

GESTURES

OF

DEFIANCE



MARY COBLE

Introduction: *Gestures of Defiance / Performing Defiance*

This zine, edited by artist Mary Coble, unites two strategies of resistance and gestures of defiance: The raised fist and the act of protest through glitter bombing. Coble activates these as queer statements on three specific occasions: in the work *Protest in Pride* (carried out during the LGBTQ festival in Gothenburg, 2014), in the exhibition *Gestures of Defiance* at Vita Kuben and in the coinciding live work *Performing Defiance* for the MADE Festival, both in Umeå, 2015.

The raised, clenched fist is a key symbol of protest and an iconic marker of minorities' fights against oppression. Appropriating logos, posters, pamphlets and banners from various contexts of opposition, Coble has created a visual archive of gestures of resistance, some of which is represented in this zine. The artist reclaims the raised fist as a sign of solidarity with those who today lack the privilege of visibility or voice to protest their conditions. Raising the fist becomes a symbolic act of opposition to structures of exclusion and a reminder to confront the discrimination of society's marginalized groups.

In Coble's works the raised fist is combined with the act of glitter bombing as a political and theatrical tool of non-violent protest. In the live work the artist embodies a protesting figure jumping with their fist raised over an exaggerated period of time, stretching this expression of dissatisfaction into a durational act. The repeated gestures of protest vacillate between excitement and failure, the proud and the absurd, empowerment and hopelessness. Adding a pink latex triangle (referencing the iconic and reclaimed symbol for homosexuality in a 'deviant' material) and an abundance of glitter to the act of raising a clenched fist, Coble activates a number of codes, traditions and tactics from queer history and counter-culture. Coble thus combines both the exhilaration and exhaustion of an extended protest that allows for unpredictability, messiness and failure as strategies in the fight for non-conforming values.

This publication holds a collection of fist symbols from the 1960s to today as well as an introduction to the fist and glitter as gestures of defiance by Mary Coble. Two commissioned essays further contextualize the raised fist iconography: Lincoln Cushing provides a historical overview of the clenched fist symbol, and Mathias Danbolt offers a queer political argument for raising our fists today in a piece written on the occasion of Coble's *Protest in Pride*. In addition, a short, reprinted text by Hadassah Damien describes how queer sexual politics and sexual practice intersect in the symbol of the clenched hand. Coble has also compiled a selection of glitter bomb examples, mapping out highly publicized glitter bombings in the US together with a contextualization of the action. Finally included in the zine is also a short reprinted text by Nick Esponosa on queer glitter bombing.

Mary Coble

Fistivism and Glittivism

The contemporary mainstreaming and commercialization of LGBTQ parades and festivals in connection to the neoliberal, color-blind and homonationalist appropriation of normative 'gay rights' seem to be confirming notions of progress and success. The majority of happy pride participants thus have a tendency to forget that this is not only a parade of visibility but also needs to be a march for solidarity.

"We've been playing an act for a long time, so we're consummate actors. Now we can begin to be, and it'll be a good show!" as was written in the 1970 *The Gay Manifesto* by Carl Whittman with the cover of the publication stating "out of the closet and into the streets". Catalyzed by the surge of the 1969 Stonewall Riots the first Pride marches in the United States took to the streets the following year. Early gay and lesbian organizations such as the Mattachine Society and Daughters of Bilitis were joined by numerous other organizations that eventually made up the Gay Liberation Front. This all pushed towards a movement with the goals to claim space and create visibility for non-normativity and non-conforming subjects.

Pride marches should be celebratory but there also must be the necessary sense of solidarity, self-criticality and political urgency. This was the foundation of my engagement with the LGBTQ festival in Gothenburg, Sweden (known as West Pride) in 2014. I invited the public to make prints of their own clenched fist as a call for queer resistance and gesture of solidarity with today's marginalized and suppressed subjects, such as the many migrants in need that typically sit on the very same avenue where the parade took place.

The individual fist prints were united on large flags, which I continuously hoisted on a flagpole situated on the main avenue of Gothenburg over the four days of the festival that led up to the march. This flag stood out between the rows of rainbow flags, questioning and perhaps even subverting the official rainbow flags of the festival. Finally, the flags with hundreds of different fist prints became banners of insistence as they were carried by a small group of people during the final Pride march.

I also invited people to make a fist print onto smaller individual flags which they could carry themselves as exclamation points throughout the march. United, the fist flags and banners could be seen as visualizing the statement that queer rights are human rights! The resulting archive of people's fists are ready to be activated in a future march or demonstration in other contexts where visibility and voice are needed.



Documentation from *Protest in Pride*, 2014

The fist unites various kinds of resistance to different contexts of dominating political and social culture, when they lead to discrimination, exclusion and repression. As Tommie Smith writes about the infamous gesture of raising his fist on the victory platform at the Olympic Games 1968: “On the night of October 16, 1968, I had stood on a platform on the infield of the Olympic Stadium in Mexico City, with a gold medal around my neck, black socks on my feet, and a glove on the right fist I had thrust in the air. My head was bowed, and inside that bowed head, I prayed— prayed that the next sound I would hear, in the middle of the Star Spangled Banner, would not be a gunshot, and prayed that the next thing I felt would not be the darkness of sudden death. I knew there were people, a lot of people, who wanted to kill me for what I was doing. It would take only one of them to put a bullet through me, from somewhere in the crowd of some 100,000, to end my life because I had dared to make my presence—as a black man, as a representative of oppressed people all over America, as a spokesman for the ambitious goals of the Olympic Project for Human Rights— known to the world.”ⁱ Smith calls this his ‘silent gesture’ but it spurred a long-time political roar with immense effects for the civil rights movement in the US but also with excruciating costs to his personal life.

Another example of one of the most influential raised fist icons is the feminist sign of a clenched fist inside the biological female symbol – most often drawn in the color red. Robin Morgan designed it on the occasion of a demonstration against the Miss America Pageant in 1969. This powerful symbol united the marks of fierce revolution and femininity – but Morgan worried about the color As Jo Freeman, activist in the US women’s liberation movement since the 60’s notes: “Initially, Robin Morgan worried over the choice of a red button for this particular demonstration. Ever conscious that major corporations like to co-opt incipient protest movements, she imagined that the cosmetic firm sponsoring the pageant might respond by manufacturing a matching lipstick named “Liberation Red.” Therefore, if we were asked about the button, we were instructed to reply that the color was “Menstrual Red.” No one would name a lipstick that.”ⁱⁱ Concerns like this are still highly relevant today with the commercialization of LGBTQ events and the commodification of ‘gay life’ and related symbols such as the rainbow.



1968
Designed by Robin Morgan



Credit: Neil Leifer

Tommie Smith and John Carlos (Gold and Bronze Medalists for the 200-meter race) raising their gloved fists at the Summer Olympics in Mexico City, 1968.

a glitter bomb

the act of glitter bombing, glittering

being glittered, glitter bombed, a glitter bomber

being part of the glitterati

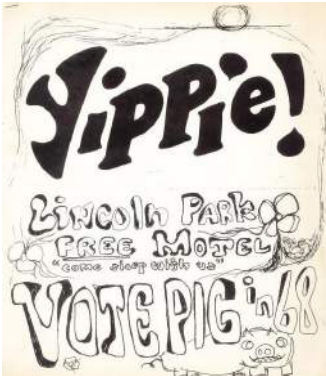
joining the glit parade

Glitter bombing has been described as “the most fabulous form of protest” and coined by US National Public Radio as a “sparkly weapon of disapproval on the campaign trail”. Perhaps most relevant here, this gesture has also been labeled as *glittivism*.

Nick Esponosa is one of the first glittivists to use this tactic in the US, highlighting the use of glitter as a political tool of protest. A glitter bomb most often consists of a handful or perhaps even a boxful of glitter or confetti that is thrown onto an unsuspecting target at a public event. Esponosa states that he is part of the “Glitterati — a nationwide movement to stand up to bigotry and anti-gay politics with a lighthearted dousing of glitter.”ⁱⁱⁱ

Esponosa also describes glitter bombing as a kind of “political theater” which has an important history in protest, as does the related concept “tactical frivolity” which involves humor, performativity and peaceful non-compliance in reaction to social injustice. Similarly Julie Stephens discusses the “tactics of frivolity as a kind of creative lunacy”^{iv} that for example the social and political activists of the Youth International Party (sometimes referred to as “Yippie!”) championed. Founded in 1967 by Abbie and Anita Hoffman, Paul Krassner, Nancy Kurshan and Jerry Rubin the Yippies believed in the gesture of theatricality in political protest and were driven by a playful ferocity to insert humor and hedonism into revolution. In Abbie Hoffman’s words: “What does Yippie! mean? Energy-fun-fierceness-exclamation point!”^v

As an example Yippie! nominated ‘Pigasus the Immortal’ as their Youth International Party Presidential candidate in the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago. They demanded that Pigasus - a hog weighing over 140lbs - be given Secret Service Protection and be escorted to the White House for a briefing on foreign policy. Pigasus arrived at what was then called the Chicago Civic Center Plaza for his acceptance speech with the platform: “They nominate a president and he eats the people. We nominate a president and the people eat him”. In front of a crowd of over 200 people Pigasus was immediately confiscated by the police and seven Yippies were arrested and charged with disorderly conduct, disturbing the peace and with bringing a pig into Chicago. (This last charge was later redirected to the Democratic Party during the trial by the radical defense lawyer and civil rights activist William Kunstler.)



Yippie! argued for the necessity of maintaining radicality even within seemingly nontraditional forms of protests. As Stephens points out, “In refusing, among other things, the discipline of politics, the aim was to prevent radical protest from being contaminated by all that it strove to resist. Laughter, paradox and parody were paraded as ethical forms which would guarantee the purity of the movement thereby protecting it from adulteration by the things it despised.”

Another direct precursor to the glitter bomb is the public pieing of a politically charged figure. One of the most well known pieing’s involved Anita Bryant in 1977. Bryant, besides being a former Miss Oklahoma beauty pageant winner and a singer with several Top 40 hits in the US, was a fervent anti-gay campaigner and founder of the political coalition “Save our Children, Inc.,” which acted to overturn a Miami, Florida law banning housing, employment and public service discrimination based on sexual orientation. Bryant was pied by gay activist Tom Higgins during an interview in Des Moines, Iowa. With banana cream running down her face her immediate reaction was to pray that Higgins be “delivered from his deviant lifestyle.”



In 1998 Willie Brown, then the mayor of San Francisco, was hit with three pies by members of the 'Biotic Baking Brigade' protesting his policies towards the homeless. The 'Cherry Pie Three' as they became known were convicted on misdemeanor battery charges and sentenced to up to six months in prison. A brigade member 'Agent Apple' hoped to "inspire others to take up pastry throwing as a weapon of struggle. Pies in the face are a tradition, recognizable as a critique of that person's work and status". Agent Apple further explained "we want to give people who are so overwhelmed by the terror of modern life the opportunity to laugh in the face of people who are destroying us" and later stated: "What we want to change is the entire system..." vi

Agent Apple and other activists have hit the crux; the desire for political and social change combined with the belief that this is possible through a performative and humorous gesture which breaks with more typical protest strategies.

It may be argued that tactics such as glitter bombing only produce sparkles; that it is a superficial and frivolous tactic, one that has no lasting power.

However:

We all know that glitter sticks.

It's an innate quality of the substance itself.

Glitter does indeed produce endless amounts of sparkle; it shines with perseverance and it does not go away.

