

*Immigrants in the Sexual Revolution:  
Perceptions and Participation in Northwest Europe*  
By Andrew DJ Shield

*Chapter Abstracts*

## INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1. “The disaster of Islamization... where gays are not safe to walk the streets, women are seen as inferior”: **Gay Rights, Anti-Immigration, and the Nationalist Right, 2000-2016**

Sexual politics factor into today’s political, journalistic, scholarly, and public debates on immigration in Europe, many of which construct immigrant cultures as misogynistic, homophobic, and/or sexually conservative, in contrast to supposedly gender-equal, sexually progressive European cultures. This book is divided into three parts: Perceptions (of), Solidarity (with), and Participation (in) movements for gender equality and sexual liberation in the 1960s-80s. This chapter also summarizes the themes of the book.

Keywords: Pim Fortuyn, Gert Wilders, PVV, DF, SD, Denmark, the Netherlands, guest workers.

Chapter 2. “There were no colored people in the classrooms”: **The Disavowal of Heterogeneity in the Netherlands and Denmark in the 1950s-1970s**

Dutch and Danes identified as belonging to “homogeneous” nations in the 1950s-60s despite also acknowledging centuries of immigration, religious tolerance, and cultural diversity. Immigrants in the 1960s-70s arrived to contradictory logics about national identity.

Keywords, Heterogeneity, 1950s, “visible” migrants, race, Jewish, Roma, Sinti, Dutch East Indies, Dutch Caribbean.

## PART I: PERCEPTIONS

Chapter 3. “Like the Great Pyramids of Egypt... you can’t talk about Denmark without talking about The Danish Woman”: **Immigrant Perceptions of European Gender and Sexual Cultures, the Netherlands and Denmark, 1968-1973 and Beyond**

Immigrants’ early impressions of European gender/sexual systems ranged from curiosity to admiration to longing. By the end of the 1970s, many had incorporated liberal behaviors or attitudes about (for example) women's independence into their own beliefs and practices.

Keywords: Arab, Al-Ghad, 1968, heterosocial, conservative turn, liberalization, discos, intermarriage.

Chapter 4. “...[I]t does not have to be because they want to get married and have children”: **Teaching Sexuality and Gender Norms to Foreign Workers, 1972**

In an atmosphere where immigrant men increasingly explored sexual or platonic relationships with European women, one journal for foreign workers (*Fremmedarbejderbladet* in Denmark) provided some “sexual education” alongside other information that bridged immigrants’ understanding of European society.

Keywords: immigrant press, sex education, “blood revenge,” maternity rights, paternity rights, media frames, discrimination.

## **PART II: SOLIDARITY**

Chapter 5. “They’re fighting for women’s rights, we’re fighting for equal rights for Turkish people, and that’s the only difference”: **Foreign Workers Organize in the Footsteps of the Women’s Movement, The Netherlands, 1974-1980**

Immigrant workers’ organizations (especially on the left) gained strategic and rhetorical inspiration from the women’s movement, such as organizing demonstrations to provoke media attention, and calling for equal pay or affirmative action.

Keywords: KMAN, HTIB, Turkey, Morocco, anti-fascism, feminism, gay liberation, solidarity.

Chapter 6. “Now she decides for herself what she will buy for herself, for the children, for the home”: **Immigrant Women and European Feminism, The Netherlands and Denmark, 1974-1985**

Women from foreign-worker sending-countries—who organized inside male-dominated immigrant organizations in the 1970s—clashed with European feminists in the 1980s on the topic of prioritizing patriarchy (i.e. men’s oppression of women).

Keywords: immigrant women, transnational feminism, race, whiteness, factory strike, language classes, sewing classes, solidarity, Turkey, Morocco, anti-war, anti-nuclear, peace, patriarchy.

## **PART III: PARTICIPATION**

Chapter 7. “Suriname--seeking a lonely, lesbian friend for correspondence”: **Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities in Gay/Lesbian Contact Advertisements, the Netherlands & Denmark, 1965-1979 & Beyond**

Gay and lesbian journals served as a form of “social media” that connected readers via contact advertisements that facilitated new friendships, romances, housing connections, employment and travel opportunities. Those who posted and responded to these ads communicated across international borders (e.g. throughout Europe, to the overseas colonies and beyond) and across internal “borders” (e.g. rural/urban divisions, and across ethnic communities).

Keywords: grassroots, magazines, classified ads, personal ads, contact ads, homophile, press, pornography, erotic, exotic, sextic, people of color, multicultural.

Chapter 8. “I was one of the first colored gays”: **Experiences of Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities in Gay/Lesbian “Scenes,” the Netherlands and Denmark, 1960s-1980s**

From the 1960s through 1980s, gay men of various ethnic minority backgrounds—whether post-colonial migrants, refugees, or adoptees—felt that they were among the first (if not “the first”) to navigate a white, European “gay scene” that both welcomed them and portrayed them as “exotic.”

Keywords: Dutch East Indies, Java, Indonesia, Papua, Molucca, Dutch Caribbean, Aruba, Iran, Greenland, interview, race, migration, personal narratives, integration.

## **EPILOGUE**

Chapter 9: “It was a cultural evolution”: **Rethinking Immigrant Sexual Politics since the 1980s**

Future research must consider how unique the immigrant “conservative turn” in the 1980s was compared to the “native” population’s attitudes toward gender and sexuality. Pan-European debates in the 1990s-2000s about European civilization and Islam affected local debates about Muslims and immigrants, who have continued to adopt new attitudes toward e.g. mixed marriages and LGBTQ identities. Sexual politics continue to evolve, as do ethnic and sexual identities.

Immigrant

Keywords: Salman Rushdie, European Union, German reunification, HTIB, homosexuality, LGBT Asylum, LGBTQPAI+, queer migration.

Andrew DJ Shield

# Immigrants in the Sexual Revolution

Perceptions and Participation in Northwest Europe

palgrave  
macmillan

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adam, Barry D. Jan Willem Duyvendak, and Andre Krouwel, editors. *The Global Emergence of Gay and Lesbian Politics: National Imprints of a Worldwide Movement*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999.
- Ahlstedt, Sara. "The Feeling of Migration: Narratives of Queer Intimacies and Partner Migration," Ph.D.dissertation at Linköping University (Sweden), Department of Social and Welfare Studies, 2016.
- Akgündüz Ahmet *Labour Migration from Turkey to Western Europe: 1960–1974: A Multidisciplinary Analysis*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008.
- Akin, Deniz. "Queer Asylum Seekers: Translating Sexuality in Norway." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 42:15 (2016).
- Aldrich, Robert. *The Seduction of the Mediterranean: Writing, Art, and Homosexual Fantasy*. London: Routledge, 1993.
- Aldrich, Robert. *Colonialism and Homosexuality*. London: Routledge, 2003.
- Allyn, David. *Make Love, Not War: The Sexual Revolution, an Unfettered History*. Boston, Mass: Little, Brown, 2000.
- Amsterdams Initiatief tegen Fascisme, Racisme en Antisemitisme. *Geef fascisme geen kans!: diskussies over de vele gezichten van het hedendaagse fascisme*. [Don't give fascism a chance!: discussions/disputes on the many faces of contemporary fascism]. Amsterdam: SUA, 1982.
- Andersen, Karen. *Gæstearbejder Udlending Indvandrere Dansker! Migration til Danmark i 1968–78* [Guest-worker, Alien, Immigrant, Dane! Migration to Denmark, 1968–78]. Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1979.
- Anderson, Morten Bendix, and Niklas Olsen, editors. *1968: dengang og nu* [1968: then and now]. Copenhagen: Copenhagen University, 2004.

