

A black and white portrait of Gloria Wekker, a woman with long, dark dreadlocks, wearing glasses and a dark top with a textured necklace. She is looking directly at the camera with a neutral expression.

the
Gloria
Wekker
Reader

.....

Gloria
Wekker

.....

Chandra Frank,
Nancy Jouwe, &
Mikki Stelder, eds.

FOREWORD BY
ANGELA Y. DAVIS

the
Gloria
Wekker
Reader

.....



the
Gloria
Wekker
Reader

.....

Gloria
Wekker

.....

Chandra Frank,
Nancy Jouwe &
Mikki Stelder, eds.

DUKE

Duke University Press
Durham and London

2026

**UNIVERSITY
PRESS**

© 2026 DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS. All rights reserved
Printed in the United States of America on acid-free paper ∞
Project Editor: Bird Williams
Designed by Courtney Leigh Richardson
Typeset in Freight and Cronos by Westchester Book Services

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Names: Wekker, Gloria author | Frank, Chandra editor |
Jouwe, Nancy, [date] editor | Stelder, Mikki, [date] editor
Title: The Gloria Wekker reader / by Gloria Wekker ; edited by Chandra
Frank, Nancy Jouwe, and Mikki Stelder.
Description: Durham : Duke University Press, 2026. | Includes
bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2025033892 (print)
LCCN 2025033893 (ebook)
ISBN 9781478033189 paperback
ISBN 9781478029731 hardcover
ISBN 9781478061946 ebook
Subjects: LCSH: Feminist theory | Sexual minorities | Racism |
Women, Black—Social conditions | Queer theory |
Feminism and racism | Gender identity | Anthropology
Classification: LCC HQ1190 .W46425 2026 (print) | LCC HQ1190
(ebook) DDC 305.4201—dc23/eng/20260126
LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2025033892>
LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2025033893>

Cover art: Gloria Wekker, 2010. ©Koos Breukel.

DUKE
UNIVERSITY
PRESS

Contents

Acknowledgments	ix
Foreword <i>by Angela Y. Davis</i>	xi
Introduction: Gloria Wekker—Crafting Alternative Cultural Archives, Shaping Radical Intimacies <i>by Chandra Frank, Nancy Jouwe, and Mikki Stelder</i>	1
Part I: Sexuality on the Move	
INTRODUCTION BY RODERICK FERGUSON	25
“Tower of Babel on the Suriname River”	29
1. Sexuality on the Move	31
2. What’s Identity Got to Do with It? Rethinking Identity in Light of the Mati Work in Suriname	73
3. Afro-Surinamese Women’s Sexual Culture and the Long Shadows of the Past	93
4. One Finger Does Not Drink Okra Soup: Afro-Surinamese Women and Critical Agency	113
5. Politics and Passion: In Conversation with Gloria Wekker <i>by Andil Gosine</i>	143
6. The Coded Language of Hottentot Nymphae and the Discursive Presence of Race, 1917	155

DUKE

UNIVERSITY
PRESS

Part II: Black Europe

INTRODUCTION BY GAIL LEWIS	187
“Denial”	195
7. Survivors: Portrait of the Group Sister Outsider	197
8. Another Dream of a Common Language: Imagining Black Europe	209
9. What Happens to Black in the Afro-Surinamese Transatlantic Diaspora?	223
10. Afropessimism	233

Part III: The Cultural Archive

INTRODUCTION BY SUDEEP DASGUPTA	249
“Acknowledgement”	253
11. How Families Navigate Empire	255
12. Introduction to <i>White Innocence</i>	263
13. A Wind-Swept Plain: The History of Gender and Ethnicity-Thought in the Netherlands <i>coauthored with Helma Lutz</i>	297
14. White Innocence: Reflections on Public Debates and Political-Analytical Challenges. An Interview with Gloria Wekker <i>by Nella van den Brandt, Lieke Schrijvers, Amal Miri, and Nawal Mustafa</i>	325
15. Diving into the Wreck: Exploring Intersections of Sexuality, “Race,” Gender, and Class in the Dutch Cultural Archive	343
16. Building Nests in a Windy Place: Thinking About Gender and Ethnicity in the Netherlands	365

DUKE

Part IV: Transnational Feminism

INTRODUCTION BY FATIMA EL-TAYEB	385
“Transatlantic”	389
17. Naming Ourselves as Black Women in Europe: An African American–German and Afro-Dutch Conversation <i>coauthored with Cassandra Ellerbe-Dueck</i>	391
18. A Letter to Audre Lorde	411
19. Still Crazy After All Those Years . . . Feminism for the New Millennium	413
20. “How Does One Survive the University as a Space Invader?” Beyond White Innocence in the Academy	427
21. Reading Obama: Collective Responsibilities and the Politics of Tears <i>coauthored with M. Jacqui Alexander and Gail Lewis</i>	443
Contributors	465
Index	467

DUKE

UNIVERSITY
PRESS

Acknowledgments

Our deepest gratitude goes out to Gloria Wekker for sustaining us in many ways with her writing, poetry, and friendship, and for trusting us with the creation of this Reader. Much of the process of getting the Reader together has happened as a pandemic raged across the globe that has laid bare how viral exposure is distributed unevenly based on intersecting structures of race, class, geography, and gender. It has taken shape while massacres are being committed in Congo in the name of mineral extraction for the global market. In Sudan, over 10 million people have been forcefully displaced and over a hundred thousand massacred. Israel is committing genocide against Palestinians in Gaza. From different places in the world, we witness Israel's settler-colonial violence and erasure and the violent crackdown on dissenting voices. Across Europe and North America, the state and academic institutions continue to target (predominantly) racialized students and faculty speaking out against genocide. This has culminated in the suspension, incarceration, and deportation of students and faculty. After decades of hollow, (neo)liberal gestures of inclusion, we witness the arrival of fascism in the United States and Europe, fueled by a cis-heterosexist, masculinist, white, patriarchal, capitalist imperialism that consistently targets refugees, racialized communities, trans and queer people, disabled people, and women. The already small space for critical maneuvering within our universities is becoming ever narrower as fascist governments, sometimes with the aid of university boards, cut educational budgets and departments, target international students and staff, and crack down on feminist, critical race, trans, and queer thought.

In the midst of this despair, we have also encountered glimmers of hope in Wekker's writing, reminding us of the importance of community, resistance, and creating different lifeworlds. We are touched by how Wekker's work continues to inspire younger generations and scholar-activists to remain critical and hopeful. We extend our gratitude to Angela Y. Davis, Sudeep Dasgupta,

D
UNIVERSITY
PRESS

Fatima El-Tayeb, Roderick Ferguson, and Gail Lewis for their invaluable contributions to the Reader. Much appreciation goes out to Wekker's coauthors who appear in this Reader: Andil Gosine, Helma Lutz, M. Jacqui Alexander, Gail Lewis, Cassandra Ellerbe-Dueck, Nawal Mustafa, Nella van den Brandt, Lieke Schrijvers, and Amal Miri.