It will not be easily brushed off of your skin, washed out of your hair or dabbed out of your ears.

It will be tracked into your home; you'll wake up with it in your bed and you'll find it in your pockets.

You simply cannot get rid of it.

It will follow you and others will notice your involuntary sparkle.

Glitter shines, annoys and persists.

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i Tommie Smith, Delois Smith, David Steele, *Silent Gesture: The Autobiography of Tommie Smith*, Temple University Press, 2008.

ii Jo Freeman, *Say It With Buttons*, *Ms. Magazine*, August 1974.

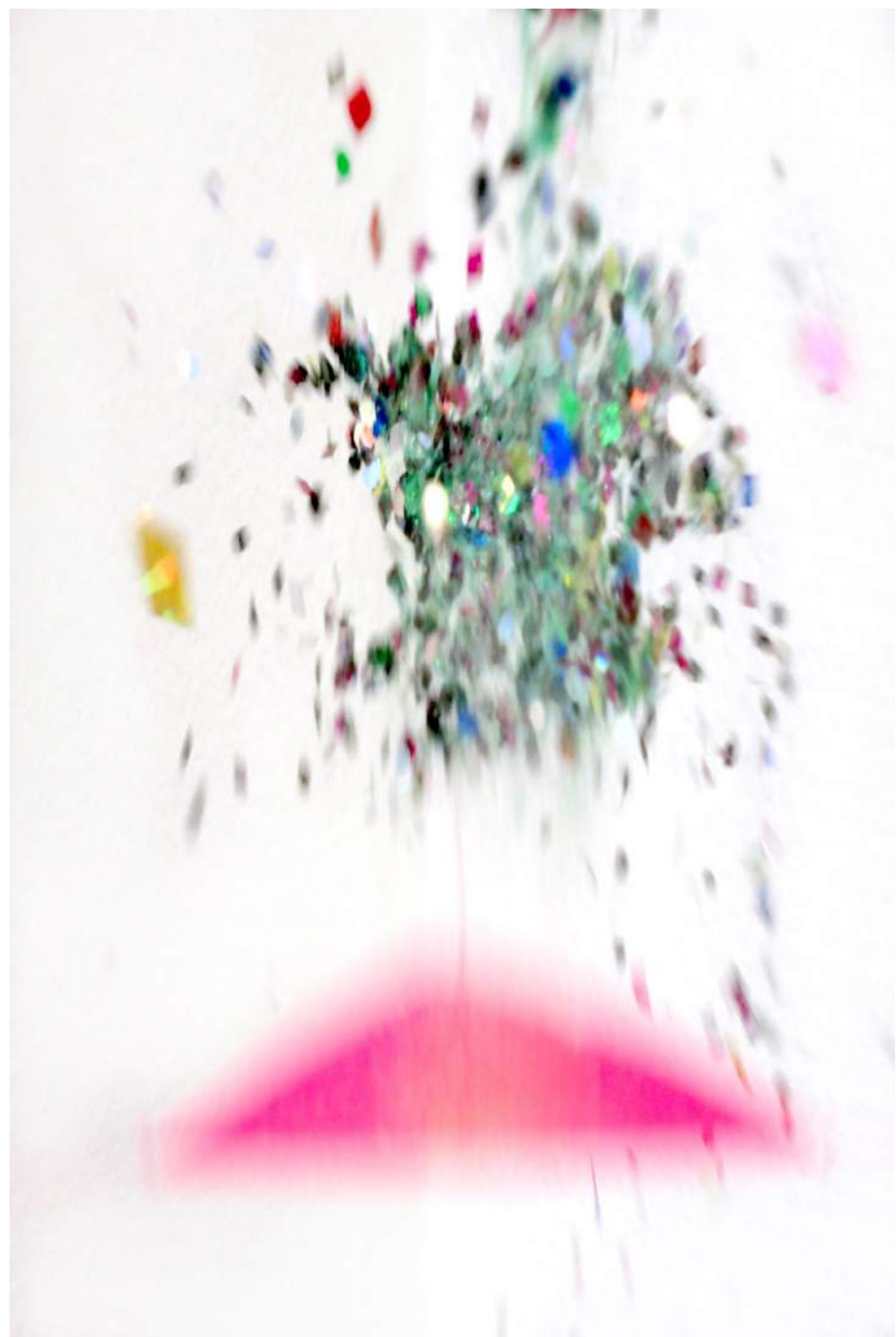
Quoted from: <http://www.jofreeman.com/buttons/saybuttons.html>

iii Nick Espinosa, *The Glitter Bomber Speaks: A New Generation Feels the Rainbow*, *The Huffington Post*, October 3, 2011.

iv Julie Stephens, *Anti-Disciplinary Protest: Sixties Radicalism and Postmodernism*.

v Abbie Hoffman, *Revolution for the Hell of It*, 1968.

vi Gregory Lewis, *Pie-pitch recipe: Activism with humor*, <http://www.sfgate.com>, November 9, 1998.



Lincoln Cushing

The Chimeral Clenched Fist

Ever since LGBTQ folk emerged as a publicly visible community – let's say, starting in the late 1960s, with the Stonewall Riot of 1969 as a common metric – the graphic art of, by, and about those communities emerged as well. And the clenched fist, that persistent symbol of militance and resistance, was part of that visual vocabulary.

The image

The clenched fist (or raised fist) is part of the broader genre of “hand” symbols that include the peace “V,” the forward-thrust-fist, and the clasped hands. The clenched fist usually appears in full frontal display showing all fingers and is occasionally integrated with other images such as a peace symbol or tool.

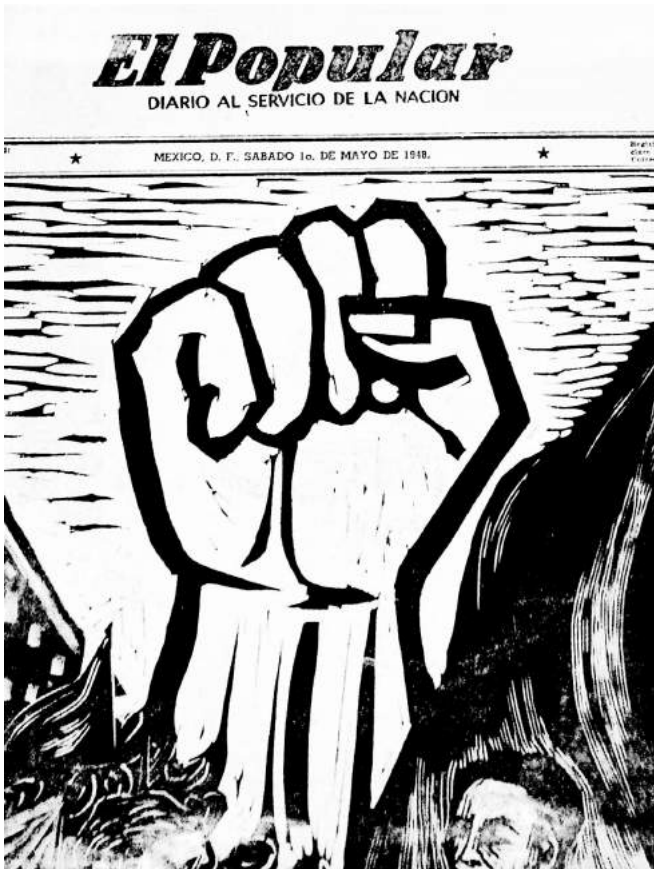
The human hand has been used in art from the very beginnings, starting with stunning examples in Neolithic cave paintings. Early examples of the fist in graphic art can be found at least as far back as 1917, with another example from Mexico in 1948.



Solidarity, June 30, 1917. The Hand That Will Rule the World—One Big Union.

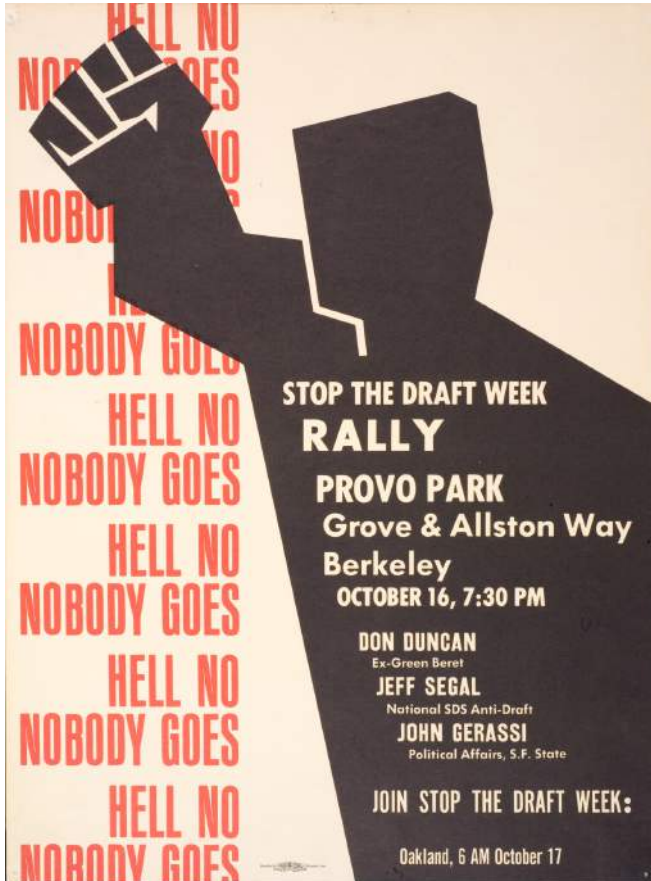
Industrial Workers of the World, 1917

Fist images, in some form, were used in numerous political graphic genres, including the French and Soviet revolutions, the United States Communist Party, and the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense. However, these all followed an iconographic convention – it was always *part* of something - holding a tool or other symbol, part of an arm or human figure, or shown in action (smashing, squeezing etc.). Graphic artists from the New Left changed that in 1968, with an entirely new treatment. This “new” fist stood out with its stark simplicity, coupled with a popularly understood meaning of rebellion and militance. It was easy to reproduce at any scale and to modify such as with long lines of fist (a linear pattern of repeated little fists, to create a border) or with sun rays (referring to the appropriated style from Chinese and Soviet revolutionary posters of a sunburst enhancing the power of the fist).



Taller de Grafica Popular, 1948

A bit of art history detective work has revealed the moment that this simple, singular version of the “New Left” fist evolved. Francisco Bay Area graphic artist Frank Cieciorca designed a poster for “Stop the Draft Week” to be held October 16, 1967. The dominant image was a bold, blocky human figure wielding a fist. The subsequent poster, made for a January 14, 1968 event supporting those arrested at that demonstration, simply featured the fist clipped from the previous poster. The “New Left” fist was born.