- Andreassen, Rikke. *The Mass Media's Construction of Gender, Race, Sexuality and Nationality. An Analysis of the Danish News Media's Communication About Visible Minorities*. Ph.D Thesis, University of Toronto, 2005.
- Andreassen, Rikke. "Sing a Song, but Stay Out of Politics: Two Cases of Representations of Racial/Ethnic Minorities in the Danish Media." In *Media in Motion: Cultural Complexity and Migration in the Nordic Region*, edited by Elisabeth Eide and Kaarina Nikunen, 163–80. Surrey, England, 2011.
- Andreassen, Rikke. "Gender as a Tool in Danish Debates About Muslims." In *Islam in Denmark: The Challenge of Diversity*, edited by Jørgen S. Nielsen. 143–60. Lanham, UK: Lexington Books, 2012.
- Andreassen, Rikke. *Human Exhibitions: Race, Gender and Sexuality in Ethnic Displays*. Farnham, Surrey, UK: Ashgate Limited, 2015.
- Andreassen, Rikke. "Diversity and Intimacy: Regulations, Celebrations and Condemnation." In *New Dimensions of Diversity in Nordic Culture and Society*, edited by Ursula Lindqvist and Jenny Björklund. Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Andreassen, Rikke, and Anne Folke Henningsen. *Menneskeudstilling: Fremvisninger af eksotiske mennesker i Zoologisk Have og Tivoli* [Human Exhibition: Showings of Exotic People at the Copenhagen Zoo and Tivoli]. Copenhagen: Tiderne Skifter, 2011.
- Antoun, Richard T. "On the Modesty of Women in Arab Muslim Villages: A Study in the Accommodation of Traditions" *American Anthropologist* 70:4 (August 1968): 671–697.
- Armbruster, Heidi, and Ulrike Hanna Meinhof, editors. *Negotiating Multicultural Europe: Borders, Networks, Neighbourhoods*. Basingstoke, GB: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Asad, Talal, Wendy Brown, Judith Butler, and Saba Mahmood. *Is Critique Secular?*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009.
- Babayan, Kathryn, and Afsaneh Najmabadi. *Islamicate Sexualities: Translations Across Temporal Geographies of Desire*. Cambridge, MA: Center for Middle Eastern Studies of Harvard University, 2008.
- Ben Jelloun, Tahar. *La Plus Haute Des Solitudes*. [The Greatest Solitude]. Paris: Seuil, 1977.
- Blaagaard, Bolette, and Rikke Andreassen. "The Disappearing Act: The Forgotten History of Colonialism, Eugenics and Gendered Othering in Denmark." In *Teaching "Race" with a Gendered Edge*, edited by Brigitte Hipfl and Kristin Loftsdóttir. Utrecht: ATGENDER, 2012.
- Bleys, Rudi. *The Geography of Perversion: Male-to-Male Sexual Behaviour Outside the West and the Ethnographic Imagination, 1750–1918*. Washington Square, NY: New York University Press, 1995.
- Boone, Joseph A. "Vacation Cruises; or, The Homoerotics of Orientalism." *PMLA* 110 (1995): 89–107.

- Boone, Joseph A. *The Homoerotics of Orientalism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2014.
- Bos, David. ([In Dutch]) "Strangled by Taboos': Changes in the Acceptance of Homosexuality in the Moroccan Community in the Netherlands." In *Steeds Gewoner Nooit Gewoon* [Increasingly Common, Never Ordinary], edited by Saskia Keuzenkamp, 265–86. Den Haag: Sociaal and Cultureel Planbureau, June 2010.
- Bos, David J. "Hoe homo's en moslims iets met elkaar kregen: Een lange-termijnanalyse van het discours over homoseksualiteit en islam in Nederlandse dagbladen, radio- en televisieprogramma's" [How gays and Muslims came together: A longitudinal analysis of the discourse on homosexuality and Islam in Dutch newspapers, radio and television programs]. *Religie en Samenleving* 11:2 (September 2016): 206–48.
- Bosch, Mineke. "The Meaning of a Kiss: Different Historiographical Approaches to the Sixties in the Netherlands." *L'Homme* 20:2 (2009): 51–63.
- Botman, Maayke, Nancy Jouwe en Gloria Wekker, editors. *Caleidoscopische visies. De zwarte, migranten- en vluchtelingen-vrouwenbeweging in Nederland* [Kaleidoscopic visions: The black, migrant and refugee women's movement in the Netherlands]. Amsterdam: Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen Publishers, 2001.
- Bourg, Julian. "Your Sexual Revolution Is Not Ours': French Feminist 'Moralism' and the Limits of Desire." In *Gender and Sexuality in 1968: Transformative Politics in the Cultural Imagination*, edited by Lessie Jo Frazier and Deborah Cohen. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Bovenkerk, Frank. *The Sociology of Return Migration: A Bibliographic Essay*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974.
- Bovenkerk, Frank. "The Netherlands." In *International Labor Migration in Europe*, edited by Ronald E. Krane. 118–32. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1979.
- Bracke, Sarah. "From 'saving women' to 'saving gays': Rescue Narratives and Their Dis/continuities." *European Journal of Women's Studies* 19:2 (2012) 237–52.
- Buijs, Laurens, Gert Hekma, and Jan Willem Duyvendak. "As long as they keep away from me': The Paradox of Antigay Violence in a Gay-Friendly Country." *Sexualities* 14:6 (2011): 632–52.
- Buruma, Ian. *Murder in Amsterdam: The Death of Theo Van Gogh and the Limits of Tolerance*. New York: Penguin, 2006.
- Butler, Judith. "The Sensibility of Critique: Response to Asad and Mahmood." In *Is Critique Secular*, edited by. Talal Asad, Wendy Brown, Judith Butler, and Saba Mahmood. Berkeley: University of California Press. 2009.
- Butler, Judith, Jürgen Habermas, Charles Taylor, and Cornel West. *The Power of Religion in the Public Sphere*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2011.
- Captain, Esther. "Harmless Identities: Representations of Racial Consciousness among Three Generations Indo-Europeans." In *Dutch Racism*, edited by Philomena Essed and Isabel Hoving, Amsterdam: Rodopi B.V., 2014.