We would also like to thank Erika Doucette for her careful reading of our introduction. Gisela Fosado and Alejandra Mejía at Duke University Press have provided invaluable and patient editorial guidance. We are grateful for the insightful comments provided by two anonymous reviewers of the manuscript. We would like to thank Flora Vallenduuk at Atria: Institute on Gender Equality and Women's History for providing us with the images that capture different moments in Wekker's life. We also extend our thanks to Rogier Alleblas, Angèle Etoundi Essamba, Robertine Romeny, and Mieke Schlaman for agreeing to publish their photographs in the Reader. KITLV/Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies have kindly provided the funds for image rights.

DUKE

X ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

UNIVERSITY
PRESS

Foreword

Thanks to Gloria Wekker's uncompromising scholarship on race, gender, sexuality, and nation—always situated within the intellectual and activist communities that her work has helped to shape—it is becoming increasingly unreasonable to deny the global reproduction of racism in Europe. As her work insists, countries such as the Netherlands, which have long suppressed and intentionally underestimated their historical roles in the development of colonialism, will no longer be able to claim innocence when it comes to responsibility for the damages of racism. Wekker's most recent book establishes not only how deeply Europe—and especially the Netherlands—is implicated in the historical development of racial capitalism, but also how these colonizing nations continue to promote the structural and ideological continuity of racism.

This impressive collection of Gloria Wekker's work is essential reading for scholars and activists who want to strengthen their understanding of the complex ways in which the cauldrons of colonialism and the slave trade ignited forces responsible for capitalism and for the accompanying and equally tenacious structures of racism. We should all be profoundly thankful to Chandra Frank, Nancy Jouwe, and Mikki Stelder for their exceptional work in creating the perfect architecture for this collection, a structure that allows us to apprehend the complex interrelationalities of Wekker's research. Moreover, they have also invited the best possible scholar-activists to introduce each section. I am deeply honored to have been asked to provide a foreword.

Gloria Wekker's interventions—on sexuality, racism, the colonial archive, and transnational feminism—are precisely what is needed at this moment and not only in the Netherlands, Germany, the United Kingdom (whose important history of struggle against racism should not be eclipsed by erroneous assumptions that the United States and South Africa are the most consequential geopolitical locations of such challenges). Her work also has major

D

UNIVERSITY
PRESS

relevance for other European countries that are, or are not, seriously wrestling with their histories of colonialism and their contemporary racisms. But that is not all. Although the United States is often considered the epicenter of antiracist, anticapitalist feminist theories and practices, Wekker not only engages with theoretical and activist dimensions of US-based feminism but also vigorously criticizes such established conceptions as the centrality of identity that are rarely questioned. Instead, she de-emphasizes the rigidity of identity and instead centers social practice, with its transformative potential. As is evident from this collection, which spans some three decades, her ideas have always advanced feminisms that are antiracist, anticapitalist, and decolonial. This collection will be as important for feminist scholars and activists in the United States as for those in Europe, Latin America, and the Caribbean.

Reexamining the insights of Wekker's earlier research in relation to her most recent work, we realize the urgency of discarding a dangerous and racist dynamic that leads many to assume that knowledges and organizing practices inexorably move from the global North toward the South and only rarely vice versa. Wekker's work on Suriname, like her reflections on her encounter with Audre Lorde, as they both attempted to build queer antiracist formations, trouble this directionality. We are thus led to speculate how feminist theories and movements might have unfolded had less emphasis been placed on identity formation and more on practice, with all of its necessary fluidity, as Wekker insists. Her contributions with respect to mati work among working-class Afro-Surinamese women who create intimate emotional and sexual relations with other women, often even as they continue to engage in heterosexual relationships, are but one example of the impact of such a shift. Wekker's work asks us to question theories of sexuality that focus only on identity and to recognize how this approach can fail to apprehend ways in which non-normative sexual practices might be better understood in their articulation with other working-class practices, for example, as opposed to capitulating to the presumption that sexuality can be best understood within a framework that centers white middle-class sexual practices.

Parenthetically, I want to thank Gloria Wekker for helping me to retrospectively better understand the implications of a project on blueswomen and Black feminism that I undertook long before the publication of *The Politics of Passion*. I confess that I sometimes imagine other temporalities in which I might have been permitted to read her book before completing mine, thus benefiting from her insights to produce a far better study.

More importantly, there can be no doubt that the publication of *The Gloria Wekker Reader* will have transformative repercussions in feminist studies and

Black studies, in other interdisciplinary fields, among organic intellectuals, and in the traditional disciplines. Finally, I would also like to thank her, especially on behalf of the increasing numbers of people who identify as “scholar-activists,” for her always compelling explorations of the epistemological dimensions of praxis and for her critiques of theoretical engagements that exploit philosophical categories for the purpose of situating certain sociohistorical conditions within the realm of ontology and thus beyond the possibility of change. I am now imagining a not-too-distant future in which emergent scholar-activists are motivated to build on Wekker’s brilliant analyses.

—Angela Y. Davis

DUKE

**UNIVERSITY
PRESS**

Introduction

Gloria Wekker—Crafting Alternative Cultural Archives, Shaping Radical Intimacies

CHANDRA FRANK, NANCY JOUWE, AND MIKKI STELDER

Like stately ships they are
bobbing and streamere
fully adorned
whispering chintz skirts
lined gold braided

digressing
from board to water line
anyisa, anyisa
motyo tie

let them talk
sailors tie
like stately ships they are
swaying cleaving climbing
to the beat of their own drummer

A redskirted robust flagship
leads the squadron
enlarging
grace of gracefulness
she glides to the side
cigar in hand
prepares the others
on their way to the harbor
a triumphal arch, a beacon
chivalrous and eager
like a young naval officer
and always always
dancing flowing floating
to the beat of her own drummer.
—GLORIA WEKKER,
“Creole Women”

D
Gloria Wekker’s “Creole Women” (1990) engenders a sensual understanding of place. Drawing connections between Creole women wearing beautifully adorned headwraps and stately ships bobbing and floating speaks to Wekker’s commitment to unpacking the complicated relationship between empire and

UNIVERSITY
PRESS

sexuality in the Caribbean.¹ The poem, dedicated to Ms. Juliette, an interlocutor in *Politics of Passion: Women's Sexual Culture in the Afro-Surinamese Diaspora* (2006), also speaks to Wekker's poetic understanding of relation within her creative writing, scholarship, and Black feminist and lesbian kinship networks.

Wekker's groundbreaking interventions in sexuality studies span forty years and carefully unfold the colonial history of sexuality and delineate structures of colonial and racial domination that undergird sexuality, as well as models of non-Western sexuality. Wekker's scholarship centers a critical and innovative analysis of sexuality where she maps the connections between race, empire, and gender in the Dutch Kingdom, Europe, and the Caribbean.² Her continuous interrogation of the colonial origins of sexuality within the workings of the Dutch Empire opened up new ways for many of us to engage with scholarship and feminist and queer movement building.