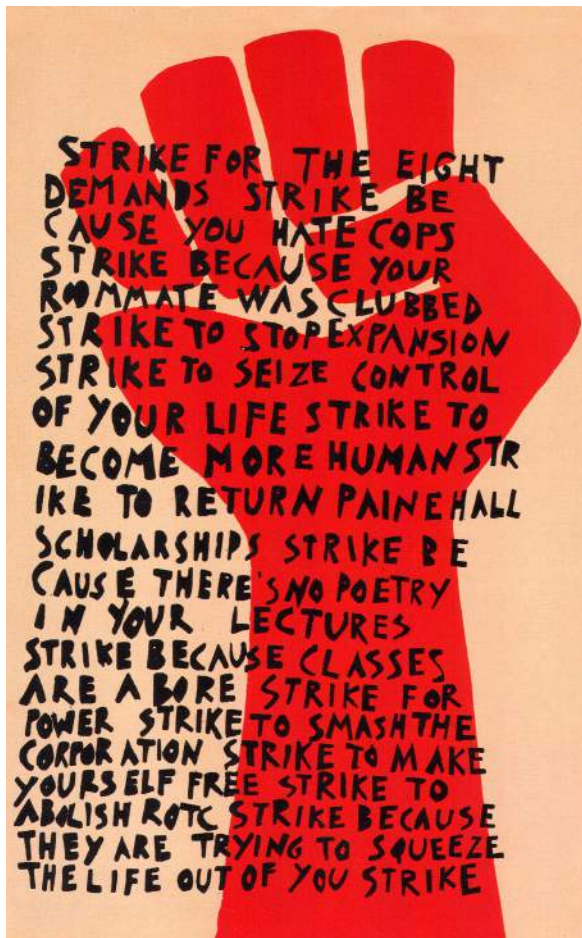
Stop the Draft Week, October, 1967

This fist, or versions of it, was soon adopted by liberation and social justice movements. It appeared in numerous posters and flyers for student, anti-war, women's, and other political groups within the United States. It showed up almost immediately within the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), who used it in a flyer for the 1968 Chicago National Democratic Convention protest.



SDS, 1968

A virtually identical fist used in the 1969 Harvard student strike traces its design to School of Design student Harvey Hacker.



Harvard strike, 1969



Atelier Populaire Paris, 1968

A similar version, though probably evolved from different iconographic ancestry, appeared in the groundbreaking prints made by the Atelier Populaire Paris 1968 poster workshop.

The militant fist continues to be coopted, even as a tool for capitalism, right-wing, and conservative groups. Progressives, in turn, use this potent image for labor film festivals, environmental activism, and the labor resistance. Unlike some icons, such as the Nazi swastika, the fist has become embraced across the political spectrum. The fist has become universal, and now demands that context be applied before assuming meaning.

LGBTQ usage

The fist cannot be said to be one of the primary symbols identified with LGBTQ community. Currently, the rainbow flag or the enmeshed gender symbols seem to be dominant but the fist has – and does – emerge under certain circumstances.

One early example is the “Gay-in at Griffith Park” (Los Angeles), 1970, by the Gay Liberation Front.




Bruce Reifel, 1970


The Gay Liberation Front graphic "Unity is the solution" (circa 1971) embedded a novel clenched fist with enmeshed gender symbols among other movements.


FROM THE PRISONERS OF ATTICA STATE PRISON:


**TO ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE
OF THE WORLD**



**UNITY
IS THE
SOLUTION**



**NO CHINGES
CONMIGO MAS!!!**




Radical

Workers

**ALL POWER TO
THE PEOPLE**


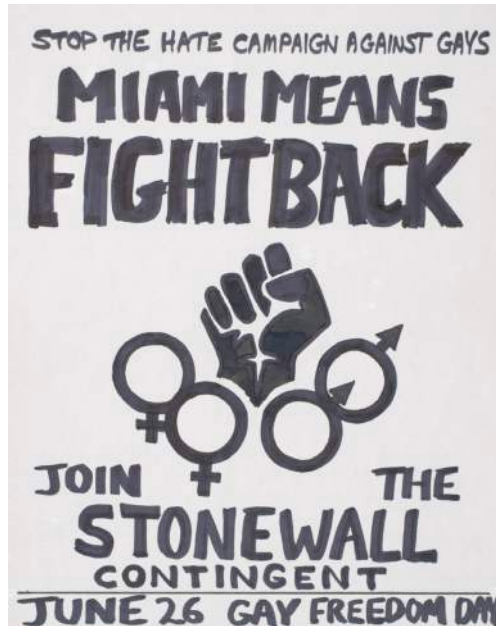
**SCIENCE
FOR THE
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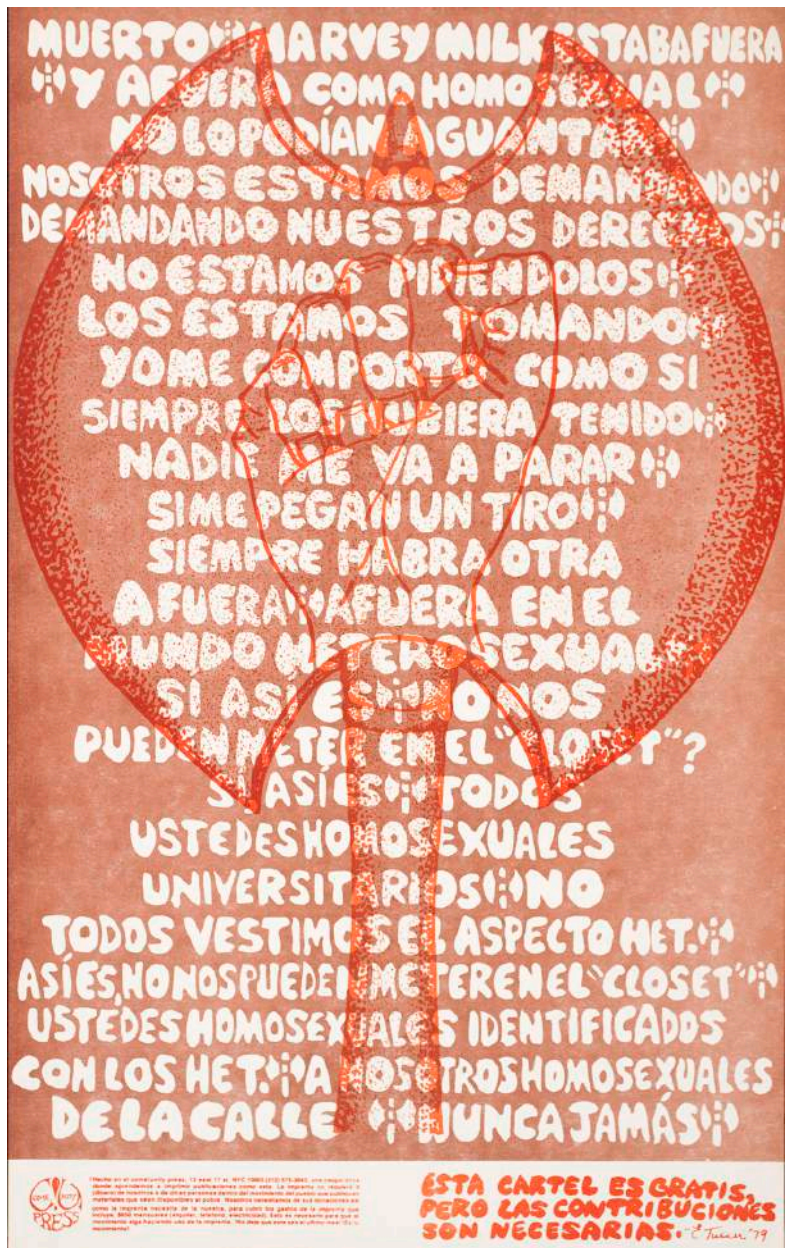
Published by Student Research Facility 1122 The Alameda, Berkeley, Calif. 94707



“Miami Means Fight Back” (1977) referring to the conservative “Save Our Children” campaign in Florida, the first organized opposition to the gay rights movement in the U.S.



The Tom Robinson Band, an important though underappreciated early gay/revolutionary group from England, used a clenched fist logo like the SDS fist on their first album (1978). However, they garbled its historical roots, claiming that “The TRB fist logo...was from a 19th century miner’s union banner...” Inquiries to Tom Robinson led to a three-way conversation in which the designer, Roger Huddle of Rock Against Racism revealed he’d first seen it in a Black Panther context.



"Muerto Harvey Milk" (Harvey Milk is Dead, 1979) is from New York's Come! Unity Press, which was a 24-hour open-access print shop run by a gay anarchist collective. The fist is embedded in a double-bladed axe, a symbol of lesbian resistance.



“Change Starts with You” (2002). This poster, a campaign to reduce LGBTQ suicides, features an illustration of a wrist labeled “cut here.” Although wrist-slashing is a common form of suicide, *this* raised fist and militant stance makes it clear that the “cutting” is about unleashing the force of the fist, making it a tool of empowerment and self-determination. It’s a fitting example of how far this symbol has come since Frank Cieciroka first “cut here” from one Vietnam War era poster to another and unleashed this powerful icon.

Lincoln Cushing and Docs Populi

As a scholar of social justice posters Lincoln Cushing “is committed to documenting, cataloging, and disseminating socially and politically significant graphic material which otherwise might be left behind in the digital revolution.”

Please visit “Docs Populi-documents for the public” at www.docspopuli.org

Cushing is the author of recent essays such as *Cataloging as Radical Practice* (2014) & is the author of books such as *All Of Us or None: Social Justice Posters of the San Francisco Bay Area* (2012), *Agitate! Educate! Organize! American Labor Posters* (2009)-co authored with Timothy W. Drescher and *¡Revolucion! Cuban Poster Art* (2003).

Mathias Danbolt

The Time for Raised Fists

One of the most cherished garments in my queer activist closet is a yellow t-shirt with an outline of a triangle from which an arm raises up in a clenched fist. The combination of a fist (resist!) with the pink triangle's stigma-laden history of sexual dissidence, has always seemed like a fitting statement whether marching in ad hoc queer actions against hate crimes, or large-scale demonstrations against imperialist wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. While hardly a radical act in and of itself, I enjoy wearing these symbols that signal my investment in fighting unfinished histories of oppression from a queer perspective.

However, the queerness of this fist was apparently not explicit enough for the police officers who threw me and my queer activist friends out of the Copenhagen Pride Parade in the summer of 2009. Dressed in my yellow t-shirt, I was one of perhaps thirty people who had joined behind a freshly painted banner reading "ASYLUM FOR ALL / LEFT-RADICAL LGBTQs IN CPH".



photographer unknown

This queer asylum block had been organized last-minute by a group who sent around an email suggesting the importance of giving presence to some of the urgent political issues that many of us in the queer activist community were working on—issues that we expected otherwise would be absent from this increasingly capitalized-oriented spectacle. The banner not only expressed support for the over sixty rejected Iraqi asylum seekers that had taken refuge in the Brorson’s Church in Copenhagen, located close to start of the parade trail.¹ The banner also responded to recent statements by conservative politicians who feared that many participants in the World Outgames—a large LGBT-oriented sports, culture, and human rights event taking place in Copenhagen that same week—would refuse to return to their home countries in the Global South and instead seek asylum in Denmark.

When the parade started moving, the volunteers monitoring the sequence of participants relegated our unannounced queer block to the tail of the procession. We did not march for long before a group of police officers approached us and accused us of having attached ourselves to an event we were not part of. Our asylum banner apparently made us stand out, and despite the fact that we were a fairly diverse group of people of different ages, including small kids, the police saw us as a group of radical political opportunists who parasited on the attention given to an event we had nothing to do with. Our insistent efforts to explain that we were just another group of LGBT people participating in the Pride Parade like everyone else was to no avail. The police, as well as the Pride Parade organizers that they conferred with on the phone, were clearly of a different opinion. Unable to see any relationship between asylum activism and a LGBT event, we were told to immediately leave the Parade, as this was “a party, and not a political demonstration.” This was not the time and place for fists of resistance.