- Castles, Stephen, and Mark J. Miller. *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*. New York: Guilford, 1993.
- Chapkis, Wendy. "Review: Dutch Perspective" *The Women's Review of Books* 2:7 (April 1985): 13.
- Cherribi, Oussama. "Imams d'Amsterdam: à travers l'exemple des imams de la diaspora marocaine." Ph.D. dissertation, Universiteit van Amsterdam, 2000.
- Chin, Rita. *The Guest Worker Question in Postwar Germany*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Chin, Rita. "Guest Worker Migration and the Unexpected Return of Race." In *After the Nazi Racial State: Difference and Democracy in Germany and Europe*, edited by Rita Chin, Heide Fehrenbach, Geoff Eley, and Atina Grossmann. 80–101. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 2009.
- Chin, Rita. "Turkish Women, West German Feminists, and the Gendered Discourse on Muslim Cultural Difference." *Public Cultures* 22:3 (2010): 557–81.
- Choukri, Mohamed. *Al-Khubz al-Hafi, Sirah Dhatiyyah Riwa'iyyah, 1935–1956* [Plain Bread, A Novelistic Autobiography, 1935–1956], fifth edition. Beirut: Dar al-Saqi, 1995; or *For Bread Alone*, translated with an introduction by Paul Bowles. San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1987.
- Clancy-Smith, Julia. *Mediterraneans*. Berkeley, CA: University of California, 2011.
- Clark, Cal, and Janet Clark. "The Gender Gap in Yugoslavia: Elite versus Mass Levels." *Political Psychology* 8: 3 (September 1987): 411–26.
- Cocks, H. G. *Classified: The Secret History of the Personal Column*. London: Random House Books, 2009.
- Cornelins, Victor. *Fra St. Croix til Nakskov* [From St. Croix to Nakskov]. Fredericia: Frimodts forlag, 1977.
- Cottaar, Annemarie, and Nadia Bouras. *Marokkanen in Nederland: de pioniers vertellen*. Amsterdam: J.M. Meulenhoff, 2009.
- Dahlerup, Drude. "Is the New Women's Movement Dead? Decline or Change of the Danish Movement." In *The New Women's Movement: Feminism and Political Power in Europe and the USA*, edited by Drude Dahlerup. 217–45. London: Sage Publications, 1986.
- Dahlerup, Drude. "Denmark: High Representation of Women Without Gender Quotas." In *Breaking Male Dominance in Old Democracies*, edited by Drude Dahlerup and Monique Leyenaar. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Dahlerup, Drude, and Monique Leyenaar. *Breaking Male Dominance in Old Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Danbolt, Mathias, and Lene Myong. "Guldkysten og den historiske og politiske 'korrekthed'" [The Gold Coast and historical and political "correctness"]. *Peculiar* (blog), 27 July 2015. Last accessed October 2016 via <http://peculiar.dk/guldkysten-og-den-historiske-og-politiske-korrektthed/>.



- Davis, John, and Anette Warring. "Living Utopia. Communal Living in Denmark and Britain." *Cultural and Social History* 8:4 (2011): 513–30.
- Davis, Susan Schaefer, and Douglas A. Davis. *Adolescence in a Moroccan Town: Making Social Sense*. New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1989.
- De Leeuw, Marc, and van Wichelen Sonja. 2014. "Institutionalizing the Muslim Other: *Naar Nederland* and the Violence of Culturalism." In *Dutch Racism*, edited by. Philomena Essed and Isabel Hoving. Amsterdam: Rodopi B.V.
- De Martino, Gianni. 1992. "An Italian in Morocco." In *Sexuality and Eroticism Among Males in Moslem Societies*, edited by. Arno Schmitt and Jehoeda Sofer, Binghamton, NY: Harrington Park.
- De Vries, Jan. *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650-the Present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Diner, Dan. "Nation, Migration, and Memory: On Historical Concepts of Citizenship." *Constellations* 4:3 (1998): 293–306.
- Drud-Jensen, Ted, Mads, and Sune Prahl Knudsen. *Ondt i Røven* [Pain in the Ass]. Copenhagen: Høst, 2005.
- Duggan, Lisa. *The Twilight of Equality?: Neoliberalism, Cultural Politics, and the Attack on Democracy*. Boston: Beacon, 2003.
- "Dutch Moroccans be like #BornHere." *Al Jazeera* (English), 19 March 2014. Last accessed October 2016 via <http://stream.aljazeera.com/story/201403191437-0023571>
- Duyvendak, Jan Willem. *The Politics of Home: Belonging and Nostalgia in Western Europe and the United States*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Duyvendak, Jan Willem and Peter Scholten. "Deconstructing the Dutch Multicultural Model: A Frame Perspective on Dutch Immigrant Integration Policymaking." *Comparative European Politics* 10:3 (2012):, 266–82.
- Duyvendak, Jan Willem, Peter Geschiere, and Evelien Tonkens, editors. *The Culturalization of Citizenship: Belonging and Polarization in a Globalizing World*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
- Edelberg, Peter. "The Long Sexual Revolution: The Police and the New Gay Man." In *Sexual Revolutions*, edited by Gert Hekma and Alaina Giami. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014a.
- Edelberg, Peter. "The Queer Road to *frisind*: Copenhagen 1945–2012." In *Queer Cities, Queer Cultures: Europe Since 1945*, edited by Jennifer Evans and Matt Cook. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014b.
- Eder, Franz X. "The Long History of the 'Sexual Revolution' in West Germany." In *Sexual Revolutions*, edited by Gert Hekma and Alaina Giami. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Eide, Elisabeth, and Kaarina Nikunen, editors. *Media in Motion: Cultural Complexity and Migration in the Nordic Region*. Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2011.
- Eley, Geoff. "The Trouble with 'Race': Migrancy, Cultural Difference, and the Remaking of Europe." In *After the Nazi Racial State: Difference and*

