Palgrave Politics of Identity and Citizenship Series

Series Editors: **Varun Uberoi**, Brunel University, UK; **Nasar Meer**, University of Northumbria, UK and **Tariq Modood**, University of Bristol, UK

The politics of identity and citizenship has assumed increasing importance as our polities have become significantly more culturally, ethnically and religiously diverse. Different types of scholars, including philosophers, sociologists, political scientists and historians make contributions to this field and this series showcases a variety of innovative contributions to it. Focusing on a range of different countries, and utilizing the insights of different disciplines, the series helps to illuminate an increasingly controversial area of research and titles in it will be of interest to a number of audiences including scholars, students and other interested individuals.

Titles include:

Parveen Akhtar

BRITISH MUSLIM POLITICS

Examining Pakistani Biraderi Networks

Heidi Armbruster and Ulrike Hanna Meinhof (*editors*)

NEGOTIATING MULTICULTURAL EUROPE

Borders, Networks, Neighbourhoods

Peter Balint and Sophie Guérard de Latour

LIBERAL MULTICULTURALISM AND THE FAIR TERMS OF INTEGRATION

Fazila Bhimji

BRITISH ASIAN MUSLIM WOMEN, MULTIPLE SPATIALITIES AND
COSMOPOLITANISM

Jan Dobbernack and Tariq Modood (*editors*)

TOLERANCE, INTOLERANCE AND RESPECT

Hard to Accept?

Romain Garbaye and Pauline Schnapper (*editors*)

THE POLITICS OF ETHNIC DIVERSITY IN THE BRITISH ISLES

Nisha Kapoor, Virinder Kalra and James Rhodes (*editors*)

THE STATE OF RACE

Peter Kivisto and Östen Wahlbeck (*editors*)

DEBATING MULTICULTURALISM IN THE NORDIC WELFARE STATES

Dina Kiwan (*editor*)

NATURALIZATION POLICIES, EDUCATION AND CITIZENSHIP

Multicultural and Multi-Nation Societies in International Perspective

Aleksandra Maatsch

ETHNIC CITIZENSHIP REGIMES

Europeanization, Post-war Migration and Redressing Past Wrongs

Derek McGhee

SECURITY, CITIZENSHIP AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Shared Values in Uncertain Times

Nasar Meer
CITIZENSHIP, IDENTITY AND THE POLITICS OF MULTICULTURALISM
The Rise of Muslim Consciousness

Tariq Modood and John Salt (*editors*)
GLOBAL MIGRATION, ETHNICITY AND BRITISHNESS

Ganesh Nathan
SOCIAL FREEDOM IN A MULTICULTURAL STATE
Towards a Theory of Intercultural Justice

Therese O'Toole and Richard Gale
POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT AMONGST ETHNIC MINORITY YOUNG PEOPLE
Making a Difference

Momin Rahman
HOMOSEXUALITIES, MUSLIM CULTURES AND MODERNITY

Michel Seymour (*editor*)
THE PLURAL STATES OF RECOGNITION

Katherine Smith
FAIRNESS, CLASS AND BELONGING IN CONTEMPORARY ENGLAND

Paul Thomas
YOUTH, MULTICULTURALISM AND COMMUNITY COHESION

Milton Vickerman
THE PROBLEM OF POST-RACIALISM

Palgrave Politics of Identity and Citizenship Series
Series Standing Order ISBN 978-0-230-24901-1 (hardback)
(*outside North America only*)

You can receive future titles in this series as they are published by placing a standing order. Please contact your bookseller or, in case of difficulty, write to us at the address below with your name and address, the title of the series and the ISBN quoted above.

Customer Services Department, Macmillan Distribution Ltd, Houndmills,
Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS, England

Homosexualities, Muslim Cultures and Modernity

Momin Rahman
Trent University, Canada

palgrave
macmillan

© Momin Rahman 2014

Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 2014 978-1-137-00295-2

All rights reserved. No reproduction, copy or transmission of this publication may be made without written permission.

No portion of this publication may be reproduced, copied or transmitted save with written permission or in accordance with the provisions of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, or under the terms of any licence permitting limited copying issued by the Copyright Licensing Agency, Saffron House, 6-10 Kirby Street, London EC1N 8TS.

Any person who does any unauthorized act in relation to this publication may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

The author has asserted his right to be identified as the author of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

First published 2014 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

Palgrave Macmillan in the UK is an imprint of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of St Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

Palgrave® and Macmillan® are registered trademarks in the United States, the United Kingdom, Europe and other countries.

ISBN 978-1-349-43409-1 ISBN 978-1-137-00296-9 (eBook)

DOI 10.1057/9781137002969

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources. Logging, pulping and manufacturing processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

Typeset by MPS Limited, Chennai, India.