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Our abrupt exit from Copenhagen Pride in 2009 serves as an example of some of the wide-ranging changes that have taken place in the field of LGBT politics in many Western European countries during the last several decades. The fact that the police are now actively involved in protecting and monitoring LGBT Parades from “troublemakers”—like us—gives an indication of how far Pride has moved from being a political march in the spirit of the 1969 Stonewall Riots, to functioning as a state-sanctioned parade for LGBT people in all our commodifiable “diversity.” In Denmark—as in other geographies in

¹ Despite massive activist campaigns and resistance, less than two weeks after Copenhagen Pride, the police stormed the Brorson’s Church on August 13 in the middle of the night with brutal force and imprisoned the asylum seekers. While the activist campaign and immense debate that ensued their eviction from the church asylum did pressure the Immigration Service to re-open some cases which eventually led to granted asylum, many were deported to Iraq shortly after their imprisonment.

the Global North—there has been a widening gulf between those who view the shift from “march” to “parade” as a natural and positive outcome of the remarkable progress that has been made in terms of legal rights and cultural acceptance of lesbian and gay (more than bisexual and trans*) subjects, and those who see the streamlining of Pride as yet another example of the pervasive “gentrification of the mind” in neoliberal times, where the queer struggle for alternative lifeworlds is being replaced by de-politicized and commercialized assimilations to the normal.² The political disagreement over the aim and purpose of Pride has in many localities resulted in total separation between the mainstream event and its so-called political alternative, often organized by left-wing activists who boycott the parade. While Copenhagen for years has given room for such alternative events made in opposition or to the side of Pride, the queer asylum block in 2009 hoped to be able to carve out a space for a political presence in the mainstream—but the strategy was rejected and the message failed to register. A failure that works as a reminder of how the current format of large-scale Pride Parades—dependent on commercial sponsors and the blessing from the police and local municipalities—seem unable to encompass the co-existence of pride *and* shame, partying *and* demonstrating, joy *and* anger, desire *and* politics, fists *and* limp wrists.

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The fact that our queer asylum block was seen as exterior to and thus unwanted in Copenhagen Pride can also be related to the ways in which questions of sexuality traditionally have been approached separately from other social vectors of difference in mainstream LGBT-political work in Denmark, as well as the Nordic countries more broadly. A separation that has resulted in a lacking ability and/or willingness to engage with intersections of other forms of oppression. Questions of racialization and racism have far too often been relegated to the “waiting room of history” in LGBT contexts, as something to deal with when homophobia is terminated.³ Over the last years many white LGBT organizers and activists have complained that sexuality has been “contaminated” by race, ethnicity, religion, and other so-called particularities. Conflicts have erupted on the relevance for LGBT politics of complicated questions concerning asylum rights, Western exceptionalism, national border customs, foreign policy, and the war on terror. While such debates of the “proper object” of LGBT politics can be important, the claims of “racial takeovers” are problematic, as they only make sense under the presumption that the production of sexual subjectivities have been and can be disentangled from its imbrication with questions of gender, class, racialization, and citizenship. The recurrent

2 Sarah Schulman, *The Gentrification of the Mind: Witness to a Lost Imagination* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2012).

3 I borrow this term from Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2008 [2000]), p. 8.

split between sexual and racial politics in Denmark and beyond has wide-spread consequences as it not only disregards the ways in which conceptions of sexuality and race are constituted in relation to one another, but it also risks contributing to racist political configurations where “sexual rights and migrant rights [...] become constructed as mutually contradictory,” as Jin Haritaworn, Tamsila Tauqir, and Esra Erdem make clear in their important article “Gay Imperialism” (2008).⁴ Narrow-sighted, single-issue approaches to sexuality have deep consequences for coalition work across social movements, as it privileges the ascendancy of whiteness and debilitates necessary alliances between raised fists of different kinds.

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Mary Coble’s installation and performance *Protest in Pride* provide a welcome opportunity to consider the queer connections between different groups fighting against oppressive structures. The carefully crafted banners show an inciting concatenation of images of clenched fists whose props and accompanying statements evidence the wide range of political call to arms: A fist declaring Black Power stands alongside a fist of gay liberation; a fist of Native American indigenous rights is side by side with a fist fighting the prison industrial complex; a gloved (fisting) fist marking a dyke march hangs beside a fist united against war; a fist raising up from a book in defense of libraries and education is shoulder to shoulder with a fist calling for a general strike; a carrot-carrying fist demanding “food not bombs” is on display next to a fist fighting against housing evictions in dispossessed communities... The abundance of fists are fascinating as much as they are bewildering: What is the relationship between these divergent political declarations, except the shared iconographic identification with the clenched fist? All the groups and positions presented on the banners are connected to left-wing political contexts—here are no fists supporting “white pride” or neo-fascism—but Coble’s installation still leaves it up to the viewer to consider the relationships and dissonances between them. While approached separately each fist seems to deliver a clear message, when seen together the number of hands bring so many demands on the table that the picture gets messier. It is precisely this “messy” political picture that the installation invites us to inhabit—a picture that in the context of a Pride event prompts questions such as: Which political subjects are recognized as part of the LGBT/Q community? What political causes are relegated to the foreground and which are placed in the background, presented as extrinsic to the realm of LGBT/Q politics? What are the effects of separating the fight against sexual oppression from the fight against racism and imperialism? What are the benefits—or drawbacks—with fighting separately, side by side,

4 Jin Haritaworn, Tamsila Tauqir, and Esra Erdem, “Gay Imperialism: Gender and Sexuality Discourse in the ‘War on Terror.’” *Out of Place: Interrogating Silences in Queerness/Raciality*. Edited by Esperanza Miyake and Adi Kunstman (York: Raw Nerve Books, 2008), p. 73.

or simultaneously against structures of oppression?

The questions raised by Coble's *Protest in Pride* seem particularly pertinent in the context of this year's decision to rename Gothenburg's LGBTQ festival "West Pride." Although the change might seek to highlight the festival's geographical location in the Western part of Sweden, the name unavoidably calls forth uncomfortable echoes of right-wing claims of taking "pride" in the "West"—claims intrinsic not only to racialized narratives of Western sexual exceptionalism but also to ideologies of "White Pride." The bundle of clenched fists in Coble's installation disturb such narratives of pride by calling attention to the urgency of ongoing fights against unfinished histories of injustice. *Protest in Pride* invites us to challenge the presuppositions that we know in advance about what a LGBTQ event can encompass, what political subjectivities it will produce, and what coalitions and alliances it might generate. The banners with the raised fists flag a reminder of the importance of remaining vigilant and attentive to the claims that can be mustered when bodies in difference gather to discuss, march, and party together. The spirits of the fists thus highlight the need to resist accepting forms of pride that are conditioned on the marginalization of others.

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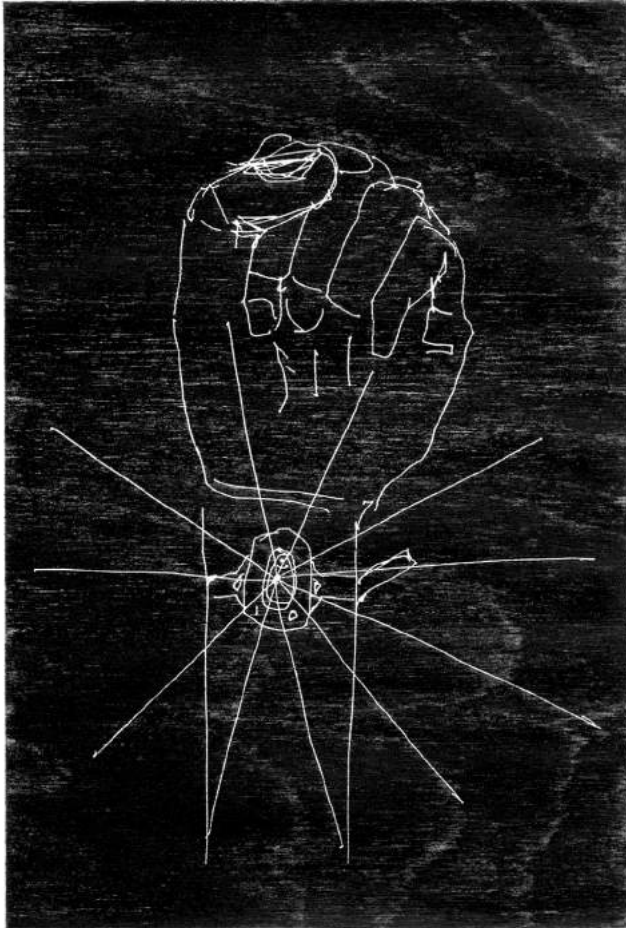
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Some say that the time for clenched fists is over, and that social movements and their genres of resistance—including symbols of fists and demonstrations—no longer work in our period of repressive tolerance and increasing commodification of the aesthetic of resistance. Even though clothing brands capitalize on activist fashion and that the style of the "rebel" might sell well, the desire for a different world can never be replaced by the empty promises of consumer capitalism. Willful arms keep raising their fists in resistance across the globe, and a LGBTQ march ought to provide opportunities to develop and enact solidary politics across difference. The increasing state repression and policing of resistance in Sweden, Scandinavia, and beyond threatens the possibilities for gatherings of bodies who seek to take stand against the escalation of fascist and neo-nazi violence, and the intensification of neo-liberal political orders that fuel the perpetual inequity that shape the present.

Reading the newspaper, watching the news, talking to friends, going to work, writing articles, visiting asylum activists in prisons and camps, I increasingly find my queer limp wrist tightening, fingers clenching, fingertips touching the palm of my hand, nails digging into my skin as my hand closes tightly into a fist. It is always time for raised fists—for resistant desire and desirable resistance.

Mathias Danbolt is an art theorist and queer critic based in Copenhagen. His work centers on questions on contemporary visual art and performance, queer temporalities and the politics of history, and feminist, queer, antiracist, and decolonial art and theory. He is currently an Assistant Professor in Art History, University of Copenhagen, and is part of the blog collective Peculiar.dk.



iheal fist, Sidsel Meineche Hansen, woodcut print, 2014

“The wrist cuff ‘iHeal’ is a medical device that sends pulsed magnetic energy waves into the body’s tissue in order to stimulate cellular regeneration in the treatment of injuries from repetitive strain. Although ‘immaterial labor’ is produced socially through communication, it would be wrong to separate the production process of immaterial labour, from corporeal materiality. The computer’s keyboard connects email to the manual task of typing and in this sense the positional tendon, located in the fingers, is at the core of communication technology.” -SMH



FISTIVISM

Black Panther Party, 1967, *Black Panther Newspaper*

“What We Want Now!”

**WE WANT
BLACK
POWER**



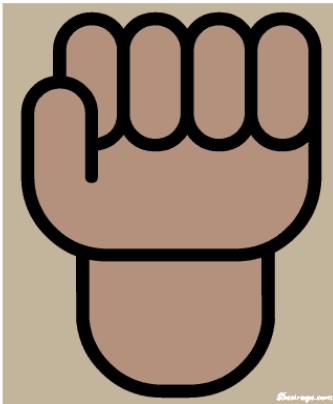
1967, Cover of a pamphlet distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.
2. We want full employment for our people.
3. We want an end to the robbery by the white men of our Black Community.
4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.
5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present day society.
6. We want all Black men to be exempt from military service.
7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of Black people.
8. We want freedom for all Black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.
9. We want all Black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their Black Communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.
10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace.