- Democracy in Germany and Europe*, edited by Rita Chin, Heide Fehrenbach, Geoff Eley, and Atina Grossmann. 80–101. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 2009.
- El-Tayeb, Fatima. *European Others: Queering Ethnicity in Postnational Europe*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2011.
- El-Tayeb, Fatima. “‘Gays who cannot properly be gay’: Queer Muslims in the Neoliberal European City.” *European Journal of Women’s Studies* 19 (February (2012): 79–95.
- Entzinger, Han. “Shifting Paradigms: An Appraisal of Immigration in the Netherlands.” In *European Migration in the Late Twentieth Century*, edited by Heinz Fassmann and Münz. Rainer Aldershot: Edward Elgar, 1994.
- Erdem, Mahmut, and Ole Hammer. *Folket med de trette okser* [The People with the Tired Oxen]. Copenhagen: Underskoven, 2008.
- Escoffier, Jeffrey, editor. *Sexual Revolution*. New York: Thunder’s Mouth Press, 2003.
- Escoffier, Jeffrey. *Bigger than Life: The History of Gay Porn Cinema from Beefcake to Hardcore*. Philadelphia: Running Press, 2009.
- Essed, Philomena, and Isabel Hoving, editors. *Dutch Racism*. Amsterdam: Rodopi B.V., 2014.
- Ewing, Katherine Pratt. *Stolen Honor: Stigmatizing Muslim Men in Berlin*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008.
- Fassin, Eric. “The Rise and Fall of Sexual Politics in the Public Sphere: A Transatlantic Contrast.” *Public Cultures* 18:1 (2006): 79–91.
- Fassin, Eric. “National Identities and Transnational Intimacies: Sexual Democracy and the Politics of Immigration in Europe.” *Public Cultures* 22:3 (2010): 507–29.
- Fassin, Eric. “Gender Crusades: Mobilizing Against Equality in Europe.” Semi-Plenary Panel at the Council for European Studies 2015 Conference, 10 July 2015.
- Fassin, Éric, and Judith Surkis. “Introduction: Transgressing Boundaries” *Public Cultures* (Special Issue: Dossier on Sexual Boundaries, National Identities, and Transnational Migrations in Europe) 22:3 (2010): 486–505.
- Fausser, Margit. *Migrants and Cities: The Accommodation of Migrant Organizations in Europe*. Farnham, England and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012.
- Feather, Leonard, and Ira Gitler. *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Jazz*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Ferree, Myra Marx. “Framing Equality: The Politics of Race, Class, Gender in the US, Germany, and the Expanding European Union.” In *The Gender Politics of the European Union*, edited by Silke Roth, New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2008.
- Fink, Carole. *Defending the Rights of Others: The Great Powers, the Jews, and International Minority Protection, 1878–1938*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

- Formes, Malia B. "Beyond Complicity Versus Resistance: Recent Work on Gender and European Imperialism." *Journal of Social History* 28:3 (1995): 629–41.
- Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Pantheon, 1977.
- Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality*. London: Penguin, 1990.
- Freud, Sigmund. "The Most Prevalent Form of Degradation in Erotic Life" (1912). Reprinted. In *Sexuality*, edited by Robert A. Nye. 176–78. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Gerholm, Lena. "Overcoming Temptation: On Masculinity and Sexuality Among Muslims in Stockholm." *Global Networks* 3:3 (2003): 401–416.
- Gildea, Robert, James Mark, and Anette Warring, editors. *Europe's 1968—Voices of Revolt*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Göktürk, Deniz, David Gramling, and Anton Kaes, editors. *Germany in Transit: Nation and Migration, 1955–2005*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007.
- Grigolo, Michele. "Sexualities and the ECHR: Introducing the Universal Sexual Legal Subject." *European Journal of International Law* 14:5 (2003): 1023–44.
- Halberstam, J. J. *Female Masculinity*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1998.
- Halperin, David. "Is There a History of Sexuality?" In *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*, edited by Henry Abelove, Michele Barale, and David Halperin. New York: Routledge, 1993.
- Hammergren, Lena. "Dancing African-American jazz in the Nordic Region." In *Nordic Dance Spaces: Practicing and Imagining a Region*, edited by Karen Vedel and Petri Hoppu. Farnham, Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2014.
- Healy, Dan. "Masculine Purity and 'Gentlemen's Mischief': Sexual Exchange and Prostitution Between Russian Men, 1861–1941." *Slavic Review* 60:2 (2001): 233–65.
- Healy, Dan. "Active, Passive, and Russian: The National Idea in Gay Men's Pornography." *Russian Review* 69 (April 2010): 210–30.
- Heineman, Elizabeth D., "The Economic Miracle in the Bedroom: Big Business and Sexual Consumption in Reconstruction West Germany," *The Journal of Modern History* 78:4 (December 2006): 846–77.
- Hekma, Gert. "Amsterdam." In *Queer Sites: Gay Urban Histories Since 1600*, edited by David Higgs, New York: Routledge, 1999.
- Hekma, Gert. "Imams and Homosexuality: A Post-gay Debate in The Netherlands." *Sexualities* 5 (2002): 237–48
- Hekma, Gert. "Queer in the Netherlands: Pro-Gay and Anti-Sex—Sexual Politics at a Turning Point." In *Queer in Europe: Contemporary Case Studies*, edited by Lisa Downing and Robert Gillett, Farnham: Ashgate, 2011.
- Hekma, Gert, and Alaina Giami, editors. *Sexual Revolutions*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

- Hekma, Gert, and Theo van der Meer. “Bewaar me voor de waanzin van het recht”: *Homoseksualiteit en strafrecht in Nederland* [“Save me from the madness of the law”: Homosexuality and criminal law in the Netherlands]. Diemen: AMB, 2011.
- Hekma, Gert, Harry Oosterhuis, and James D. Steakley. *Gay Men and the Sexual History of the Political Left*. New York: Harrington Park, 1995.
- Herzog, Dagmar. *Sex after Fascism: Memory and Morality in Twentieth-Century Germany*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005.
- Herzog, Dagmar. “Post Coitum Triste Est...? Sexual Politics and Cultures in Postunification Germany” *German Politics and Society* 94:28 (Spring 2010):111–40.
- Herzog, Dagmar. *Sexuality in Europe: A Twentieth-Century History*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Higginbotham, Evelyn Brooks., “African-American Women’s History and the Metalanguage of Race” *Signs* 17:2 (Winter 1992): 251–74.
- Hine, Christine. *Virtual Ethnography*. London: Sage, 2000.
- Hjarnø, Jan. *Fremmedarbejdere: En Etnologisk Undersøgelse af Arbejdskrafteksportens virkninger i Tyrkiet* [Foreign Workers: An Ethnological Study of the Effects of Labor Export in Turkey]. Copenhagen: Nationalmuseet, 1971.
- Hoefte, Rosemarijn. *In Place of Slavery: A Social History of British Indian and Javanese Laborers in Suriname*. Gainesville: University of Florida, 1998.
- Höhn, Maria. “Heimat in Turmoil: African-American GIs in 1950s West Germany.” In *The Miracle Years: A Cultural History of West Germany, 1949–1968*, edited by Hanna Schissler, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.
- Houlbrook, Matt. *Queer London: Perils and Pleasures in the Sexual Metropolis 1918–1957*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Huntington, Samuel. “The Clash of Civilizations?” *Foreign Affairs*, (Summer 1993).
- Hurenkamp, Menno, Evelien Tonkens, and Jan Willem Duyvendak. *Crafting Citizenship: Negotiating Tensions in a Modern Society*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Hyam, Ronald. *Empire and Sexuality: The British Experience*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990.
- Israel, Jonathan I. *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650–1750*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001/2002.
- Jarell, Corey. “Doug Crutchfield, Cincinnati Fabulous!” *I’ll Keep You Posted* (blog), 31 October 2001. Last accessed October 2016 via [http://illkeepyouposted.typepad.com/ill\\_keep\\_you\\_posted/2011/10/doug-crutchfield-1.html](http://illkeepyouposted.typepad.com/ill_keep_you_posted/2011/10/doug-crutchfield-1.html)
- Jivraj, Suhraiya, and Anisa De Jong, “The Dutch Homo-Emancipation Policy and its Silencing Effects on Queer Muslims,” *Feminist Legal Studies* (Special Issue: Liabilities of queer antiracist critique) 9:2 (August 2011): 143–58.

