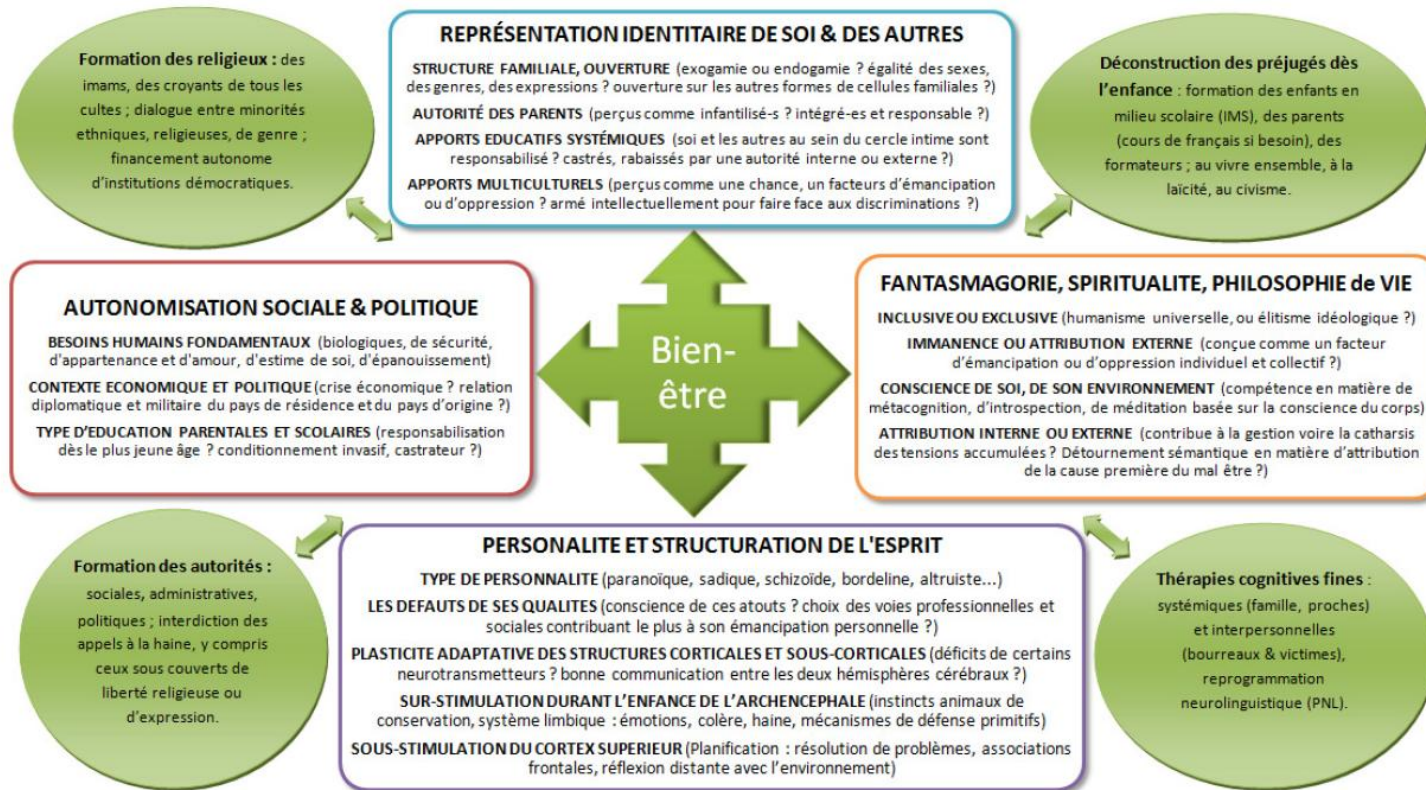
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Déterminisme de l'expression du bien-être (motivation au quotidien, collaboration, projection dans l'avenir) ou de la violence individuelle, communautaire et collective (préjugés envers autrui, phobies paranoïaques diverses, voire meurtre sadique, lutte armée ou terrorisme) :