The Gloria Wekker Reader showcases the breadth of her scholarship and the intricate layers and connections she creates in these selected articles, essays, book chapters, and poetry. Wekker's work invites critical engagement, dialogue, and ways of knowing across temporalities that inspire political action and a different kind of worldbuilding. We see Wekker's work as situated in conversation with other scholars engaged in intellectual debates within Black feminist diasporic studies, postcolonial studies, and feminist, queer, and sexuality studies.

Spanning multiple continents, oceans, and temporalities, *The Gloria Wekker Reader* envisions diverse audiences and aspires to cross disciplinary and geographic divides.³ We hope this compilation will provide a starting point for readers interested in engaging in intersectional and decolonial queer, trans, and feminist scholarship-activism across borders. The Reader is also an effort to document the rich history of Afropean, women of color, and Caribbean Black feminist thought and to inspire intergenerational conversations. Wekker's work can help us better understand the quagmire of the present, where far-right political forces build on legacies of racial capitalism worldwide and continue to use racial-sexual violence to produce what Ruthie Wilson Gilmore has called "the state-sanctioned and/or extra-legal production and exploitation of group-differentiated vulnerability to premature death" (Gilmore 2007, 247).⁴ Wekker's work is timely, as it forges new directions in cultural studies for a range of audiences. In her four decades of sustained scholarship, Wekker has helped us define, understand, and navigate a complex terrain of struggle. Our goal is to invite new and existing readers to contemplate the multiple links between different disciplinary fields and regions. This Reader provides us with the opportunity to create new ways of



FIGURE 1.1. Family portrait, Wekker family, Nijmegen, the Netherlands, 1960.

seeing and situating Wekker's scholarship. In the midst of the shifts and turns within anthropology, feminist and queer studies, and Black diasporic studies, we envision this compilation of Wekker's work as an insightful contribution to future research.

Navigating Empire

Wekker's intellectual journey as a teacher, scholar, and community organizer corresponds to the thematic organization of this Reader and to the emergence of the field of feminist Black diaspora studies.⁵ Wekker's life trajectory has been central to her scholarly inquiry and examination of the relations between coloniality, culture, and social realities across different geographies—in particular the (former) Dutch Empire, as well as the wider Black diaspora. As the youngest daughter of six children, Wekker came to the Netherlands in the early 1950s. She was born in Suriname to creole Catholic parents with African, Indigenous, and Ashkenazi Jewish ancestors.

Her family settled in the post–World War II Jewish Quarter of Amsterdam, where the Dutch administrative system had enabled the transport and murder of over 75 percent of the Dutch Jewish population. Although Wekker’s paternal grandmother was of Ashkenazi German descent, the neighborhood perceived her family as an anomaly rather than Jewish. At a young age, Wekker developed an astute awareness for being seen as a “space invader” by the dominant culture (Puwar 2004), which she has continuously theorized throughout her academic career.

After obtaining BA and MA degrees in anthropology from the University of Amsterdam in 1981, Wekker left the academy. Her experiences as an Afro-Surinamese student in the predominantly white lecture halls of the Dutch academy showed her the limitations of white approaches to ethnography and again consolidated her status as an outsider. She began a career as a government policy adviser on gender and migration, first at the national level and later for the City of Amsterdam. During these years, she experienced how Dutch policy categorized people according to gender, geographic area and type of migration, and class, and allocated funding and resources in ways that left people affected by these intersections in the dark. She draws on these early experiences in her theoretical work to show how Dutch policy separates gender from migration, which not only excludes women of color from both categories but also precludes solidarity across different axes of disenfranchisement.

Wekker’s impressive trajectory as a scholar, public intellectual, and feminist thinker is inherently shaped by her engagement with theoretical and movement work. In the 1970s and 1980s, Black, migrant, and refugee (BMR) women in the Netherlands began theorizing their experiences and positionality. The white feminist movement not only failed to address race but often quite bluntly ignored questions of race altogether. More importantly, there was a collective desire and need for BMR women to collaborate, dream, and think together. Gloria Wekker and BMR thinkers and activists such as Tania Leon, Tienieke Sumter, Philomena Essed, Kamala Kempadoo, Cisca Pattipilohy, Julia da Lima, Troetje Loewenthal, Alem Desta, and Mavis Carrilho critically shaped BMR feminist thought in the Netherlands. BMR women formed their own alliances and began organizing in living rooms, kitchens, and other community spaces. In the 1970s, BMR men were the main beneficiaries and recipients of government subsidies for their communities. In this move, a Western gender regime, foregrounding men, was surreptitiously imposed on communities who sometimes had quite different ideas and practices with regard to gender. The welfare organizations, led by men, were organized according to ethnic group and were supposed to cater to women as well. These



FIGURE 1.2. A group portrait of the Black lesbian collective Sister Outsider: José Maas, Tania Leon, Gloria Wekker, and Tienieke Sumter, 1984. Copyright Robertine Romeny. Courtesy of Atria.

BMR men did not develop joint analyses of BMR positionings in society, in contrast to the intellectual labor that BMR women did. Due to the lack of critical Black feminist scholarship in the Netherlands, BMR women often turned to the work of US- and UK-based feminists, such as Audre Lorde, bell hooks, Angela Davis, Chandra Mohanty, Gail Lewis, and Ann Phoenix.

In 1984, Gloria Wekker cofounded the Black lesbian collective Sister Outsider with Tania Leon, Tienieke Sumter, and José Maas to engage in more grassroots forms of organizing and to carve out a space for Black lesbians to commune and organize outside the confines of white lesbian groups. Looking for different kinds of connections, the group instigated a transnational exchange between Audre Lorde and other Afropean, Black, and of color (lesbian) feminist collectives in Europe, underscoring the importance of transnational lesbian and feminist of color alliances in the struggle against racism, misogyny, and lesbophobia.⁶ Such alliances also show the limitations of the nation-state as a frame of organizing and belonging for women of color in the diaspora.



FIGURE 1.3. Gloria Wekker and Audre Lorde, Los Angeles, 1989.

Before Sister Outsider became a formalized organization, the group had written a letter to Audre Lorde, whose work had inspired the group's name and who was building relations with Afro-German women in Berlin at the time. Wekker writes,

The letter makes clear that we are Black lesbian women from South Africa, Suriname and Indonesia. I had forgotten about that letter, which is not dated, but was written sometime in 1983, but when Chandra [Frank] showed it to me, I realized this is an intersectional analysis, which moreover shows our shared colonial histories with the Netherlands and with each other (Frank 2019). It was great to see that our joint study sessions, our hours of discussions, and the feverish devouring of Black American and Black British feminist stencils and pamphlets gave us an analysis of the Netherlands that still stands. (Wekker 2020)

Disgruntled by the limitations of policy work and inspired by her work with Sister Outsider, Wekker decided to return to the academy in her thirties. However, the Dutch academy was no place for an Afro-Surinamese lesbian feminist who wanted to work at the intersections of sexuality, gender,

Dear Ms. Lorde,

Amsterdam 29/12

Recently we heard from Gail Pheterson, who's an American friend of ours, that you are planning to visit Germany around March. We are a non-formal group of black lesbians, living in Amsterdam. We come from different parts of the world, South-Africa, Suriname, Netherlands Antilles - countries which are or have been colonies of the Netherlands. The reason we're writing you is to invite you to come to the Netherlands too, while being in Europe, as we've heard of you & read your work and are very much looking forward to having a chance to talk to you. We'd like to hear more of our black sisters 'across the great divide' and would like to tell you also of our situation here in the Netherlands. As soon as we've heard from you, a principal essent to come, we're going to take steps to make your stay possible.