*To Sean and to Jess
who are my (mixed species)
double consciousness*

This page intentionally left blank

Contents

<i>Acknowledgments</i>	x
Introduction	1
The conceits of modernity and modernization	2
Muslim homo-eroticism in historical and contemporary context	4
Political possibilities	6
1 In Search of My Mother's Garden: Reflections on Migration, Gender, Sexuality and Muslim Identity	9
Introduction	9
History, narratives and narrators	10
Migration	13
Identities	15
Gender	17
My mother's garden	21
Not quite Muslim, not quite gay, towards a queer intersectionality	24
2 Islam <i>versus</i> Homosexuality as Modernity	27
Introduction	27
The drumbeats of Islamic 'otherness'	29
Democracy as Western exceptionalism	34
Equality and secularism versus multiculturalism in the context of gender	37
Sexual diversity as <i>the</i> marker of Islamic otherness?	42
The conceits of the West and the resistance of the East	47
3 Problematic Modernization: The Extent and Formation of Muslim Antipathy to Homosexuality	49
Introduction	49
Muslim regulation of homosexuality at the national and international level	51
The attitudes of Muslim majority and minority populations	56
Explaining Muslim antipathy through the modernization thesis	59

	The complexities of modernization and reactions to homosexuality	62
	Understanding Muslim homophobia in the contexts of modernity and Islamophobia	66
4	Traditions and Transformations of Muslim Homo-eroticism	70
	Introduction	70
	Homo-eroticism in traditional Muslim cultures	72
	The transformation of Muslim homo-eroticism through the 'Gay International'	78
	Modernity misunderstood? Colonialism, post-colonial cultures and the regulation of the sexual	82
	Connected histories: the wider sociological basis of homosexualization during modernity	88
	Homosexualization beyond westernization and the politics of Muslim identity	92
5	Queer Muslims in the Context of Contemporary Globalized LGBTIQ Identity	94
	Introduction	94
	The world 'they' have won	95
	Connected contemporary histories: queer Muslims in Muslim majority cultures	102
	Connected contemporary histories: queer Muslims in the West	108
	From connected histories to queer Muslims as modern intersectional subjects	111
	Towards an intersectional modernity?	115
6	The Politics of Identity and the Ends of Liberation	118
	Introduction	118
	The triangulation of Western exceptionalism: homocolonialism, Muslim homophobia and monoculturalism	119
	The political presumptions of homocolonialism: 'coming out' and the essential context of political identity	125
	Beyond homocolonialism: the ends of liberation and equality as resource	130
	Arriving at the terrain of dialogue and recognizing queer as privilege	135

7	Beginnings	137
	Introduction	137
	The homocolonialist 'test' for internationalized Western queer politics and consciousness	138
	Homocolonialism in multiculturalism	144
	Embracing Western exceptionalism through homocolonialism: challenges for Muslim consciousness and politics	149
	The past and future imperfect, tense	154
	<i>Appendices</i>	156
	<i>Notes</i>	189
	<i>Bibliography</i>	213
	<i>Index</i>	228

Acknowledgments

Many people help with the process of writing a book by discussing the ideas and themes in various circumstances and over varying time periods. I have been giving talks on some of these chapters for a few years now and I am grateful for the feedback and criticism those presentations have produced. Colleagues in Sociology, Women's Studies and International Development Studies have invited me to do talks at 'small but mighty' Trent University where we all ply our trade and their interactions are particularly welcome. I have also received much support from colleagues in the queer caucus of the International Studies Association, which is similarly small and equally mighty in the range of research, activism and argument that it contains, all of which have impacted upon how this project has developed. I have also benefited from more direct and sustained discussions with the following; Mike Bosia, Gerald Hunt, Stevi Jackson, Sean Lockwood, Barb Marshall, Tariq Modood, Abouzar Nasirzedah, Wim Peumans, David Rayside, Walid Saleh and Matthew Waites. David Rayside has been especially encouraging in my pursuit of these issues since my move to Canada (even though I am sure he means it as an insult when he describes me as a 'theorist'), largely through my almost immediate involvement in the Mark S. Bonham Centre for Sexual Diversity Studies at the University of Toronto, which David really got off the ground. The Centre continues to flourish and provides both a huge range of courses on sexuality and a 'hub' for research and activism. Thanks also go to Lucy Marshall-Kiparissis and Ben Peel who did some research for me. I also want to acknowledge my family, who I am sure will never read this book, but in their compassionate, pragmatic (and sometimes angry) approach to dealing with *my* 'issues', they have unwittingly helped to develop some of the issues and themes contained within this study.