## LA RELIGIOSITE, FACTEURS PREMIERS ET SECONDAIRES :







Déterminisme de l'expression du bien-être (motivation au quotidien, collaboration, projection dans l'avenir) ou de la violence (préjugés envers autrui, phobies paranoïaques diverses, voire meurtre sadique, lutte armée ou terrorisme) individuelle, communautaire et collective,

## L'EXEMPLE DE « LA MAIN OUVERTE », LA CAUSALITE PREMIERE :

En sociologie, afin d'illustrer la difficulté à identifier les réelles causes d'une problématique donnée, on donne l'exemple de la paume de la main (facteur essentiel de la motricité, qui stimule le reste de la main) et des doigts (facteurs secondaires sans lesquels la main continuerait de se mouvoir) :



**1 / Lorsque la main est ouverte**, la paume de la main (facteur déterminant dans la motricité) est aisément identifiable, visible au premier regard. On voit tout de suite que c'est la paume de la main qui fait bouger le reste (*situation où les dynamiques sociales sont apaisées, sans crispation identitaires et politiques majeures*).



**2 / Lorsque la main est fermée**, la paume de la main (facteur déterminant) devient difficilement identifiable, n'est plus visible au premier regard. Le profane pense que ce sont les doigts qui se crispent par eux-mêmes, qui seraient les facteurs déterminants et non pas périphériques, identifiés non plus comme secondaires mais comme visibles au premier regard (*situation de crispation sociale et politique*).

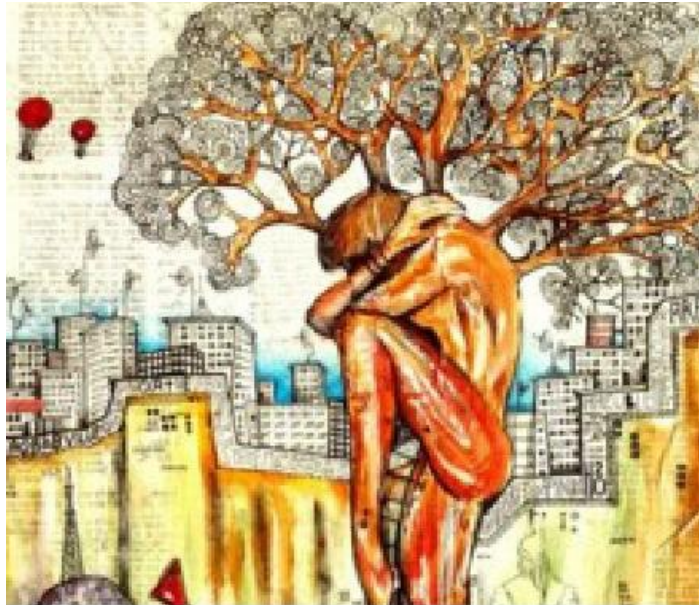


**3 / Lorsque la main est fermée et qu'un seul doigt pointe**, la paume de la main reste difficilement identifiable, n'est. Le profane fait sortir du lot un seul doigt : pourtant facteurs secondaires, aggravant ou émancipateur en temps de crise, mais sans déterminisme premier dans la genèse de la crise à affronter (*situation de discrimination d'une communauté identifiée comme responsables de la crise, mais de couper ce « doigt » ne résoudra en rien la crise, elle s'en trouvera même aggravée, et la main continuera de se mouvoir, pour le pire ou le meilleur*).



# Double culture & Pinkwashings:

Some publications



## LGBT musulman-es : du Placard aux Lumières

Docteur & Imam Ludovic-Mohamed Zahed  
Editions CALEM - collection Averroes



**L. Zahed (2015)**

***“LGBT Muslims“***

Facing homo-nationalisms and obscurantisms, they and here they exist, **gay lesbians bisexual and transgender Muslims** or from an Arab-Muslim culture who dare to speak out, **refuse to hide**, and above all, to deny all **their identity facets**.