FIGURE 1.4. A scan of a handwritten letter sent by Gloria Wekker on behalf of the Black Dutch lesbian collective Sister Outsider to invite Audre Lorde to Amsterdam, the Netherlands.

race, and class. Although discussions on sexuality had gained momentum in the 1980s and 1990s, race and racism remained taboo research topics. It was particularly Wekker's former fellow student Philomena Essed who bore the brunt of this willful ignorance. In 1984, Essed published the groundbreaking book *Alledaags racisme* (Understanding everyday racism), which developed a lens to critically examine the experiences of racism by women of color in the Netherlands. Her book was chastised by the academic establishment and the media, and it would not be incorrect to state that Essed was bullied out.⁷ Like Essed, Wekker decided against reentering a hostile Dutch academy and pursued her graduate studies at the University of California Los Angeles (UCLA), where she was awarded her PhD in 1992.⁸

For her dissertation research, Wekker conducted years of fieldwork in Suriname's capital, Paramaribo, among Afro-Surinamese working-class women. This work came to define her growing interest in sexuality and gender in the Caribbean and the Caribbean diaspora and led to the publication of her first book, *The Politics of Passion: Women's Sexual Culture in the Afro-Surinamese Diaspora* (2006), for which she received the Ruth Benedict Prize from the American Anthropological Association. In the book, Wekker examines the sexual cultures among Afro-Surinamese working-class women, particularly

mati work. Her inquiries were inspired by her encounter with same-sex-loving Afro-Caribbean diasporic women in Amsterdam who defined their erotics outside the paradigm of lesbianism. Women engaged in *mati* work rejected heterosexual marriage in favor of male and female sexual partners, and practiced a sexual, social, economic, and spiritual subjectivity and pleasure beyond Eurocentric ideas about both heterosexuality and homosexuality as stable and universal identity markers. *Mati* work, building on West African principles in the domain of sexuality and subjectivity, survived the experiences of the Middle Passage and persisted after the abolition of plantation slavery in Suriname in 1863/1873.⁹

Such a rich engagement with the sexual and social lives of working-class Afro-Surinamese women in both the Caribbean and the diaspora is still rare today. Wekker's interventions instigated a shift in sexuality studies from a single-issue focus on identity to an attention to practice and self-definition outside a European sexual idiom tethered to the invention of the homosexual in eighteenth-century Europe.¹⁰ Wekker's employment of ethnography provides a model based on a feminist praxis of care for Black women that does not "other" working-class women. Like her comrade and close friend Audre Lorde's powerful writing on the erotic, Wekker's conceptualization of sexuality and the erotic are foundational to Black feminist and Caribbean studies. The book paved the way for gender and sexuality studies in the Caribbean alongside her long-term friend and collaborator M. Jacqui Alexander (2005).

In 1993, Wekker permanently returned to the Netherlands after a brief stint as a lecturer at Oberlin College. In 1994, she became a lecturer in the Department of Women's Studies at Utrecht University. In 2001, she was appointed Aletta Chair in the same department, making her the first Black woman professor in the humanities in the country.¹¹ At Utrecht University, she continued to experience structures of exclusion and began to theorize those experiences to address the limitations of white feminism and ways of doing women's studies in the Dutch academy. Some of this work is included in this Reader. She also commenced her research into the imprint of the afterlives of Dutch Empire on diasporic communities of color in the Netherlands, in addition to the formation of Dutch white supremacy, which she began to theorize as "white innocence."

In 2016, she published *White Innocence: Paradoxes of Colonialism and Race* (Duke University Press). Wary of the response of the white Dutch establishment, Wekker decided to first publish the book in English to garner international recognition and support. In 2014, she described her book project as



FIGURE 1.5. Portrait of Gloria Wekker, 1992. Copyright Angele Etoundo Essamba. Courtesy of Atria.

“an oceanic journey” that she had “postponed for quite some time, daunted by the murkiness and the cold of the water” (159). It is no coincidence that Wekker described her journey as a “diving into the wreck” (2014).¹² Her watery metaphors unsettle the white Dutch attachment to maritime heroism and prowess that continues to be mobilized to obscure the violent history of Dutch imperialism (Stelder 2021) and erase what emerged in the “wake” of “slavery’s as of yet unresolved unfolding” (Sharpe 2016, 14).

Drawing on Edward Said’s notion of the “cultural archive,” *White Innocence* delves into the Dutch cultural archive to understand the impact of four hundred years of Dutch imperialism on contemporary racial-sexual-gendered relations. Edward Said coined the term “cultural archive” in 1993 to explain how narratives emerging from an imperial context have generated a knowledge base that is “unconsciously coupled with feelings, thus sustaining a racial and imperial grammar” (Jouwe 2019, 37). Building on Said’s analysis,

D

UNIVERSITY
PRESS



FIGURE 1.6. Gloria Wekker in her office at Utrecht University, 1994.

Wekker connects the cultural archive with the production of white innocence—“a dominant Dutch sense of self that consists of a (mostly) silent, but self-flattering conception of whiteness” (Jouwe 2019, 37). In *White Innocence* Wekker asks this key question: How could a nation that was a formidable imperial power for close to four hundred years imagine its history as not having left traces on culture and language, in knowledge production and its conception of the self and the other? As Nancy Jouwe notes, “White innocence is enacted through, amongst other things, a tendency to stress the ‘positive’ aspects of empire, rather than the violence, racism, and injustice, while glossing over, rather than working through, our shared imperial past” (Jouwe 2019, 37). Wekker’s work offers a new conceptual framework for the study of race in the cultural archive that shows the relevance of the conceptual work of US Black studies scholarship and postcolonial studies, while refusing the idiosyncratic projection of US race relations onto other contexts (Wekker 2020).