**BROWN
POWER**

Brown Power emphasizes Desi pride and the creation of Brown political and cultural institutions to nurture and promote Brown collective interests, advance Brown values, and secure Brown autonomy!

show it. feel it. love it.



Credit: Rolando Córba, 1977, from the OSPAAAL archive (Organization in Solidarity with the People of Africa, Asia, and Latin America)

Brown Power “was a movement that Chicanos organized to end discrimination and segregation in education, to gain political influence, and to fight police brutality.”



Indigenous Reoccupation of Ancestral Lands

“Our aim is to ensure the continuity of the land, by educating ourselves, and others as much as we can about the need to connect with our home lands”



Arming Sisters “is a campaign using Women’s Self Defense as a tool to bring about empowerment, self love, and ownership of body to indigenous women across the US and Canada.”



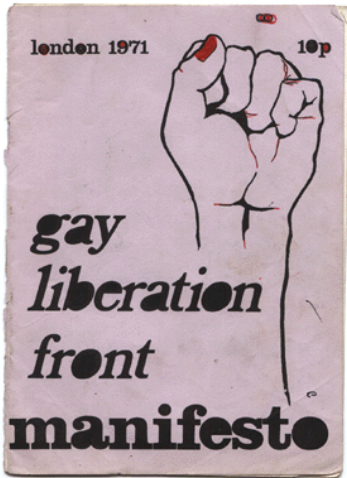
SAAMI RESISTANCE

The Saami people are the Indigenous people of Sápmi, Saamiland, covering the northern parts of Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Kola Penninsula of Russia.



The Indigenous Nationhood Movement “is a peoples’ movement for Indigenous nationhood, resurgence, and decolonization.

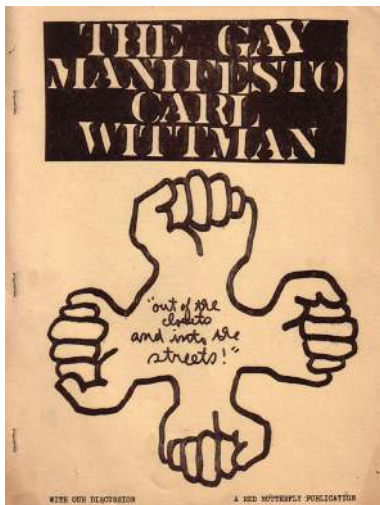
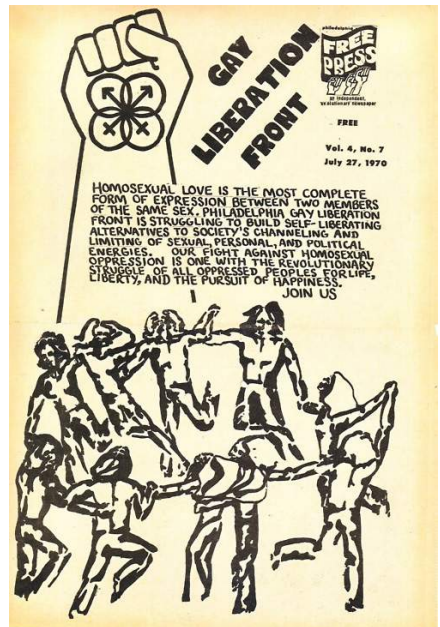
- We are a movement for land, life, languages, and liberation.
- We are fighting for the survival and independence of Indigenous nations.
- We are an alliance of mutual support and coordinated action that branches out in all Four Directions.
- We are an Indigenous-led movement that includes women, men, and two-spirited people of all ages, colours, and nationalities.
- We will protect the land, water, and air that provide the basis for all life.
- Indigenous cultures, spiritualities and governments are the foundation for our continuing survival.
- It is our responsibility to take action and to live according to our original teachings and natural laws.
- Colonial laws and systems must be abolished.
- Restitution must be made for the theft of our lands and the failed attempt to exterminate our peoples.”



Excerpts from gay liberation front manifesto

“Throughout recorded history, oppressed groups have organised to claim their rights and obtain their needs. Homosexuals, who have been oppressed by physical violence and by ideological and psychological attacks at every level of social interaction, are at last becoming angry...but gay liberation does not just mean reforms. It means a revolutionary change in our whole society.”

The GLF manifesto from the cover of Temple University's Free Press, July 27, 1970



CONCLUSION: AN OUTLINE OF IMPERATIVES FOR GAY LIBERATION

1. Free ourselves: come out everywhere; initiate self defense and political activity; initiate counter community institutions.
2. Turn other gay people on: talk all the time; understand, forgive, accept.
3. Free the homosexual in everyone: we'll be getting a good bit of shit from threatened latents: be gentle, and keep talking & acting free.
4. We've been playing an act for a long time, so we're consummate actors. Now we can begin to *be*, and it'll be a good show!

Carl Wittman was a member of the national council of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). The Gay Manifesto was written in 1970.

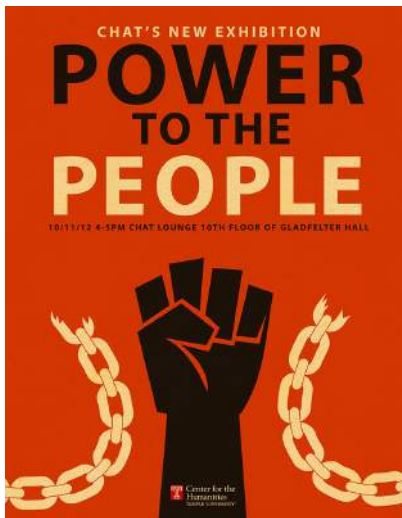
Black & Pink “is an open family of LGBTQ prisoners and ‘free world’ allies who support each other. Our work toward the abolition of the prison industrial complex is rooted in the experience of currently and formerly incarcerated people. We are outraged by the specific violence of the prison industrial complex against LGBTQ people, and respond through advocacy, education, direct service, and organizing.”



The Queer Detainee Empowerment Project “is forging to fill a gap in NYC to serve queer, trans, and HIV+ detainees.” Credit: Jamila Hammami

Power to the People: Incarceration Imagery and the Black Panther Party

“This exhibition of art and ephemera on the theme of mass incarceration in America is curated by Professor Jennifer Zarro’s honors students in the Tyler School of Art. All material is courtesy of the Charles L. Blockson Afro-American Collection, Temple University Library.”



U.C. Berkeley Workshop Poster

From the *The All Of Us Or None (AOUON)* archive project. “Started by Free Speech Movement activist Michael Rossman in 1977 to gather and document posters of modern progressive movements in the United States. In the collection of the Oakland Museum of California.”

QUEER RISING



Queer Rising “is a grassroots organization created to demand full equality for all queer people through nonviolent direct action. Formed in late 2009 by people tired of watching LGBTQ rights put on the back burner or given no attention at all, Queer Rising vows to continue to pressure legislators and the public until all queer people are equal.”

Project Fierce Chicago “aims to provide affirming, longer-term transitional housing and support services to LGBTQ young adults. An estimated 15,000 youth in Chicago experience homelessness each year, and an estimated 32 percent to 40 percent of homeless youth identify as LGBTQ.”



Anti Eviction Campaign, Western Cape “is a non-racial movement made up of poor and oppressed communities in Cape Town, South Africa. It was formed in November 2000 with the aim of fighting evictions, water cut-offs and poor health services, obtaining free electricity, securing decent housing, and opposing police brutality.”

West Papua Media “aims to provide a professional service to international media covering West Papua, ensuring high quality, verifiable reporting gets into the international media, directly from the ground, and not from those who seek to distort the truth of daily experience in Papua. By reporting Papuan campaigns to end human rights abuses and bringing these unreported Papuan issues to the front page, we hope to hold the abusers to account.”



Pro-squatting stencil by the Anarchist Media Project



Librarians Against Digital Rights Management, Credit: Nina Paley



Electronic Frontier Foundation “champions user privacy, free expression, and innovation through impact litigation, policy analysis, grassroots activism, and technology development. We work to ensure that rights and freedoms are enhanced and protected as our use of technology grows.”

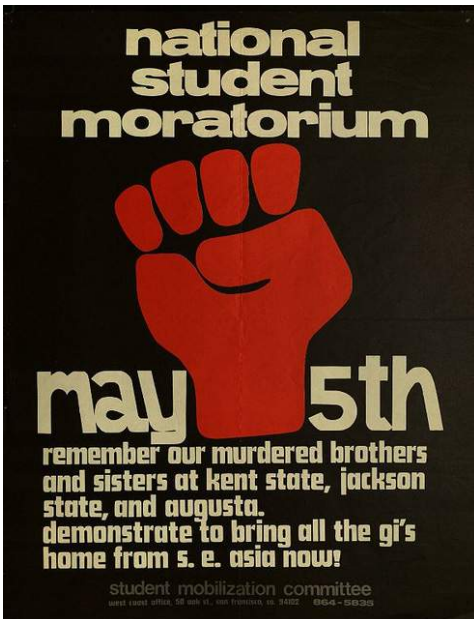
1970, By Students for Peace



Otpor! "was a civic youth movement that existed from 1998 until 2003 in Serbia employing nonviolent struggle against the regime of Slobodan Milošević as their course of action."



ОТПОР!



1971

By the Student Mobilization Committee



1970

Credit: Wally (Wayne) Zampa, From Michael Rossman's AOUON (All OF US OR NONE) archive.



The Free University “is an experiment in radical education and an attempt to create education as it ought to be. First conceived as a form of educational strike in the run up to May Day, 2012, the Free University has subsequently organized numerous days of free and open education in parks and public spaces in New York City. Our project is born out of a recognition that the current system of higher education is as unequal as it is unsustainable. With increasing tuition at public and private institutions, the increasing use of precarious adjunct labor, and the larger and larger amounts of debt that students are expected to take on, a university education is systematically becoming a rarefied commodity only available to the few. It is in this context that the Free University operates as a radical and critical pedagogical space.”



2014, By The Pittsburgh Youth Empowerment Summit, “Raise Your Fist Up, Save the August Wilson Center for African American Culture”, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

1999, Poster celebrating the 10th anniversary of Vancouver’s “Under the Volcano Festival for Art and Social Change”



1996, By the California School Employee's Association, Service Employees International Union, Local 1000



2011, General Strike & Mass Day of Action called for by Occupy Oakland.

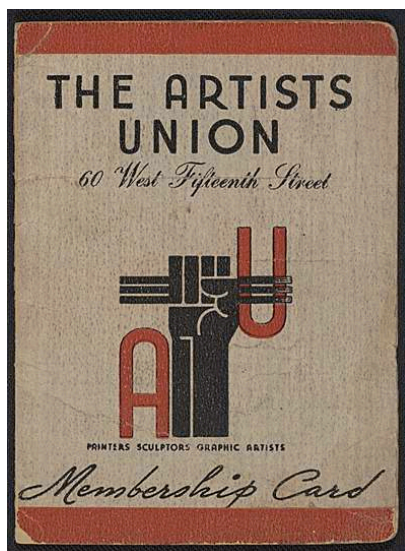
#OCCUPYTORONTO

Occupy Toronto began on Oct. 15, 2011 as part of the International Occupy Movement.