They appear to be in the forefront of **developing an alternative, progressive, inclusive Islam**, most often without any particular ideological motivation, other than **defending their right to exist as such**.

**Why precisely today?**



## DOUBLE CULTURE & HYBRIDITES (tome II)

Contre les radicalisations islamistes :  
l'exception tunisienne au Maghreb ?

Dr. Ludovic-Mohamed Zahed

L. Zahed (2018)

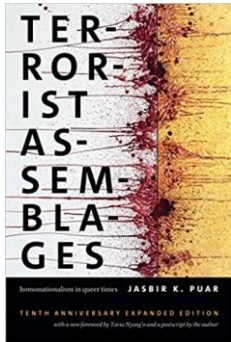
## *“Double culture & Hybridity“*

*(Tome I & II)*

In recent years, in the **Maghreb**, state **repression against minorities** seems to have been reinforced: jail sentence for "sodomy", regional ban, public and media **opprobrium**.

Would **alternative, hybrid identities**, mirroring the patriarchal hegemonic nationalism, constitute a form of **prevention against the "return" of religious radicalism**, instrumentalized for more and more formally fascist, virilist, **nationalistic and xenophobic purposes?**





**J. Puar (2007)**

*“Terrorist assemblages homonationalism in queer times“*

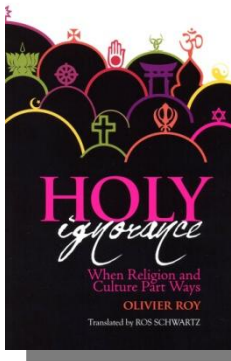
A partisan book, studying the question only from the "oriental" point of view without objective bipartisan vision, but interesting from the anthropological point of view.



**D. Lestrade (2012)**

*“Why gays are voting for right wings parties“*

A militant book, with many field testimonials, and little analysis of bibliographic references that may tend to blur the discourse for the general public.

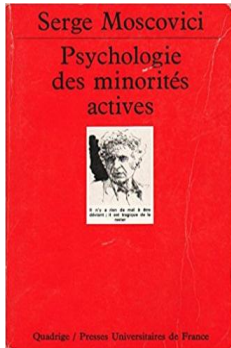


**O. Roy (2012)**

*“Holy ignorance: when culture and religion diverge“*

Olivier Roy, world-renowned authority on Islam and politics, finds in the modern disconnection between faith communities and socio-cultural identities a fertile space for fundamentalism to grow. Instead of freeing the world from religion, secularization has encouraged a kind of holy ignorance to take root, an anti-intellectualism that promises immediate, emotional access to the sacred. The secularization of society was supposed to free people from religion, yet individuals are converting en masse to fundamentalist faiths, such as Protestant evangelicalism, Islamic Salafism, and Haredi Judaism.





**J. Puar (2007)**

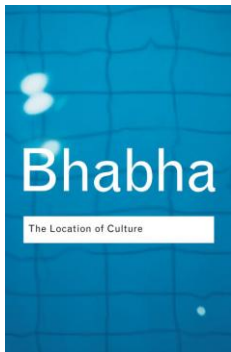
*“Psychology of active minorities“*

Founding father of social psychology in France, it is his reference work with regard to the attitudes of minorities in the public space and at the heart of majority political dynamics.

**H. Bhabha (2004)**

*“The location of culture“*

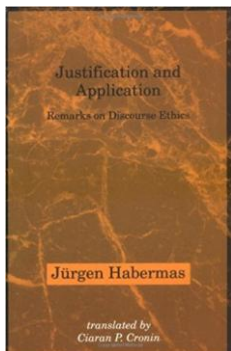
Son œuvre est très lue, critiquée et commentée par les jeunes anthropologues, ethnologues et sociologues des années 2000. Il est abondamment cité dans la « littérature grise » (institutionnelle) en langue anglaise, allemande, française, espagnole, portugaise ou italienne.