- Johnson, Bruce. *Eurogenous Zones: Sound, Sexuality and Cinema*. London: Equinox Publishers, 2010.
- Jones, Guno. "Biology, Culture, 'Postcolonial Citizenship' and the Dutch Nation, 1945–2007." In *Dutch Racism*, edited by Philomena Essed and Isabel Hoving. Amsterdam: Rodopi B.V, 2014.
- Jonker, Ellis. "Embodying Otherness While Teaching Race and Gender at White European Universities." In *Teaching "Race" with a Gendered Edge*, edited by Brigitte Hipfl and Kristín Loftsdóttir 63–68. Utrecht: ATGENDER, 2012.
- Jønsson, Heidi Vad. "Immigrant Policy Developing in Copenhagen and Ishøj in the 1970s." *Scandinavian Journal of History* 35:4 (2013):590–611.
- Kazancı, Piril. *Fragen Project: Analysis of Turkish Feminist Texts*. Amsterdam: ATRIA, the Institute on Gender Equality and Women's History, 2013.
- Kennedy, James C. *Nieuw Babylon in aanbouw. Nederland in de jaren zestig* [New Babylon under construction. The Netherlands in the sixties]. Amsterdam: Mepper, 1995.
- Keuzenkamp, Saskia, editor. *Steeds gewoner, nooit gewoon* [Increasingly Common, Never Ordinary]. Den Haag: Sociaal and Cultureel Planbureau, June. 2010.
- Klausen, Jytte. *Islamic Challenge: Politics and Religion in Western Europe*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Klausen, Jytte. *The Cartoons that Shook the World*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009.
- Kool-Smit, Joke. "Het onbehagen bij de vrouw" [The Unease of Women]. Originally published in *The Guide* 130: 9/10 (November 1967): 267–81. Last accessed October 2016 via [http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/kool007eris01\\_01/kool007eris01\\_01\\_0003.php/](http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/kool007eris01_01/kool007eris01_01_0003.php/).
- Kraaykamp, Gerbert., "Trends and Countertrends in Sexual Permissiveness: Three Decades of Attitude Change in The Netherlands 1965–1995," *Journal of Marriage and Family* 64:1 (February 2002): 225–39.
- Kudat, Ayse. "Structural Change in the Migrant Turkish Family." In *Manpower Mobility Across Cultural Boundaries*, edited by Ronald E. Krane, Leiden: Brill, 1975.
- Kudat, Ayse, and Mine Sabuncuoglu. "The Changing Composition of Europe's Guestworker Population." *Monthly Labor Review* (October 1980).
- Kulick, Don. "Four Hundred Thousand Swedish Perverts." *GLQ* 11:2 (2005): 205–35.
- Laursen, Søren, and Mary Lisa Jayaseelan. *Disturbing Knowledge: Decisions from Asylum Cases as Documentation of Persecution of LGBT Persons*. Copenhagen: LBL [Now: LGBT Denmark] and Danish Refugee Council, 2009.
- Lennerhed, Lena. "Sexual Liberalism in Sweden." In *Sexual Revolutions*, edited by Gert Hekma and Alaina Giami, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

- Linde, Amalie, Mathilde Hørmand-Pallesen, and Kønigsfeldt. *Amalie Børneimporten: Et Mørkt Kapitel i Fortællingen Om Udenlandsk Adoption* [The Import of Children: A Dark Chapter in the Story of Foreign Adoptions]. Copenhagen: Kristeligt Dagblad, 2013.
- Lintelman, Joy K. "Our Serving Sisters: Swedish-American Domestic Servants and Their Ethnic Community." *Social Science History* 15:3 (1991): 381–95.
- Lubbers, Marcel, Peer Scheepers and Fred Wester. "Ethnic Minorities in Dutch Newspapers, 1990–5: Patterns of Criminalization and Problematization," *International Communication Gazette* 60:5 (1998): 415–31.
- Lucassen, Leo. "To Amsterdam: Migrations Past and Present." In *New York and Amsterdam: Immigration and the New Urban Landscape*, edited by Nancy Foner, Jan Rath, and Jan Willem Duyvendak, New York: NYU Press, 2014.
- Lucassen, Leo, and Charlotte Laarman "Immigration, Inter-marriage and the Changing Face of Europe in the Post War Period." *The History of the Family* 14:1 (2009): 52–68.
- Lucassen, Leo, Wim Willems, and Annemarie Cottaar. *Gypsies and Other Itinerant Groups. A Socio-Historical Approach*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998.
- Luibhéid, Eithne, and Lionel Cantú. *Queer Migrations: Sexuality, U.S. Citizenship, and Border Crossings*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2005.
- Maier, Sylvia. "Honour Killings and the Cultural Defense in Germany." In *Multicultural Jurisprudence: Comparative Perspectives on the Cultural Defense*, edited by Marie-Claire Foblets and Alison Dundes Renteln. 229–46. Portland, OR: Hart Publishing, 2009.
- Mandel, Ruth. *Cosmopolitan Anxieties: Turkish Challenges to Citizenship and Belonging in Germany*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008.
- Marselis, Randi. "Descendants of Slaves: The Articulation of Mixed Racial Ancestry in a Danish Television Documentary Series." *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 11:4 (2008): 447–69.
- Marwick, Arthur. *The Sixties. Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy and the United States, c. 1958–c.1974*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Massad, Joseph. "Re-Orienting Desire: The Gay International and the Arab World." *Public Culture* 14:2 (2002): 361–85.
- Massad, Joseph. *Desiring Arabs*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.
- Matthiessen, Poul Chr. *Immigration to Denmark: An Overview of the Research Carried Out from 1999 to 2006 by the Rockwool Foundation Research Unit*. Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2009.
- McLeod, Hugh. *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- McLeod, Hugh, and Werner Ustorf, editors. *The Decline of Christendom in Western Europe, 1750–2000*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