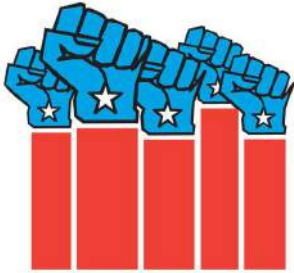


ST JAMES PARK

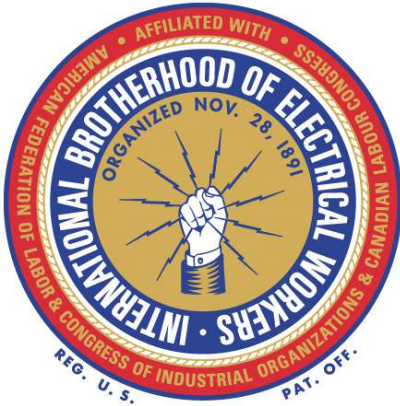
KING ST. / CHURCH ST.  OCCUPYTO.ORG
FOLLOW US ON TWITTER @OCCUPYTORONTO • LIKE US FACEBOOK.COM/OCCUPYTORONTO



1935, Harry Gottlieb's Artists' Union membership card, from the Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.



**WORKERS
INDIVISIBLE**
STRONGER TOGETHER
Wisconsin AFL-CIO - WorkersIndivisible.org



International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Founded in 1890



Industrial Workers of the World
Founded in Chicago, 1905



Wisconsin American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO)
Credit: Carrie Worthen, 2011



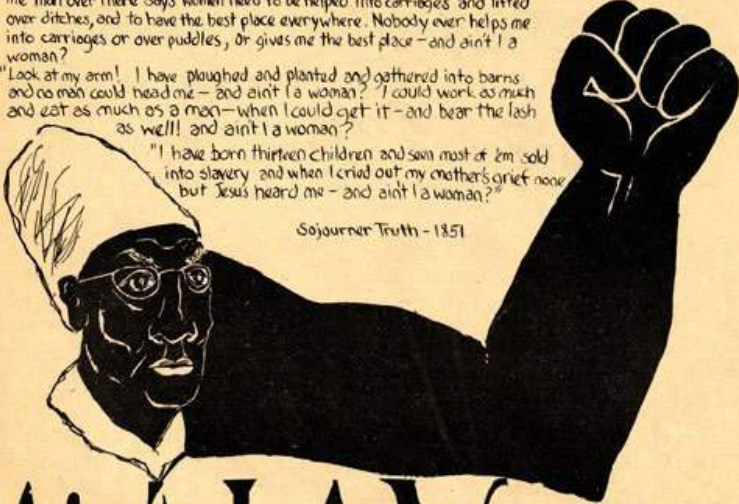
Scottish Education Workers Network, "Worker and student rights and self-organization"

"The man over there says women need to be helped into carriages and lifted over ditches, and to have the best place everywhere. Nobody ever helps me into carriages or over puddles, or gives me the best place - and ain't I a woman?"

"Look at my arm! I have ploughed and planted and gathered into barns, and no man could head me - and ain't I a woman? I could work as much and eat as much as a man - when I could get it - and bear the lash as well! and ain't I a woman?"

"I have born thirteen children and seen most of 'em sold into slavery and when I cried out my mother's grief now but Jesus heard me - and ain't I a woman?"

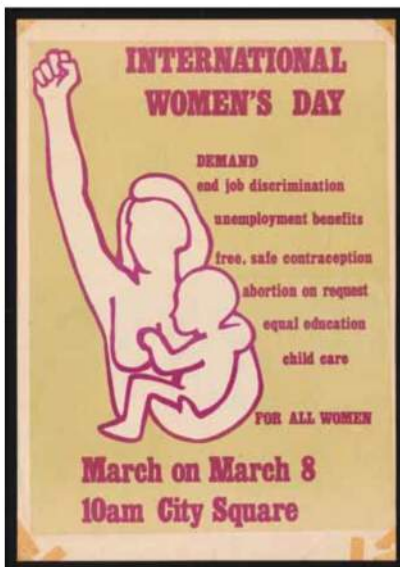
Sojourner Truth - 1851



Ain't I A Woman?

a midwest newspaper of women's liberation **25¢**
 Vol. 1 No. 2 July 10, 1970
 published by the publications collective, iowacity w.l.f.

Ain't I a Woman? a midwest newspaper of women's liberation was published from 1970-1974 in Iowa City, US by the AIAW? Collective.



INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

DEMAND
 end job discrimination
 unemployment benefits
 free, safe contraception
 abortion on request
 equal education
 child care

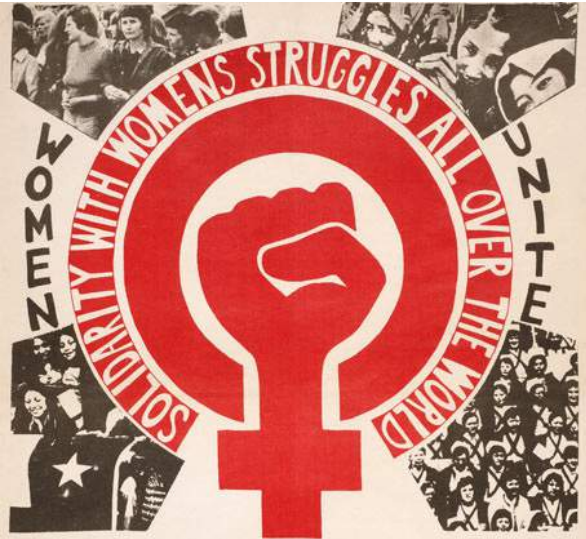
FOR ALL WOMEN

**March on March 8
 10am City Square**



2009, Credit: Damien Luxe
 damienluxe.com

1972, From the Victorian Women's Liberation and Lesbian Feminist Archives, University of Melbourne



The Women's Liberation Music Archive "exists to ensure that this vital part of women's radical history is not lost, believing these achievements should be documented, valued and placed in the cultural and political context of the time, perhaps serving to inspire other women as we are inspired by pioneering women before us."

This archive is housed by the University of Bristol Special Collections Library, in conjunction with the Feminist Archive South.



2013

Credit: Alexandra Falagara & Brita Lindvall

For *Bang's* "March 8th" issue "with the ambition to make an updated and inclusive struggle icon, with queer as a natural starting point."

Trans Feminist Symbol
Credit: Helen G



Anarcha-Feminist





Earth First! "is an international movement composed of small, bioregionally-based groups. Earth First!ers (EF!ers) take it upon ourselves to become intimately familiar with the ecology of our area and the most immediate and serious threats to it. We apply "direct pressure" to stop the bleeding, with a combination of education, litigation, and creative civil disobedience."



Blue Frontier Campaign "promotes unity, provide tools to and raise awareness of the solution-oriented marine conservation community."

Occupy Wall Street Farmers March, 2011 "Farmers, Garderners, Food Workers, Food Justice Activist and Occupiers coming together to resist corperate control of our food system and speak on ideas of local resilience and urban-rural solidarity."



END CORPORATE EXPLOITATION OF OUR FOOD SYSTEMS.  OCCUPY



Detroit Local Foods
"Supporting community-based
urban agriculture"

Food Not Bombs
Founded in 1980



"What is the concept behind Food Not Bombs?"

We recover food that would have been discarded and share it as a way of protesting war and poverty. With fifty cents of every U.S. federal tax dollar going to the military and forty percent of our food being discarded while so many people were struggling to feed their families that we could inspire the public to press for military spending to be redirected to human needs. We also reduce food waste and meet the direct need of our community by collecting discarded food, preparing vegan meals that we share with the hungry while providing literature about the need to change our society. Food Not Bombs also provides food to protesters, striking workers and organize food relief after natural and political crisis.



Is Food Not Bombs labeled a terrorist organization by the United States government?

The United States government started to claim we were "America's Most Hardcore Terrorist Groups" soon after we were first arrested for sharing free vegan meals in Golden Gate Park in the fall of 1988. This is a year before the end of the Cold War and all we had done was claim we had the right to feed the hungry in protest to war and poverty. Military contractors are worried that we might influence the public to realize our taxes could be spent on human needs instead of war and that this could threaten the billions of dollars they were making arming the United States government. The fact that we didn't stop sharing food when told was also a concern as that threaten their ability to manipulate the hungry by moving food programs to more desirable locations or by threatening to withhold food if the public didn't cooperate with the authorities. Since we will provide food where ever and when ever it is needed this interferes with their ability to use food for social control."

Hadassah Damien

Raised Fist[ing]

Raised fists in activist settings symbolize strength, unity, resistance, and community. To many queer communities, fists themselves have additional meanings: while often one thinks of hitting or violence, additional meanings lurk pruriently behind the surface. After raising for LGBTQ rights throughout the 1980s, and for AIDS activism in the 1990s, a confluence of fists and safer sex rhetoric emerged visually through the production of images of raised fists in gloves in the late 2010's.

In the late 1980's and early 1990s, queer artist groups like Gang, Gran Fury, Dyke Action Machine!, fierce pussy, OutPost, Anonymous Queers, Camp Out and more pulled artists, energy, anger and ideas from activist groups including Queer Nation, ACT UP, Women's Action Coalition, Lesbian Avengers, Pink Panthers, Lavender Panthers, and the Lavender Left [pictured].

This t-shirt of the group Lavender Left, on which there is little research or documentation, was a small group of lesbian and dyke identified individuals who did direct actions protesting the treatment of people with HIV/AIDS. In 1988, this photo of AIDS activist Mark Kostopoulos being restrained [perhaps arrested?] was taken, and we see that his sweatshirt bears a logo: a raised fist in an upside-down triangle, with the words "Lavender Left" on the right side. The image itself is a combination of icons: the raised fist, of course, to invoke and symbolize resistant group power as demonstrated by a marginalized or oppressed group. The fist is in an illustrated, thumb-over convention. The upside down triangle is a commonly used symbol of gay liberation, and is often printed in a pink or purple color.



MARK KOSTOPOULOS

OCTOBER 1954 - JUNE 1992

A fist like the Lavender Left's logo and other well-known queeactivist images from that time like SILENCE = DEATH, which includes a pink triangle is Fist Triangle. In 2012, SF-based visual artist Lex Non Scripta created *Fist Triangle*,

which looks quite similar, with one major exception: the denotation is the sexual act of fisting, not the resistant act of punching. Non Scripta's raised fist is wearing a black glove and instead of fingers curled, the hand is shaped in the position one uses when one is going to enter a body with it—fingers shaped into a point, thumb tucked in. This is an image that manifested as an illustration and print after it was first made as a stencil. Generated for "Best Revenge," a giant, roving spectacle of art and performance with 35 artists and 5 different locations about building community and resistin assimilation, that [NonScripta] co-organized with Caitlin Sweet for the National Queer Arts Festival."

One year later, the NYC Dyke March used a raised fist – with a thumb tastefully tucked in – for its 2013 logo. It exists in parallel to a queer cultural refocus on 1990's activist anger and honors deep connections between lesbians' places in HIV/AIDS support work and the history of using sexualized in-your-face images as a form of cultural resistance.



In this context artist and RISD professor Cat Stephens created this image for the annual Dyke March in New York City, itself an activist space contesting assimilationist lgbtq cultures.

The creation of activist ephemera is as much about the presence of bodies as it is about messages – t-shirts, buttons, and patches are worn, placards are held, guerilla posters are present in the streets and witnessed. Tactics of activist art are as much about affect and human presence as they are about messages demanding some kind of change or sharing information. This is a special and queer confluence of meaning: the prurient use of hands, and fists specifically, as sexual instruments and the body-centered social space which activist ephemera exist in.



NYC Dyke March Logo, 2013
Credit: Cat Stephens

This text was written by **Hadassah Damien**.
Reprinted with permission, www.femmetech.org

For more info about Hadassah's project "*The Fist Is Still Raised*: a book, digital humanities project, and traveling activist event examining and inspiring social movement history and resistance strategies from a visual cultural lens" visit: <http://raisedfist.femmetech.org/>

questions? fists to share? want a slideshow?