The publication appeared alongside a series of other initiatives, including the launch of projects such as *The Black Archives* (2015), *Decolonizing the Museum* (2015), and the *University of Color* (2015), and followed campaigns



FIGURE 1.7. Gloria Wekker in the Aula at the University of Utrecht, 1999. Copyright Rogier Allebas. Courtesy of Atria.

such as “Black Pete Is Racism” (2011).¹³ The 2010s marked the emergence of a new generation of scholars, students, activists, and cultural workers who were ready for the book. Its publication was a huge success—though not without any backlash—and within twenty months a Dutch edition appeared in bookstores.¹⁴ Wekker finally became a household name in the Dutch academy, cultural sector, and media. The success of the book also showed that a new generation of activists and scholars were hungry for scholarly works that could help make sense of a Dutch context in which race continues to be both disavowed by the dominant culture and deeply ingrained in everyday acts of

D

DUKE
UNIVERSITY
PRESS



FIGURE 1.8. Gloria Wekker and Angela Davis at the oration of Gloria Wekker, the first Dutch professor Women's, Gender, and Ethnicity Studies at the University of Utrecht, 2002. Copyright Mieke Schlaman. Courtesy of Atria.

racism-sexism against communities of color. The book's success also rekindled an interest in works by other scholars, mostly of color, writing critically about race and ethnicity in relation to the Netherlands, such as Philomena Essed, Halleh Ghorashi, Guno Jones, Kwame Nimako, and Isabel Hoving. This also included the long-overdue canonization of the Surinamese anticolonial and antifascist revolutionary Anton de Kom's seminal work *We Slaves of Suriname* (2022). Wekker's work fueled a vibrant antiracist movement. Such movements had always been present but were often erased from the public sphere and national memory. The fact that it took so long for Dutch society and the academy to take notice of Wekker is remarkable, albeit typically Dutch. Despite the presence of large African and Afro-descendant communities in the country, the Black woman intellectual in the Netherlands remained an oxymoron (Jouwe 2016, 7). Although more Black women and women of color have started to pursue PhDs, Wekker is one of less than a handful of Black women to hold a full professorship in the Netherlands.

D

Wekker in Conversation

Wekker's trajectory has deeply impacted the epistemological orientations of her work and provided the conceptual infrastructure for *The Gloria Wekker Reader*. With this volume, we encourage the audience to delve into longer lineages of Afropean and Black Dutch thought. As scholars such as Fatima El-Tayeb and Jin Haritaworn demonstrate, the racialized position of others in Europe is undertheorized from a queer and feminist perspective. Wekker offers us a language to imagine our collective diasporic presence in the Netherlands differently.¹⁵ She carefully unpacks the violent consequences of the denial of race and charts genealogies that are often vehemently obscured in the Netherlands and Europe. In doing so, she contributes heavily to questions of belonging, race, and place articulated by scholars such as Sara Ahmed, Stuart Hall, Paul Gilroy, Avtar Brah, and Gail Lewis. Her work easily translates across disciplines and is a call for interdisciplinary knowledge production. Wekker's analysis of whiteness and Dutch imperialism will continue to resonate for students of race and empire within different geographic regions. She offers us new registers and methodologies, which will continue to inspire younger generations in search of other models for unpacking the colonial project. In our collective contemplation on the ever-relevant proclamation "We are here, because you were there," Wekker shows us alternate pathways and futures.

In her work, Wekker uses everyday examples—ranging from popular culture such as tv talk shows to the contested anti-Black figure Black Pete—to demonstrate the workings of whiteness. In developing the "white innocence" concept, she unravels and disrupts dominant narratives sedimented within the cultural archive that uphold the imaginary of the Netherlands as a welcoming and tolerant nation. Her work on the cultural archive is in close conversation with scholars such as Hazel Carby, who illuminates how the archive produces and upholds violent imperial entanglements. Wekker draws on distinct methods to unravel the workings of the cultural archive. Students interested in broadening their methodological archival reading practices will feel inspired by Wekker's innovative approach, which involves scavenging a plethora of sources that exceeds what is conventionally understood as worthy objects of study. Scholars such as Anjali Arondekar, Ann Laura Stoler, and Saidiya V. Hartman all point to other ways of probing and imagining the affective registers of imperial control and violence. Wekker's work is instrumental for anyone interested in other ways of theorizing the archive.

D

UNIVERSITY
PRESS

In her scholarship, Wekker continues to disrupt disciplinary expectations and conventions. She brings colonial histories into gender, women's, and sexuality studies, and shows how colonial history is shaped by the construction of race and sexuality. Dutch academia continues to repress critical scholarship on race. With a few notable exceptions in conventional disciplines such as history and anthropology, the metropole and the colony continue to appear separated and separable. Considering the lack of critical scholarship regarding the layered and complex underpinnings of Dutch racism, Wekker's pivotal contributions and those of her fellow scholars, including Essed, Ghorashi, Jones, de Kom, and Nimako, should be more widely acknowledged. We encourage readers to think and feel the feminist and queer diasporic cross-currents that underpin many of Wekker's writings. With this Reader, we also seek to firmly establish Wekker's work across multiple disciplines.

Thematic Guides

The thematic organization of this Reader corresponds to how Wekker's work resonates across multiple continents, genres, and fields; it also showcases her transnational theorization of sexuality, race, and empire. The Reader is organized into four parts: "Sexuality on the Move"; "Black Europe"; "The Cultural Archive"; and "Transnational Feminism." These thematic clusters illuminate the intellectual and political investments of Wekker's scholarship. They are also sites where Wekker's contributions have informed and shaped several generations of Black and women of color, transnational feminist, and queer scholarship. What sets Wekker's work apart is her endless curiosity to better understand the intersections of our intellectual, material, and libidinal economies with longer histories of colonialism and slavery. Each theme illustrates Wekker's influence on contemporary intersectional frames of analysis, harbors the potential for radical transformation, and insists on transnational, intergenerational, and intersectional feminist and queer coalition building. While each thematic cluster highlights a certain formative aspect in Wekker's scholarship, they also entail impressions from other themes. This is characteristic of Wekker's refusal of divisiveness—something that she has found in some contemporary analytical and activist frameworks—as she remains steady in her refusal of single-issue identity politics or pessimistic closures.

We have selected landmark essays, chapters, interviews, letters, poems, and coauthored works to showcase Wekker's extensive scholarship and movement work. This multigenre approach highlights how Black and women

of color diasporic feminist scholarship has been shaped by a variety of epistemic and poetic investments in knowledge production beyond the confines of academic writing. It creates different entry points to think through how knowledge is created and what counts as knowledge, learning, and engagement with(in) feminist Black diaspora studies. It also shows the collaborative nature of Black feminist epistemologies. We have positioned some of Wekker's writings in different ways to see what kind of conversations they might engender and clustered some texts under unexpected themes to encourage movement in unexpected directions. By doing so, we offer a new mapping of Wekker's existing work and encourage readers to trace existing and innovative lines between the sections.

Each section opens with one of Wekker's poems to demonstrate the importance of an expansive affective and poetic register for understanding the history of our present. The poetic cultivates an openness for things that cannot be said in academic essays, that is, the felt and lived registers between the lines. Furthermore, poetry itself is its own site of inquiry within Black and Caribbean writing.¹⁶ It shows the genre-bending qualities of such scholarship in its encounter with archives of racial-sexual violence and resistance. As Audre Lorde has noted, "For women, then, poetry is not a luxury. It is a vital necessity of our existence. It forms the quality of the light within which we predicate our hopes and dreams toward survival and change, first made into language, then into idea, then into more tangible action" (Lorde 2007, 37).