- Mepschen, Paul. "Sex and the Other: Homosexuality and Islam in Dutch Public Discourse." Masters Thesis, University of Amsterdam, 2008.
- Mepschen, Paul, Jan Willem Duyvendak, and Evelien H. Tonkens. "Sexual Politics, Orientalism and Multicultural Citizenship in the Netherlands." *Sociology* 44 (2010): 962–79.
- Mepschen, Paul, and Jan Willem Duyvendak. "European Sexual Nationalism: The Culturalization of Citizenship and the Sexual Politics of Belonging and Exclusion." *Perspectives on Europe* 42:1 (Spring 2012): 70–6.
- Merrick, Jeffrey. *Order and Disorder Under the Ancien Régime*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007.
- (Mirdal) Mizrahi Sirazi, Gretty. "Tyrkerne (The Turks)." In *Gæstearbejder i København: en undersøgelse* [Guest-workers in Copenhagen: an investigation], edited by Eggert Petersen. Copenhagen: Mellemløkkeligt Samvirke, 1970.
- Mirdal, Gretty. "Stress and Distress in Migration." *International Migration Review* 18:4 (1984): 984–1003.
- Mitchell, Gregory. "TurboConsumers™ in Paradise: Tourism, Civil Rights, and Brazil's Gay Sex Industry." *American Ethnologist* 38:4 (2011): 666–82.
- Modood, Tariq. "Muslims and the Politics of Difference." *The Political Quarterly* 74 (2003).
- Modood Tariq and Fauzia Ahmad. "British Muslim Perspectives on Multiculturalism." *Theory, Culture and Society* 24:2 (2007): 187–213.
- Mowlabocus, Sharif. *Gaydar Culture: Gay Men, Technology and Embodiment*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010.
- Mügge, Liza. *Beyond Dutch Borders Transnational Politics Among Colonial Migrants, Guest Workers and the Second Generation*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010.
- Muller, Henry M. "Morocco in Transition." *Social Science* 35 January (1960): 48–54.
- Mullins, Greg. *Colonial Affair: Bowles, Burroughs, and Chester Write Tangier*. Madison, WI: University of Madison, 2002.
- Murray, Alison J. "Let Them Take Ecstasy: Class and Jakarta Lesbians." In *Female Desires*, edited by Evelyn Blackwood and Saskia E. Wieringa, New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.
- Murray, Stephen O., and Will Roscoe. *Islamic Homosexualities: Culture, History, and Literature*. New York: New York University Press, 1997.
- Myong, Lene. "Bliv dansk, bliv inkluderet: transnational adoption i et in- og eksklusionsperspektiv" [Be Danish, be included: transnational adoption in an inclusionary and exclusionary perspective]." *Paedagogisk Psykologisk Tidsskrift* 48:3 (2011): 268–76.
- Nadia, Bouras. *Het land van herkomst: perspectieven op verbondenheid met Marokko, 1960–2010* [The country of origin: perspectives on solidarity with Morocco, 1960–2010]. Ph.D. thesis, Leiden University, 2012.

- Najmabadi, Afsaneh. "Types, Acts, or What? Regulation of Sexuality in Nineteenth-Century Iran." In *Islamicate Sexualities: Translations Across Temporal Geographies of Desire*, edited by Kathryn Babayan and Afsaneh Najmabadi, Cambridge, MA: Center for Middle Eastern Studies of Harvard University, 2008.
- Nandy, Ashis. *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism*. Delhi: Oxford, 1983.
- Nielsen, Jørgen Hans. "Forholdet mellem etniske grupper [Relations between ethnic groups]." In *Integration i Danmark omkring årtusindeskiftet* [Integration in Denmark at the Turn of the Millennium], edited by Gunnar Viby Mogensen and Poul Chr. Matthiessen, 409–33. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2000.
- Ohliger, Rainer, Karen Schönwälder, and Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos. *European Encounters: Migrants, Migration, and European Societies since 1945*. Aldershot, Hants. England: Ashgate, 2003.
- Onderwater, Pieterneel. "Wij zijn geen 'zielige vrouwtjes'! Een onderzoek naar de houding van de Turkse vrouwenbeweging in Nederland ten opzichte van het seksdebat tussen 1970 en 2008" [We are not 'pathetic females'! A study of the attitude of the Turkish women's movement in the Netherlands regarding the sex debate, 1970–2008"]. Masters thesis, Utrecht University, 2008.
- Open Society Foundations. *Muslims in Amsterdam*. New York, NY: Open Society Foundations, 2010.
- Open Society Foundations. *Muslims in Berlin*. New York, NY: Open Society Foundations, 2010.
- Open Society Foundations. *Muslims in Rotterdam*. New York, NY: Open Society Foundations, 2010.
- Open Society Foundations. *Muslims in Europe: A Report on 11 EU Cities*. New York, NY: Open Society Foundations, 2010.
- Open Society Foundations. *Muslims in Copenhagen*. New York, NY: Open Society Foundations, 2011.
- Orton, Joe, and John Lahr. *The Orton Diaries: Including the Correspondence of Edna Welthorpe and Others*. New York: Harper & Row, 1986.
- Outshoorn, Joyce. "The Feminist Movement and Abortion Policy in the Netherlands." In *The New Women's Movement: Feminism and Political Power in Europe and the USA*, edited by Drude Dahlerup, London: Sage Publications, 1986.
- Özyürek, Esra. "Convert Alert: German Muslims and Turkish Christians as Threats to Security in the New Europe," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51:1 (January 2009): 91–116.
- Penninx, Rinus. *Ethnic minorities*. Den Haag: Staatsuitgeverij, Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid, 1979.
- Perinelli, Massimo. "Sex and the Radical Left, 1969–1972." In *After the History of Sexuality: Germany Interventions*, edited by Scott Spector, Dagmar Herzog, and Helmut Puff, 248–81. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2011.



- Petersen, Michael Nebeling. “... Med et regnbueflag i hånden’: Fortællinger om homoseksuelle inklusioner og homonationalisme” [“... With a Rainbow Flag in Hand’’: Stories about gay inclusions and homonationalism”]. *Lambda Nordica* 16:1 (2011): 41–68.
- Peumans, Wim. “Nee, Ik denk echt wel dat ik het ben’: Homoseksualiteit bij Jongeren uit Etnische Minderheden” [“No, I don’t really think that I’m that’’: Homosexuality in Children from Ethnic Minorities”]. *WelWijfs* 22:4 (2011).
- Peumans, Wim. *Seks en Stigma Over Grenzen Heen: Homoseksuele en lesbische migranten in Vlaanderen en Brussel* [Sex and Stigma across Borders: Gay and lesbian immigrants in Flanders and Brussels]. Leuven: Acco Publishing, 2011.
- Peumans, Wim. “To the Land of Milk and Honey: Migration to Belgium as a Stigma Management Strategy.” *Studi Emigrazione /Migration Studies* 49:187 (2012) 541–59.
- Puar, Jasbir. *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007.
- Rassam, Amal. “Women and Domestic Power in Morocco.” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 12:2 (September 1980): 171–79.
- Rath, Jan. “Research on Immigrant Ethnic Minorities in the Netherlands.” In *The Politics of Social Science Research: ‘Race’, Ethnicity and Social Change*, edited by Peter Ratchliffe, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave, 2001.
- Rijkschroeff, R., Jan Willem Duyvendak, and T. Pels. *Bronnenonderzoek integratiebeleid* [Source Research(-based) Integration Policy]. Utrecht: Verwey-Jonker Instituut, 2003.
- Robcis, Camille. “Liberté, Égalité, Hétérosexualité: Race and Reproduction in the French Gay Marriage Debates” *Constellations* 22:3 (September 2015): 447–61.
- Rothberg, Michael, and Yasemin Yildiz. “Memory Citizenship: Migrant Archives of Holocaust Remembrance in Contemporary Germany.” *Parallax* 17:4 (2011): 32–48.
- Runblom, Harald. “Swedish Multiculturalism in a Comparative European Perspective.” *Sociological Forum* 9:4 (1994): 623–40.
- Rydström, Jens. *Sinners and Citizens: Bestiality and Homosexuality in Sweden, 1880–1950*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 2003.
- Rydström, Jens. “Introduction” and “Nordic Peripheries.” In *Criminally Queer: Homosexuality and Criminal Law in Scandinavia, 1842–1999*, edited by Jens Rydström and Kati Mustola, Amsterdam: Aksant, 2007.
- Rydström, Jens, and Kati Mustola, editors. *Criminally Queer: Homosexuality and Criminal Law in Scandinavia, 1842–1999*. Amsterdam: Aksant, 2007.
- Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. New York: Random House, Vintage Books, 1979.
- Schissler, Hanna, editor. *The Miracle Years: A Cultural History of Germany, 1919–1968*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001.