**J. Habermas (1994)**

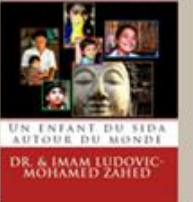




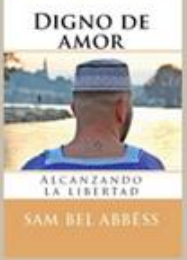

*“Justification and Application: Remarks on Discourse Ethics“*

Habermas continues here the research undertaken in *Morale and communication*. He tries to overcome the opposition that marks the debates, in moral philosophy, between an abstract universalism ("morality is the same for all") and a contradictory relativism ("if everyone can defend morality, how precisely does he/she/they defend him/her/themself"?).)





All our publications on the subject (France, Tunisia, Algeria, post-spring Arab contexts), are available in PDF free for our trainees: [info@calem.eu](mailto:info@calem.eu)


<p>En savoir plus ici</p>  <p>Thèse d'anthropologie du fait religieux - EHESS (2015 / 736 p.)</p> <p>Prix éditeur Paypal - 26,90€ (livraison gratuite)</p> <p><a href="#">Acheter</a></p>	<p>En savoir plus ici</p>  <p>17 mai : journée mondiale contre l'homophobie (2017 / 70 p.)</p> <p>Prix éditeur Paypal - 13,90€ (livraison gratuite)</p> <p><a href="#">Acheter</a></p>	<p>Learn more here</p>  <p>Second version (2016 / 200 p.)</p> <p>Special price, Paypal - 25 USD (free delivery in Europe)</p> <p><a href="#">Buy Now</a></p>	<p>En savoir plus ici</p>  <p>Seconde édition (2016 / 200 p.)</p> <p>Prix éditeur Paypal - 26,90€ (livraison gratuite)</p> <p><a href="#">Acheter</a></p>	<p>En savoir plus ici</p>  <p>Autobiographie autorisée (2016 / 200 p.)</p> <p>Prix éditeur Paypal - 17,90€ (livraison gratuite)</p> <p><a href="#">Acheter</a></p>	 <p>(GIN, 2016)</p>	 <p>(L'Harmattan &amp; l'Observatoire Des Transidentités, 2016)</p>	 <p>(2018 - Chapitre à propos de gestion pour autrui et l'Islam)</p>
 <p>Essai sur le féminisme islamique en France et ailleurs (2017, à paraître)</p>	<p>En savoir plus ici</p>  <p>Etude de terrains comparative</p> <p>Prix éditeur Paypal - 19,90€ (livraison gratuite)</p> <p><a href="#">Acheter</a></p>	<p>Saber más</p>  <p>(200 p., autobiografía en Español, CALEM - 2017)</p> <p>Precio del editor, Paypal - 17,90€ (envío gratis en Europa)</p> <p><a href="#">Comprar ahora</a></p>	<p>Bientôt disponible</p>  <p>Autobiographie d'un "trans boy" musulman, d'origine algérienne et congolaise (CALEM - 2018, 1er janvier)</p>	<p>En savoir plus ici</p>  <p>Seconde édition (2017 / 500 p.)</p> <p>Prix éditeur Paypal - 26,90€ (livraison gratuite)</p> <p><a href="#">Acheter</a></p>	 <p>Des Ténèbres vers la Lumière (2011 &amp; 2017 - contribution aux rapports annuels de SOS Homophobie)</p>	 <p>(REVUE MIROIR / MIROIRS N°8)</p>	 <p>(2016 - Autografía, Rio de Janeiro)</p>
					 <p>(2016 - Karthala, IRMC, deux articles du Dr. L. Zahed, sous la direction de M. Lachab)</p>	 <p>(2016 - Cahiers Internationaux de Symbolisme, Université de Mons)</p>	 <p>(2017 - Liverpool University Press, interview du Dr. L. Zahed)</p>

Merci


Thank you

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Isiphephelo



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