Each theme is introduced by a prominent thinker, scholar, and colleague of Gloria Wekker—Roderick Ferguson, Hazel Carby, Sudeep Dasgupta, and Fatima El-Tayeb. Angela Y. Davis, who was present at Wekker's inauguration as a full professor in 2002, kindly accepted the invitation to write the foreword. In Wekker's scholarship, we recognize the potency of material and theoretical concepts that reverberate across regions, eras, and disciplines that are highlighted by these introductions. We invited these contributors to emphasize the generative and collaborative nature of her work as it moves in different directions. Inviting these contributors also emerged from our own investment in a politic of citation and cocreation of knowledge that characterizes Black feminist study such as Wekker's. With this Reader, we firmly place Wekker in conversation with scholars who are similarly invested in intellectual debates within Black and Caribbean diasporic studies, postcolonial studies, and feminist and queer studies. Each theme is organized in chronological order so that readers can trace the developments in Wekker's thought and understand how her thinking around topics of sexuality, race, class, colonialism, and feminism have become more expansive and multifaceted over time.

We begin this journey with “Sexuality on the Move,” introduced by Roderick Ferguson. The title of this section is inspired by the closing chapter of *Politics of Passion*. We begin with her work on sexuality as a lens that intersects with race, gender, class, and migration as it formed the starting point for her scholarly trajectory and has continued to reemerge across her oeuvre. Wekker’s work has forged new pathways in sexuality studies for examining the encounter between sexual, racial, and class subjectivity and the colonial politics of sexuality. Based on her fieldwork in the 1990s, Wekker’s earliest works have laid the foundation for a more complex understanding of the politics of sex and sexuality beyond a Eurocentric organization of sexual identity. Her interventions have shaped a generation of queer of color scholarship, including scholars such as Jasbir Puar, Jin Haritaworn, Fatima El-Tayeb, Suhraiya Jivraj, Omise’eke Natasha Tinsley, and Roderick Ferguson. Alongside her longtime friend M. Jacqui Alexander, Wekker has shown how sexuality must be understood in relation not only to discourses of race, class, and migration but also to different lived experiences and organizations of desire. In “Sexuality on the Move,” we selected readings that address the question how Afro-Surinamese women who engage in same-sex and opposite-sex relationships have participated in sexual globalization, as well as “The Coded Language of Hottentot Nymphaea and the Discursive Presence of Race, 1917,” which is based on a “thin” case study, in which five white, upper-class women visit their psychoanalyst in The Hague, complaining that they possess Hottentot nymphae, embedding themselves in contemporaneous racist and eugenicist discourse. Each of the included readings speaks to the ways that Wekker thinks about sexuality, desire, class, and race. In moving away from homo-normative frames of analysis, Wekker provides us with other focal points and arguments that illuminate the importance of thinking about the erotic outside of Western frameworks.

We then move to “Black Europe,” introduced by Gail Lewis. Here we deliberately spotlight Wekker’s important contributions to scholarship on Black Europe as well as the role that her own feminist and lesbian political movement work plays therein. We include a chapter about the Amsterdam-based Black lesbian group Sister Outsider, its relationship to other Black lesbian groups in Europe, and its relationship with Audre Lorde, who was key to the formation of Black feminist (lesbian) groups in Germany and the Netherlands. It also features more recent writing that asks, “What Happens to Black in the Afro-Surinamese Transatlantic Diaspora?” to illuminate Wekker’s insights on the meanings of “Black” within a diasporic framework. The readings in this section significantly contribute to the growing field of Black European

studies, which intersects with Black feminist, queer, and postcolonial studies. Wekker's texts are an important starting point for anyone interested in anti-racist movements, notions of Blackness, and diaspora in Europe and beyond, and the limitations of policy work and single-issue identity politics and analytical frames. Wekker's work on Blackness insists on examining its intersection with other markers of identity.

"The Cultural Archive," introduced by Sudeep Dasgupta, invites readers to trace Wekker's "scavenger methodology" employed in *White Innocence* and to engage with earlier writings contemplating the histories of discourses of gender and ethnicity in the Netherlands.¹⁷ Here we see how Wekker's early theorizations on race in Europe continue to shape scholarship that takes other histories of empire as its point of departure. Wekker challenges and dismantles the workings of the cultural archive and demonstrates how the cultural archive can be used as a critical tool to comprehend the global and affective afterlives of empire, slavery, and colonialism. In this section, we also see how Wekker's work has been formative in examining whiteness in Europe and the Netherlands. Although Wekker's earlier works have always had to approach whiteness in some form, it is only in her later work and the expansion of Said's concept of the cultural archive that Wekker explicitly takes whiteness within a Dutch context to task. Although her analysis is specific to the Netherlands and its (former) colonies, her idea of the cultural archive and of white innocence have inspired critical scholarship across continental Europe on the imprint of the colonial past onto the present.

The Reader closes with "Transnational Feminism," introduced by Fatima El-Tayeb, and sheds light on the intimate and broad intellectual and activist networks that continue to shape Wekker's writings. We include Wekker's "Still Crazy After All Those Years: Feminism for the New Millennium," in which Wekker argues for passing on a particular modality of feminism to subsequent generations, and "Reading Obama: Collective Responsibilities and the Politics of Tears," a chapter coauthored with M. Jacqui Alexander and Gail Lewis on the election of Barack Obama as the first Black president of the United States. Each of these readings demonstrates how transnational feminism and knowledge production is in many ways collaborative and self-reflexive. Through the lens of transnational feminism, Wekker's scholarship explores solidarity and interrogates systems of globalization and oppression within institutional frameworks. With "Transnational Feminism," we aspired to end on a hopeful note, but we also acknowledge that hope, as abolitionist community organizer and educator Mariame Kaba writes, "is a discipline" (Kaba, Sonenstein, and Wilson 2020). We hope that *The Gloria Wekker Reader* will provide upcoming generations of

scholars and activists insight into longer histories of transnational Black and women of color feminism and inspire intergenerational conversations in the face of a multitude of ongoing crises. In this sense, we think of this Reader as a companion to the critical interventions of scholars, activists, artists, and thinkers who propose other kinds of futures.

“An Excursion on Self-Positioning”

Gloria Wekker has taught us, the editors of this Reader, that meaningful self-positioning opens pathways for doing scholarship differently and building solidarities.¹⁸

NANCY JOUWE

The year 2023 marked thirty years of having known Gloria. I first saw her in 1993, at a European Women’s Studies conference in Driebergen, Netherlands. I was immediately intrigued by her, not knowing what would follow. A year later I would become her student-assistant. We were both very aware that I was her first student of color at the university, and she was my first Afro-Dutch lecturer in academia. It was, in other words, fated. A couple of years later I was invited by a feminist magazine to write about my top five must-read feminist books. After raving about four Anglophone books, I realized I wanted to read a book that was not yet born: a Dutch book about Black feminism. A study friend, Maayke Botman, had a similar desire. When I noticed that others were picking up on the idea and wanted to get going with it, I realized that I, or rather we, had to do it ourselves. By then I had already written about the impact of colonialism by conducting an oral history project. In the project, together with study friend Marlise Mensink, we interviewed fifteen first-generation Papuan women in the diaspora. Their stories mattered to me as a daughter of a Papuan political leader who had fled his homeland, West Papua. Rather than planning school vacations, the conversations at our family’s kitchen table centered around world politics, our plight, and our subsequent invisibility. I was as eager to write about Papuans as I was to write about Black feminists. To write an actual book, however, was something else for my twenty-something self. Maayke and I decided to ask Gloria what advice she could offer and whether she would join us in this endeavor. An intergenerational cooperation was born, which resulted in the groundbreaking publication *Caleidoscopische visies* (Kaleidoscopic visions) in 2001 (reprinted in 2024 and in English translation in 2025). Even though we saw each other

infrequently, we did when it mattered, such as my graduation from university, her inaugural speech and party, and the passing of her longtime and beloved life partner Maggie Carrot. I feel thankful and proud that we maintained a relationship throughout those years, one that has transformed from a pupil-teacher relationship into a friendship.