- Schrover, Marlou. "Pillarization, Multiculturalism and Cultural Freezing: Dutch Migration History and the Enforcement of Essentialist Ideas." *BMGN: Low Countries Historical Review* 125:2–3 (January 2010): 239–54.
- Schrover, Marlou. "Multiculturalism, Dependent Residence Status and Honour Killings: Explaining Current Dutch Intolerance Towards Ethnic Minorities from a Gender Perspective (1960–2000)." In *Gender, Migration and Categorisation: Making Distinctions Between Migrants in Western Countries, 1945–2010*, edited by Marlou Schrover and Deirdre M. Moloney. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2013.
- Schrover, Marlou, and Deirdre M. Moloney. "Introduction." In *Gender, Migration and Categorisation: Making Distinctions Between Migrants in Western Countries, 1945–2010*, edited by Marlou Schrover and Deirdre M. Moloney. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2013.
- Schulman, Sarah. "Israel and 'Pinkwashing'" *The New York Times*, 22 November (2011). Last accessed May 2017 via [www.nytimes.com](http://www.nytimes.com).
- Schwartz, Jonathan Matthew. *Reluctant Hosts: Denmark's Reception of Guest Workers*. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1985.
- Scott, Joan. "Symptomatic Politics: The Banning of Islamic Head Scarves in French Public Schools." *French Politics, Culture, and Society* (Winter 2005).
- Scott, Joan Wallach. "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis." In *Feminism and History*, edited by Joan Wallach Scott, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Scott, Joan Wallach. *The Politics of the Veil*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007.
- Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. *Epistemology of the Closet*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.
- Shadid, W. [asef Abdel Rahman]. *Moroccan Workers in the Netherlands*. Ph.D. dissertation, Leiden, 1979.
- Shadid, W.A.R., and P.S. Van Koningsveld. "Institutionalization and Integration of Islam in the Netherlands." In *The Integration of Islam and Hinduism in Western Europe*, edited by W. A. R. Shadid and P. S. Van Koningsveld, Kampen, the Netherlands: Kok Pharos Publishing House, 1991.
- Shepard, Todd. *The Invention of Decolonization: the Algerian War and the Remaking of France*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006.
- Shepard, Todd. "Something Notably Erotic': Politics, 'Arab Men,' and Sexual Revolution in Post-decolonization France, 1962–1974." *Journal of Modern History* 84: 1 (March 2012): 80–115.
- Shield, Andrew D.J. "'Suriname – Seeking a Lonely, Lesbian Friend for Correspondence': Immigration and Homo-emancipation in the Netherlands, 1965–1979." *History Workshop Journal* 78:1 (2014): 246–64.

- Shield, Andrew D.J. "New in Town: Gay Immigrants and Geosocial Media." In *LGBTQs, Media and Culture in Europe*, edited by Alexander Dhoest, Lukasz Szulc, & Bart Eeckhout, 244–61. London: Routledge, 2017.
- Sieg, Katrin. *Ethnic Drag: Performing Race, Nation, Sexuality in West Germany*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2002.
- Sieg, Katrin. "Black Virgins: Sexuality and the Democratic Body in Europe" *New German Critique* 109: 37:1 (Winter 2010).
- Siegfried, Detlef. "Music and Protest in 1960s Europe." In *1968 in Europe. A History of Protest and Activism, 1956–1977*, edited by Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth, 57–70. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008.
- Slobodian, Quinn. *Foreign Front: Third World Politics in Sixties West Germany*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012.
- Small, Stephen. "First Impressions: Race and Immigration in Holland." In *Dutch Racism*, edited by Philomena Essed and Isabel Hoving, Amsterdam: Rodopi B. V., 2014.
- Smith, Andrea L. *Europe's Invisible Migrants*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003.
- Sneeringer, Julia. "Meeting The Beatles: What Beatlemania Can Tell Us About West Germany in the 1960s." *The Sixties: A Journal of History, Politics and Culture* 6:2 (2013): 172–198.
- Somerville, Siobhan B. "Sexual Aliens and the Racialized State: A Queer Reading of the 1952 U.S. Immigration and Nationality Act." In *Queer Migrations*, edited by Eithne Luibhéid and Lionel Cantú. 75–91. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2005.
- Spector, Scott, Dagmar Herzog, and Helmut Puff, editors. *After the History of Sexuality: Germany Interventions*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2011.
- Spring, Justin. *Secret Historian: The Life and Times of Samuel Steward, Professor, Tattoo Artist, and Sexual Renegade*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2010.
- Stoler, Ann Laura. "Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Gender, Race, and Morality in Colonial Asia." In *Feminism and History*, edited by Joan Scott. 209–66. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Stoler, Ann. *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*. Berkeley, CA: University of California, 2010.
- Sundén, Jenny. "Desires at Play: On Closeness and Epistemological Uncertainty." *Games and Culture* 7:2 (2012): 164–84.
- Surkis, Judith. "Hymenal Politics: Marriage, Secularism, and French Sovereignty." *Public Cultures* 22:3 (2010): 531–56.
- Tamagne, Florence. *A History of Homosexuality in Europe*. 2 volumes. New York: Algora Publishing, 2004.
- Tekeli, Sirin. "Women in Turkish Politics." In *Women in Turkish Society*, edited by Nermin Abadan-Unat. 293–311. Leiden: Brill, 1981.