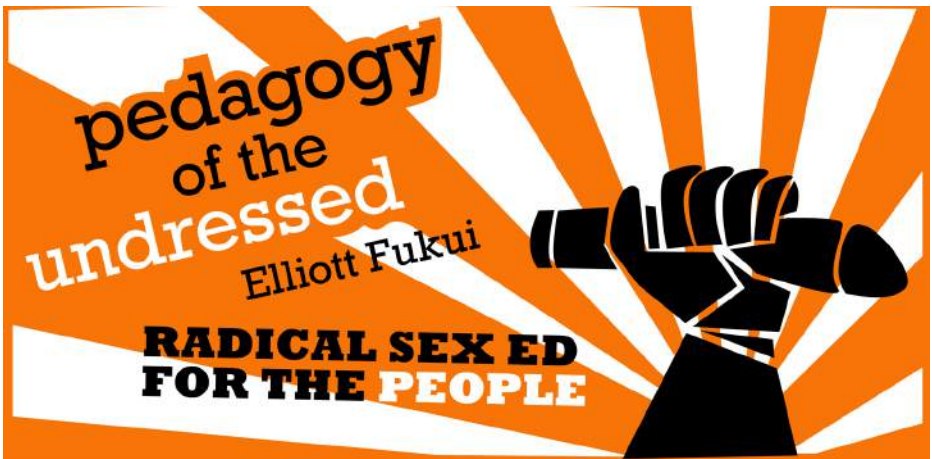
write to: info@raisedfist.femmetech.org



Credit: Damien Luxe, 2013



TEACH Alliance
 “We are safer-sex educators, community outreach leaders and trans* activists to address problems in queer communities with humor and positivity.”



pedagogy of the undressed “is an advice/education column supported by ‘Feministing’-an online community run by and for young feminist.”
<http://feministing.com/>

Nick Espinosa

***The Glitter Bomber Speaks:
A New Generation Feels the Rainbow***

My little sister and I skipped down a busy Minneapolis street giggling. Moments earlier I had opened up a Cheez-It box and showered glitter all over Republican presidential candidate Newt Gingrich. As the glitter fell I shouted, “Feel the rainbow, Newt! Stop the the hate! Stop anti-gay politics. It’s dividing our country, and it’s not fixing our economy!”

Security shoved us out the door, and we rushed home to upload the video from my sister’s camera.

Since then, two other presidential candidates have been glittered, along with Michele Bachmann’s “pray away the gay” clinic, and an anti-gay marriage booth that popped up at the Minnesota State Fair. The actions have made national and international news, appearing in The New York Times and Yahoo! News and on the BBC, MSNBC and FOX, informing millions of people around the world of the extreme views of these politicians.

It’s surprising to see how many people have made the assumption that as a person who is fighting for LGBT equality, I must be gay. I want to be clear that I am simply of a generation that will not tolerate bigotry and hatred toward any group of people. This is a basic human rights issue that I cannot ignore. It hurts me to see politicians who want to legislate against love and prevent my friends from having equal rights to marry whom they choose, or to have the right to visit their partner on their deathbed.

I am not willing to sit back and watch the right wing systematically dehumanize and strip group after group of their rights.

When I was 15 my father was deported. Without warning, agents

arrived at our house and took him into custody. It was a devastating blow to our family and something that took me years to fully understand. The feeling of powerlessness as an unjust system tore apart my family has stuck with me and motivates me to stand up for the rights of all families to stick together.

I know that my experience is not isolated, and that millions of families have been ripped apart by our broken immigration system, just as many non-traditional families are separated by archaic views on marriage equality. Recognizing the way these issues connect is the first step toward working together to make things better for all of us. In fact, there are many bi-national same-sex couples in which one partner is unable to get citizenship through marriage like other couples, forcing him or her to continue living in constant fear of deportation.

Our struggles are interconnected, and we can't win alone. We are finding the common threads of dignity that tie us together in a movement for justice and equality. We are standing up against those who have dehumanized, divided and conquered. We are finding creative and fun ways to expose hatred and bigotry. Will you join us?

Why glitter?

What I have tried to do with creative forms of protest like glittering is to capture people's imagination and tap into a cultural point of reference with a piece of political theater projected into the real world. By creating a moment of conflict I shine a light onto the hypocrisy and bigotry of our current political discourse in a way that is as entertaining as it is dramatic.

As I have learned, creating a spectacle effectively engages the 24-hour news cycle and gives an opportunity to embed a succinct message in that moment. Social networks like Facebook and Twitter allow a short YouTube clip to go viral and

reach audiences we would have never imagined.

The strength of glitter is that humor is an incredibly powerful tool for communicating a message -- even a deadly serious one. We use humor to give hope to ourselves and each other, while contrasting our approach with the hateful and cruel attacks on our communities.

It's almost laughable that people like Glenn Beck and Mike Huckabee claim that glitter is assault. I would laugh if they weren't assaulting people's humanity on a daily basis, and if their constant inflammatory rhetoric didn't produce real violence -- from an epidemic of gay teen suicides to attacks on abortion clinics and providers.

The fact that they hyperventilate over something as harmless as glitter tells me three things: first, that we are being effective enough to worry them; second, that they are desperate to discredit us by labeling something as harmless as glitter violent; and third, that their views are heading toward extinction as a new generation shows its power.

To be certain, as long as politicians continue their attacks on our communities, they can expect the sparkly showers to continue -- and with the hit series *Glee* recently featuring a glitter bomb on their season premiere, you can be certain I'm not the only one plotting fabulous future actions.

This type of political theater serves a very specific purpose of bringing media attention and scrutiny to the bigoted views of anti-gay politicians. It will take all kinds of tactics and dedicated organizing to win full equality, and I look forward to being part of a lifelong movement for justice and equality for all people.

Reprinted from www.huffingtonpost.com
Posted: 10/03/2011

From the Texas Department of Public Safety

Glitter Bomb Warning

Sent to the Texas State Senate Offices, March 2015

Glitter Bombing: Weapon of Choice for Gay Rights, Pro Choice Advocates

Glitter bombing is a relatively recent phenomenon and has been adopted as a form of protest, particularly (but not exclusively) by gay rights activists and supporters. Glitter bombing is readily accessible via Ruin Days (www.ruindays.com), an online business that offers a variety of glitter bomb options, including envelopes and spring-loaded tubes. A spring-loaded glitter bomb tube can be purchased anonymously for \$22.99, and Ruin Days will ship directly to the intended recipient. Ruin Days posts the following caveat: "Your billing information and email will appear nowhere on the package."



Glitter bomb mailing tube (per open source)

Mitt Romney and Ron Paul. Mitt Romney's bomber, a University of Colorado student, faced up to six months in jail and a fine of \$1000. Glitter bombing was featured in the Season 3 premiere of *Glee* on September 20, 2011.

Although glitter bombing as an offense has yet to be codified, some legal officials argue glitter bombing is technically an assault and battery.

The glitter bombing of public officials rose to prominence in 2011, when Newt Gingrich, Tim Pawlenty, Michele Bachmann, Karl Rove and Erik Paulson were all similarly glitter bombed. The common denominator among these political figures is a conservative orientation and opposition to gay rights, especially marriage equality. Recipients in 2012 included Rick Santorum (on four separate occasions),



Glitter bomb effects (per open source)

Nebraska Congressman Jeff Fortenberry was glitter bombed on March 4, 2015, at his office in Lincoln. Fortenberry, a Republican Representative endorsed by Nebraska Right to Life, was targeted by a pro-choice group who included a note. In addition to local law enforcement, Fortenberry's staff notified the US Capitol Police, the US Postal Inspector and the FBI.

Glitter bombing, which releases a "blizzard of glitter" (according to the media coverage of Rick Santorum's bombing in February 2012), may pose a health hazard to the recipient in the form of glitter particles entering the eyes, nose, lungs or other soft tissue, which may result in irritation or infection.

VIDEO: *Here's what it's actually like to open a glitter bomb:*

<http://www.dailydot.com/lol/ship-your-enemies-glitter-bomb-opening-video/>

Glittivism

May 17, 2011

Newt Gingrich the former Speaker of the US House of Representatives (1995-99) and Republican Presidential candidate (2012) along with his wife Callista Gingrich at their book signing of *Rediscovering God in America*. The book signing was part of a larger event hosted by the *Minnesota Family Council*, who support banning same-sex marriages.



Nick Espinosa, a community organizer and activist shouts:

“Feel the rainbow, Newt! Stop the hate. Stop anti-gay politics. It’s dividing our country and it’s not fixing our economy.”

June 16, 2011



Tim Pawlenty, the former Governor of Minnesota (2003-2011) and candidate for the Republican presidential nomination (2012). He said he would reinstate the ban on openly-gay US military service. He vetoed a bill in MN that would allow surviving partners of same-sex couples the right to decide what to do with their loved one’s deceased body, because he believes in “traditional marriage”.

Nancy Mancias and Chelsea Byers, activists from Codepink: Women for Peace yell:

“Where’s your courage to stand for gay rights and women’s reproductive rights? Where’s your courage?”

June 18, 2011

Michele Bachmann a member of the US House of Representatives from Minnesota (2007-2015) making an appearance in San Francisco.



Activist Rachel E. B. Lang, with backing from the Queer/LGBTQ organizations GetEQUAL and COLAGE yells "You can run but you can't hide!" a reference to the Christian youth ministry that Bachmann supports *You Can Run But You Cannot Hide* that in 2012 was designated an anti-gay hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center.

July 21, 2011

Bachmann & Associates, owned by Marcus Bachmann (Michele Bachmann's husband) which is a Christian counseling clinic that offers reparative therapy, "gay to straight counseling" and support to 'pray away the gay'.

Activists dressed as 'barbarians' went in the clinic asking to be disciplined and chanting "You can't pray away the gay-baby, I was born this way". In 2010 on a Christian radio

show Bachmann said that young people must be discouraged from acting on homosexual feelings that "we have to understand: barbarians need to be educated. They need to be disciplined".



September 4, 2011

Minnesota for Marriage, an organization that favors passing a constitutional amendment disallowing same-sex marriage in Minnesota (and whose logo reads “One Man, One Woman”) is given a booth at the Minnesota State Fair



while pro-equality advocates from *Minnesotans United for All Families* were denied.

Activists riding the SkyGlider yell from above, “Where’s our booth?” and “Equality for all!”.

Activist Joanna Hirvela stated, “As LGBT people are excluded from basic rights like marriage, the

voices of marriage equality activists in Minnesota were excluded from having a booth at the Minnesota state fair but we will not be silenced. Wherever there is bigotry, let there be glitter.”

October 7, 2011

Minnesota Congressman Erik Paulsen receiving a “Friend of the Family” award for his efforts to constitutionally ban marriages for same-sex couples in Minnesota at the *Faith and Freedom Conference*.



Activist Michael Cahill who survived ‘gay reparative’ therapy yells “You’re no friend to my family!”

October 7, 2011

Karl Rove, former Senior Advisor and Deputy Chief of Staff to George W. Bush, during a book signing at the *Midwest Republican Leadership Conference* in Minnesota.



Activist Ben Egerman shouted “Feel the Rainbow” and “stop the hate, no bigotry in politics!”

November 1, 2011 & November 9, 2011

Dan Savage, gay rights activist, sex advice columnist—first at the University of Oregon and then on the campus of the University of California.