CHANDRA FRANK

There is something special about being able to commune with Black and brown feminist and queer thinkers, activists, and scholars who shaped so much of my ideas about kinship, solidarity, and pleasure. The ways I envision transnational feminist networks, critical archival praxis, and the importance of imagining non-Western sexualities are closely intertwined with Gloria Wekker's presence, scholarship, and movement work. Often intergenerational feminist and queer stories start with collective dreams of possibility. In 2013, a good friend, Sarah Klerks, directed my attention to *Caleidoscopische visies* (2001), coedited by Maayke Botman, Nancy Jouwe, and Gloria Wekker. We collectively read this book in our feminist circles, carefully bookmarking pages and sharing in awe about worlds we knew must have existed but were not privy to. We read about all the generative and messy ways that women from former Dutch colonies such as Suriname, the Dutch Antilles, and Indonesia, and migrant women from Turkey, Morocco, and countries surrounding the Mediterranean Sea, as well as refugee women from Somalia, Iran, and Afghanistan, worked toward radical models of collaboration and in many ways defied Dutch ethnicity-specific funding. These Black, migrant, refugee (BMR) stories offered us what Sara Ahmed calls a feminist lifeline and temporary shelter (2017). As a queer feminist Dutch South African Indian woman in the world, I deeply appreciated knowing the genealogies that contoured the racialized and sexualized experiences of myself and others. Later I would go on to research the BMR movement as part of my PhD research at Goldsmiths University. I conversed with Gloria Wekker at length about her role in Sister Outsider, antimigrant policies, feminist and lesbian friendship, and the importance of feminist and queer archives. I felt the importance of being in relation with one another during these archival research trips and conversations with Gloria. These experiences went far beyond narrow understandings of "research." Rather, they shaped my understanding of the politics of pleasure, erotics, radical resistance, and loss. This beautiful and cherished connection with Gloria opened a portal of feminist lesbian intergenerational kinship that I hope to dwell in for a long time to come.

UNIVERSITY
PRESS

MIKKI STELDER

It was not until 2011 that I first came across Gloria Wekker's name at the controversial conference "Sexual Nationalisms" held at the University of Amsterdam. Her work was brought to my attention by Jin Haritaworn, Fatima El-Tayeb, Suhraiya Jivraj, and Jennifer Petzen. As an MA student and activist interested in the relationship between sexual politics and nationalism, it left me baffled that her work had only now come to my attention. Today I understand that this had everything to do with the structural erasure of critiques of Dutch empire. The first time I talked to Gloria was when she presented a chapter from what would soon become *White Innocence* at the School for International Training in Amsterdam in 2014. What she shared was so familiar and so intimate. More specifically, I recognized how racism circulated in the predominantly white world I grew up in as socially acceptable, if not mandated—even as we would have described our white selves as antiracist. Gloria gave me a language for understanding, resisting, and theorizing that world. I had never encountered such a vivid analysis of my own white Dutch context. After the event, I asked Gloria if I could write to her. She generously read my three-page email—a love letter of sorts. She invited me to meet her. We talked for hours about Dutch white supremacy, the limits of single-issue politics, and our experiences organizing transnationally. I had just started working on my PhD on Palestinian anticolonial queer critique and transnational queer solidarity. She offered to serve on my PhD committee. We have been meeting, thinking, and talking together ever since. She taught me the importance of underground networks of queer and feminist love and friendship as tools of resistance and coalition. She taught me I must never lose hope. What I learn from Gloria is that antiracism, much like sexuality, is about what one does, not what one is or can become. I consider her my mentor, my co-conspirator, and my friend.

NOTES

1. This poem by Gloria Wekker appears in the prologue to *The Politics of Passion: Women's Sexual Culture in the Afro-Surinamese Diaspora* (2006, xii–xiii). In an endnote, she describes *motyo tie*, *let them talk*, and *sailor's tie* as names of different ways of tying *angisa*, the traditional headdresses Creole women wear.

2. The Netherlands is a monarchy. "Dutch Kingdom" refers to the Netherlands as well as Dutch-occupied Saba, St. Eustasius, and Bonaire and the "nonsovereign parts" Curaçao, Aruba, and Sint Maarten. In other words, the Netherlands still has colonies today.

3. Her work on Suriname is read by Caribbean studies scholars, her work on sexuality by sexuality studies scholars, and her work on the Dutch cultural archive by scholars of Dutch racial and sexual politics. This compilation of her works is meant to inspire cross-disciplinary engagements with her oeuvre and offer an opportunity for the reader to experience the immense value of her distinct contributions across disciplines.

4. This is Ruthie Wilson Gilmore's working definition of racism.

5. We would like to thank our reviewer for offering this suggestion. As editors we couldn't agree more.

6. For more on queer and feminist Black, migrant, and refugee organizing in the Netherlands, see Botman, Jouwe, and Wekker 2001; Colpani and Isenia 2018; Colpani, Isenia, and Pieter 2019; and Frank 2023.

7. Thankfully, there has been renewed interest in Essed's work, and the book was reprinted in 2018.

8. The US academy was by no means free from racism. However, Wekker could find pockets of intellectual camaraderie in a time of uprisings against white supremacist violence and police brutality in the city.

9. Many Afro-Surinamese people have pointed out that the date 1863 is deceptive, as the enslaved were forced to continue working on plantations for another ten years so the Dutch plantation owners could "get used to" abolition. Therefore, many refer to 1873 as the official date of abolition.

10. As Michel Foucault (1990) notes, the category of the homosexual as an identity was invented by the European medical establishment and the state to discipline the population.

11. This chair was named after the well-known suffragist Aletta Jacobs, the first white Dutch Jewish woman to obtain a medical degree. However, we would like to stress that Jacobs also supported the Dutch imperialist project and its racial logics. This has remained neglected in the celebration of Jacobs as the mother of Dutch feminism. The first Black woman professor in the Netherlands was the mathematician Professor Dr. Paalman-de Miranda at the University of Amsterdam.