- Tekeli, Sirin. "The Turkish Women's Movement: A Brief History of Success." *Quaderns de la Mediterrània* 14 (2010).
- Thompson, E.P. *The Making of the English Working Class*. New York: Knopf Doubleday, 1966 [1963].
- Thurner, Manuela. "Subject to Change: Theories and Paradigms of U.S. Feminist History." *Journal of Women's History* 9:2 (1997): 122–46.
- Tonkens, Evelien, M. Hurenkamp, and Jan Willem Duyvendak. *Culturalization of Citizenship in the Netherlands*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam School for Social Sciences Research, 2008.
- Trumbach, Randolph. *The Rise of the Egalitarian Family: Aristocratic Kinship and Domestic Relations in Eighteenth-Century England*. New York: Academic Press, 1978.
- Trumbach, Randolph. "Renaissance Sodomy, 1500–1700" and "Modern Sodomy: The Origins of Modern Homosexuality, 1700–1800." In *A Gay History of Britain*, edited by Matt Cook, Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2007.
- Valens, Keja, Bill Johnson González, and Bradley S. Epps. *Passing Lines: Sexuality and Immigrants*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 2005.
- Van Amersfoort, Hans. *Immigration and the Formation of Minority Groups: The Dutch Experience, 1945–1975*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- Van, Baar, and Hubertus Johannes Martinus. *The European Roma: Minority Representation, Memory, and the Limits of Transnational Governmentality*. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam, 2011.
- Van De Loo, Vilan. *De vrouw beslist: de tweede feministische golf in Nederland* [The woman decides: the second feminist wave in the Netherlands]. Wormer. Netherlands: Inmerc, 2005.
- Van Der Meer, Theo. "Sodomy and the Pursuit of a Third Sex in the Early Modern Period." In *Third Sex, Third Gender: Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in Culture and History*, edited by Gilbert Herdt, New York: Zone Books, 1994.
- Van Der Meer, Theo. *Potenrammen als rite de passage. Daders van anti-homoseksueel geweld in beeld* [Gaybashing as a rite of passage. Perpetrators of anti-gay violence in perspective]. Amsterdam, Utrecht: SAD-schorerstichting/NIS, 1995.
- Van Der Meer, Theo. "Gay Bashing: A Rite of Passage?" *Culture, Health, and Sexuality* 5 (March/April 2003).
- Van Der Meer, Theo. "Eugenic and Sexual Folklores and the Castration of Sex Offenders in the Netherlands (1938–1968)." *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science Part C* 39:2 (2008): 195–204.
- Van Rooden, Peter. "Longterm Religious Developments in the Netherlands, 1750–2000." In *The Decline of Christendom in Western Europe, 1750–2000*, edited by Hugh McLeod and Werner Ustorf, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

- Van Rooden, Peter. "The Strange Death of Dutch Christendom." In *Secularisation in the Christian World: Essays in Honour of Hugh McLeod*, edited by Callum Brown, M. F. Snape, and Hugh McLeod. 175–95. Farnham, Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2010.
- Von Rosen, Wilhelm. "A Short History of Gay Denmark 1613–1989: The Rise and the Possibly Happy End of the Danish Homosexual." *Nordisk Sexologi* 12:2 (June 1994): 125–36.
- Von Rosen, Wilhelm. "Erik Bruhn." In *Who's Who in Contemporary Gay and Lesbian History: From World War II to the Present Day*, edited by Robert Aldrich and Garry Wotherspoon, 61–2. London: Routledge, 2000 (see also: A.M. Wentink, "Rudolph Nureyev", 306–07).
- Warring, Anette. "Around 1968—Danish Historiography." *Scandinavian Journal of History* 33:4 (December 2008): 353–65.
- Weeks, Jeffrey. "The Invention of Sexuality." In *Sexuality*, edited by Robert Nye, New York: Routledge, 2003.
- Wekker, Gloria. "Mati-ism and Black Lesbianism: Two Idealtypical Expressions of Female Homosexuality in Black Communities of the Diaspora (1996)." In *Our Caribbean: A Gathering of Lesbian and Gay Writing from the Antilles*, edited by Thomas Glave, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008. Also published in *Classics in Lesbian Studies*, edited by Esther D. Rothblum. New York: Harrington Park, 1997.
- Wekker, Gloria. "What's Identity Got to Do with It? Rethinking Identity in Light of the *Mati* Work in Suriname." In *Female Desires*, edited by Evelyn Blackwood and Saskia E. Wieringa. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.
- Wekker, Gloria. "Van homo nostalgie en betere tijden. Multiculturaliteit en postkolonialiteit" [On Gay Nostalgia and Better Times: Multiculturalism and Postcolonialism]. George Mosse Lecture, Amsterdam, 2009.
- Wekker, Gloria. *White Innocence: Paradoxes of Colonialism and Race*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016.
- Willems, Wim. "Why Governments Do Not Learn: Colonial Migrants and Gypsy Refugees in the Netherlands." In *European Encounters: Migrants, Migration and European Societies Since 1945*, edited by Rainer Ohliger, Karen Schönwälder, and Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos, Aldershot, Hants, UK: Ashgate, 2003a.
- Willems, Wim. "No Sheltering Sky: Migrant Identities of Dutch Nationals from Indonesia." In *Europe's Invisible Migrants*, edited by Andrea Smith. 33–59. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003b.
- Woesthoff, Julia. "The Ambiguities of Anti-Racism: Representations of Foreign Laborers and the West German media, 1955–1990." Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 2004.
- Woesthoff, Julia. "Romancing the Foreigner: 'Fictitious Marriages' and the Crisis between Immigration and Human Rights." In *Sexuality in Austria*, edited by

- Günter Bischof, Anton Pelinka, and Dagmar Herzog, (*Contemporary Austrian Studies* 15) New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2007.
- Würtz Sørensen, Jørgen. *Velkommen Mustafa? Debatten om gæstearbejderne og det danske samfund i starten af 1970'erne* [Welcome Mustafa? The debate about guest-workers and Danish society at the start of the 1970s]. Working paper for the Center for Culture Research, Aarhus University, August 1988a.
- Würtz Sørensen, Jørgen. *Der kom fremmede: Migration, Højkonjunktur, Kultursammenstød: fremmedarbejderne i Danmark frem til 1970*. [The strangers came: migration, high conjuncture, and culture clash: foreign workers in Denmark up to 1970.] Working paper for the Center for Culture Research, Aarhus University, August 1988b.
- Yildiz, Yasemin. "Turkish Girls, Allah's Daughters, and the Contemporary German Subject: Itinerary of a Figure." *German Life and Letters* 62:3 (2009): 465–81.
- Yilmaz, Ferruh. "Ethnicized Ontologies: From Foreign WORKER to MUSLIM Immigrant." Ph.D. dissertation, San Diego: University of California, 2006.
- "Yogyakarta Principles: The Application of International Human Rights Law in Relation to Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity." Written in Yogyakarta, Indonesia in 2007, and published online. Last accessed May 2017 via [http://www.yogyakartaprinciples.org/principles\\_en/](http://www.yogyakartaprinciples.org/principles_en/)