At the University of Oregon a trans activists yelled “Dan Savage is a transphobe! He’s a racist and misogynist and a rape-apologist, too!” followed by two activists yelling “transphobe!” at the University of California a few days later. Savage has used the word “shemale” to refer to a transwoman and the phrase “freaky tranny porn” to label straight men who view trans porn. He has called a Republican politician as trans as an insult and titled a column “Bad Tranny”.

December 19, 2011

At the Democratic Party primary debate for the 2012 presidential election, Randall Terry, pro-life activist and founder of the pro-life organization *Operation Rescue*.



Vermin Supreme, a fellow presidential candidate as well as a performance artist and activist yelled “that Jesus told him to turn Terry gay!”

December 30, 2011

Former Pennsylvania Senator (1995-2007) and Republican presidential candidate (2012) Rick Santorum at a campaign event in Johnston, Iowa.



An activist shouted “Stop the hate! Taste the rainbow!”

Santorum is a vocal opponent of LGBTQ rights.

On same-sex marriage:

“In every society, the definition of marriage has not ever to my knowledge included homosexuality. That’s not to pick on homosexuality. It’s not, you know, man on child, man on dog, or whatever the case may be. It is one thing.”

“Whether it’s polygamy, whether it’s adultery, whether it’s sodomy, all of those things, are antithetical to a healthy, stable, traditional family.”

“The battle we’re engaged in right now on same-sex marriage, ultimately that is the very foundation of our country, the family, what the family structure is going to look like. I’ll die on that hill fighting.”

“You can say I’m a hater. But I would argue I’m a lover. I’m a lover of traditional families and of the right of children to have a mother and father. ... Isn’t that the ultimate homeland security, standing up and defending marriage?”

January 21, 2012

Dan Savage on the way to his "It Gets Better" show at the Vogue Theatre in Vancouver.



THANKS
for writing,
DAN.

A word of advice: your words and behaviours, ranging from dismissive to downright hateful, have no place in any movement claiming to counter homophobia and sex-negativity. As a matter of fact, they have no place anywhere. Here are a few ways you can start to hold yourself accountable:

Acknowledge the impact of your words and actions.

Listen and learn from the people who have taken the time and energy to call you out and challenge you to change your behaviour.

Apologize, publicly and sincerely.

Take action to MAKE things better! Actively fight for an end to all forms of oppression in our communities and in the world.



We are queers and allies coming together to form an un-welcoming party for Dan Savage, noted for his ableism, ageism, classism, misogyny, racism, rape-apologism, serophobia, sizism, transphobia and, oh yeah, that column

We express solidarity with glitter bombers in Eugene, Oregon and Irvine, California and seek to join our voices with all those calling out Dan Savage, his apologists, and a broader culture of oppression that legitimizes his words and actions. We will not band together behind a man or a movement that refuses to acknowledge the realities of poverty, racism, colonization, ableism, criminalization, transphobia, and other forms of violence experienced by queer communities.

We're joining together to tell Mr. Savage that he's not welcome in our city, in our hearts, or in our bedrooms. We're fed up with him being held up as a spokesperson for sex-positive, GLBTQ politics and we want to make it clear - to him and to everyone else who will listen - that

DAN SAVAGE DOESN'T
SPEAK FOR US.

Signed,
THE HOMOMILITIA



UN-WELCOMING PARTY



WELL, THIS IS EMBARRASSING...

I'm probably the world's preeminent advice columnist, but right now I need some advice myself. You see, I've been accused of **ableism, ageism, classism, misogyny, racism, rape-apologism, serophobia, sizism, transphobia**, and almost every other "-ism" there is. I've already dismissed these claims as ridiculous, but now it's getting extreme. There's a whole website devoted to showcasing my oppressive behaviour (<http://fucknodansavage.tumblr.com/>) and I've been glitter-bombed twice by social justice activists! (Yes, that means they threw glitter at me... trust me, it's even messier than it sounds.)

Why is this happening to me? And how can I stop it?!

Defending Against Nags

CREATED ON UNCEDED COAST SALISH TERRITORIES

Page 1 of a 2 page "Dan Savage Un-welcoming Party!" pamphlet. Downloaded via: <http://vancouver.mediacoop.ca>

The Homomilitia handed out over 200 "Dan Savage Un-welcoming Party!" pamphlets-each with a small packet of glitter stapled inside.

January 21, 2012

Rick Santorum at his South Carolina primary headquarters giving a speech on 'strong family values.'



Photo Credit: AP

A gay rights activist yells: "Except when you're gay". Members of Occupy Charleston chant "Rick, Rick, Rick, bigot, bigot, bigot" and "Santorum, Santorum, you're a bigot."



Photo Credit: AP

January 23, 2012

Rick Santorum during a pre-debate town hall meeting on the Florida presidential primary stop in Lady Lake, Florida.

Four Occupy Tampa activists yell: "Stop the hate, stop the hate, mic check, no hate, no hate" and "Rick's a homophobe."

January 28, 2012

Former US Senator Joe Lieberman (1989-2013) on his way to an Alfa Club's annual banquet. The Alfa Club is a social organization in Washington, DC that has around 200 members consisting of American politicians and influential members of the business community.



Photo Credit: AP /Jose Luis Magana

Hundreds of Occupy, DC activists gathered shouting and chanting "shame, shame, shame". Twisted Sister's "We're Not Gonna Take It" and Public Enemy's "Fight the Power" were played.

February 1, 2012

Mitt Romney, Republican presidential candidate at rally in Eagan, Minnesota one day after winning the Florida primary.



Photo Credit: Gerald Herbert

Activist Nick Espinosa yells “Feel the rainbow, the 1% pays for hate, you’re not welcome in our state!”

February 2, 2012

Rick Santorum during a presidential primary campaign event at Grace Bible Church in Columbia, Missouri where he was in dialogue with “Focus on the Family” founder James Dobson who is a psychologist based in Colorado. Focus on the Family’s mission statement is “nurturing and defending the God-ordained institution of the family and promoting biblical truths worldwide.”

A University of Missouri student reacted to among other things this conversation: “There have been times when homosexuality has been at an epidemic, in Rome, in Sodom and Gomorrah ... but the family has always consisted of one man and one woman,” Dobson said. “That is the way it has been. We are about to throw it on the ash heap of history in this country, and God help us if we do.” Santorum replied, “We don’t want to offend people. We want to sound like we’re tolerant. But the institution of marriage is not something we can mess with and have civilization survive.”

February 6, 2012

Ron Paul, a Texas Congressman (1997-201), two-time Republican presidential candidate and presidential nominee of the Libertarian Party (1988) at the Minneapolis Convention Center.



A protester calling himself 'Charlie McAwesome' shouts "Housing and health care are human rights not privileges!" He later posts on facebook "I just glitter bombed ron paul at the mplS convention center! ...Ron Paul is now as fabulous as the rest of us."

February 7, 2012

Mitt Romney following a speech during the Colorado Primary.



The activist and intern for the State Senate, Peter Smith was arrested and charged with "throwing a missile" (later reduced to disturbing the peace).

February 7, 2012

Rick Santorum at a campaign rally in Blaine, Minnesota



Photo Credit: EPA/Craig Lassig



Photo Credit: Ben Garvin/Getty Images

February 13, 2012

Rick Santorum during a presidential primary stop in Tacoma, Washington in front of the Washington State History Museum.

Occupy Tacoma activists yell: “go away” and “right-wing bigot”. They were among hundreds of other protestors that gathered.

February 15, 2012

Rick Santorum in Fargo, North Dakota at a Holiday Inn for a presidential campaign rally.

March 14, 2012

Germaine Greer, feminist activist and theorist at a book signing at the Embassy Theatre in Wellington, New Zealand.



Photo Credit: Alastair Reith

The Queer Avengers, an activist group that “challenges gender and sexuality oppression in New Zealand and speak out in solidarity on oppression everywhere” stated that they are reacting to what they call Greer’s brand of “transphobic feminism”. The group stated that Greer “has a history of denouncing transwomen; outing prominent transwomen and describing them as ‘ghastly parodies’ of womanhood.”

They handed out leaflets saying “transphobia is bullshit”, a reference to Greer’s 1972 arrest for using the word “bullshit” in a speech in New Zealand.

In 1996 Greer argued against fellow Cambridge University academic Rachael Padman teaching at a women-only college when “she was born a man.”

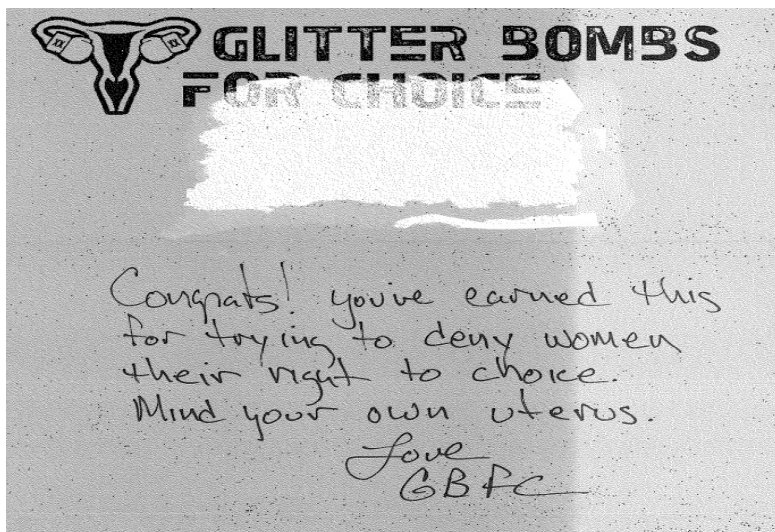
In Greer’s 1999 book, *The Whole Woman*, she wrote: “Governments that consist of very few women have hurried to recognise as women men who believe that they are women and have had themselves castrated to prove it, because they see women not as another sex but as a non-sex.”

In 2009 Greer wrote in *The Guardian* that being trans was a “delusion” and that “We pretend that all the people passing for female really are. Other delusions may be challenged, but not a man’s delusion that he is female.”

Stacey of the Queer Avengers said: “Transphobic feminism is so 20th Century. It wasn’t okay then and it’s not okay now. Women’s liberation must mean the right to refuse imposed gender roles, to fight for diverse gender expression.”

March 4, 2015

Nebraska Congressman Jeff Fortenberry's office received a hot pink letter filled with glitter. Fortenberry has spoken out against "the abortion industry" and voted to ban subsidies for health insurance that could be used to cover abortion in case of a threat to the mother's health.



April 15, 2015

European Central Bank's President Mario Draghi, at a press conference at the Institute for Monetary and Financial Stability Conference 2015, Frankfurt, Germany.



Photo Credit: Getty Images

Protestor Josephine Witt yelled "End ECB dictatorship!" and threw flyers with a statement against the ECB.

SPECIAL THANKS TO

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And to all who raise their fist and throw their glitter!



Photo Credit: <http://priceconomics.com>

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The first edition of this zine was called *Protest in Pride* and was made on the occasion of West Pride 2014, Gothenburg's LGBTQ festival. This second edition reflects a continuation of ideas that have developed since - in dialogue with both the exhibition *Gestures of Defiance* at the Vita Kuben Umeå, Sweden and the coinciding live work *Performing Defiance*.

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For more information visit www.marycoble.com

Follow the *Gestures of Defiance* Project at:

<http://gesturesofdefiance.blogspot.se>

2015