12. This was also a reference to a poem by the same name by Adrienne Rich.

13. The Black Archives was founded by Jessica de Abreu and Mitchell Esajas and houses several collections of Black and anticolonial thought (The Black Archives). Decolonizing the Museum was initiated by Black and women of color feminists: Simone Zeefuik, Hodan Warsame, and Tirsa Balk. The University of Color was founded by a collective of Black, queer, trans, and disabled students during the student occupation of the head offices of the University of Amsterdam in 2015. Wekker served as the chair of the Commission on Diversity that was installed by the university in the wake of these protests to advise on diversity and inclusion. The "Black Pete Is Racism" campaign was founded by a former student of Gloria Wekker, Quinsy Gario, who was later joined by Jerry Afriyie. It began as an artistic intervention during the Ketj Koti celebration of the abolition of slavery in Amsterdam and later evolved into a full-fledged movement for the abolition of the Dutch blackface figure Black Pete.

14. As of October 2024, a new edition of the Dutch version of the book, the seventh, is in preparation. This is unprecedented for an academic text, according to the publisher.

D

UNIVERSITY
PRESS

15. The “our” in this sentence includes editors Nancy Jouwe and Chandra Frank, but does not include Mikki Stelder, whose white paternal grandmother came from Berlin, Germany, which corresponds with Wekker’s assertion that at least one in six Dutch people have migrant ancestry that continues to be disavowed. Wekker writes, “A first paradox is that the majority of the Dutch do not want to be identified with migrants, although at least one in every six Dutch people has migrant ancestry” (Wekker 2016, 6).

16. Here we are thinking of the genre-defying work of Dionne Brand (2011, 2022), M. NourbeSe Philip (2008), Saidiya V. Hartman (2019), and Audre Lorde (2000), among others.

17. The phrase “scavenger methodology” is inspired by the work of Jack Halberstam (1998).

18. The title of this section is a reference to Wekker’s own “excursion on self-positioning” in *White Innocence* (2016, 8).

REFERENCES

- Ahmed, Sara. 2017. *Living a Feminist Life*. Duke University Press.
- Alexander, M. Jacqui. 2005. *Pedagogies of Crossing: Meditations on Feminism, Sexual Politics, Memory, and the Sacred*. Duke University Press.
- Arondekar, Anjali. 2009. *For the Record: On Sexuality and the Colonial Archive in India*. Duke University Press.
- Brah, Avtar. 1996. *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities*. Routledge.
- Brand, Dionne. 2011. *A Map to the Door of No Return: Notes to Belonging*. Penguin Random House.
- Brand, Dionne. 2022. *Nomenclature: New and Collected Poems*. Duke University Press.
- Carby, Hazel V. 2019. *Imperial Intimacies: A Tale of Two Islands*. Verso.
- Colpani, Gianmaria, and Wigbertson Julian Isenia. 2018. “Strange Fruits: Queer of Color Intellectual Labor in the Netherlands in the 1980s and 1990s.” In *Postcolonial Intellectuals in Europe: Academics, Artists, Activists and Their Publics*, edited by Sandra Ponzanesi and Adriano José Habed. Rowman and Littlefield.
- Colpani, Gianmaria, Wigbertson Julian Isenia, and Naomie Pieter. 2019. “Archiving Queer of Colour Politics in the Netherlands: A Roundtable Conversation.” *Tijdschrift voor Genderstudies* 22, no. 2: 163–82.
- de Kom, Anton. 2022. *We Slaves of Suriname*. Polity Press.
- Essed, Philomena. 1984. *Alledaags racisme*. Feministische Uitgeverij Sara.
- Essed, Philomena. 1991. *Understanding Everyday Racism*. Sage.
- Foucault, Michel. 1990. *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1: *An Introduction*. Vintage Books.
- Frank, Chandra. 2019. “Sister Outsider and Audre Lorde in the Netherlands: On Transnational Queer Feminisms and Archival Methodological Practices.” *Feminist Review* 121, no. 1: 9–23.
- Frank, Chandra. 2023. “Flamboyant: Wildness, Loss, and Possibility in Feminist Organizing in the Netherlands.” *Meridians* 22, no. 1: 34–57.

- Gilmore, Ruthie Wilson. 2007. *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California*. University of California Press.
- Halberstam, Judith (Jack). 1998. *Female Masculinity*. Duke University Press.
- Hartman, Saidiya V. 2019. *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments: Intimate Histories of Social Upheaval*. W. W. Norton.
- Jouwe, Nancy. 2016. "Standing at the Crossroads: The Black, Migrant and Refugee Women's Movement in the Netherlands." *Historica* 39, no. 3: 3–8.
- Jouwe, Nancy. 2019. "Notions of Invisibility." In *What Is Left Unseen*, exhibition catalogue, edited by Rosemarie Buikema et al. Centraal Museum.
- Jouwe, Nancy, Maayke Botman, and Gloria Wekker. 2026. *Kaleidoscopic Visions: The Black, Migrant, and Refugee Women's Movement in the Netherlands*. Routledge.
- Jouwe, Nancy, Maayke Botman, and Gloria Wekker, eds. 2024. *Caleidoscopische visies: De zwarte, migranten- en vluchtelingen vrouwen beweging in Nederland*. Walburg Pers.
- Kaba, Miriam, Brian Sonenstein, and Kim Wilson. 2020. "Hope Is a Discipline." *Toward Freedom: Global Reports, Grassroots Perspectives*, September 17. <https://towardfreedom.org/story/archives/activism/hope-is-a-discipline/>.
- Lorde, Audre. 2000. *The Collected Poems of Audre Lorde*. W. W. Norton.
- Lorde, Audre. 2007. *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches*. Crossing Press.
- NourbeSe, Philip M. 2008. *Zong!: As Told to the Author by Setaey Adamu Boateng*. Wesleyan University Press.
- Puwar, Nirmal. 2004. *Space Invaders: Race, Gender, and Bodies out of Place*. Berg.
- Sharpe, Christina. 2016. *In the Wake: On Blackness and Being*. Duke University Press.
- Stelder, Mikki. 2021. "Ingredients of Empire—An Oceanic Approach to the Study of Dutch Imperialism and Its Aftermath." *Tijdschrift voor Genderstudies* 24, no. 3/4: 277–95.
- Stoler, Ann Laura. 2002. "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance." *Archival Science* 2, nos. 1–2: 87–109.
- The Black Archives. <https://www.theblackarchives.nl/>.
- Wekker, Gloria. 2006. *The Politics of Passion: Women's Sexual Culture in the Afro-Surinamese Diaspora*. Columbia University Press.
- Wekker, Gloria. 2014. "Diving into the Wreck: Exploring Intersections of Sexuality, 'Race,' Gender, and Class in the Dutch Cultural Archive." In *Dutch Racism*, edited by Philomena Essed and Isabel Hoving. Rodopi/Brill.
- Wekker, Gloria. 2016. *White Innocence: Paradoxes of Colonialism and Race*. Duke University Press.
- Wekker, Gloria. 2020. "Afropessimism." *European Journal of Women's Studies* 28, no. 1: 86–97.

DUKE

UNIVERSITY
PRESS