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Domestic Fronts: Arrangements for Feminist Living, or Survival is not a Metaphor

Beginning with a reflection on the protestors' dwellings at the Greenham Common women's peace camp, this chapter examines the multifarious ways in which the domestic sphere is evoked, restaged, critiqued, and reclaimed, across artistic practices and visual activism shaped and motivated by feminism. Dwelling matters as both symbol and material necessity for the survival of vulnerable bodies, sustained by continuous giving and taking of care, and including the feminist struggle for social housing. Rather than a straightforward denouncement of dwelling along with patriarchal domesticity, I argue that feminist art, activism, and their multiple intersections in the work of Paula Chambers, Małgorzata Markiewicz, and Sera Waters, continue to revisit and sometimes recover home-making, its materiality, and symbols, and explore its potential for nurturing feminist subjects. Proceeding through a mix of scholarship and personal meditation on intuitively collected research materials, the chapter carves a speculative path through apparently distinct instances of feminist politics across activism and creative practice to propose new perspectives on the complex interface between feminism, labour, bodies, and the stuff of home.

(Im)Material Resistance

'a bit of symbolism, a bit of vandalism' Nicky Edwards (1986, 112)

In the rich visual archive that the women's peace camp at Greenham Common (Berkshire, UK; 1981-2000) left behind, photographs of the protesters' dwellings are omnipresent even though they only sometimes constitute the main focus of photographs or drawings. Once spotted they are certainly memorable. Greenham 'campers' and 'stayers' who, unlike visitors, stayed overnight or spent extended periods of time at the camp and were thus subject to its women-only policy, explored a

range of dwelling arrangements, from sleeping in cars, camper vans, and sometimes caravans to setting up tents and 'benders', makeshift structures from sticks bent and set into the ground with plastic sheeting stretched over, just about strong enough to offer protection from the elements but also very easy to dismantle: violently in evictions by the authorities, or for quick removal to safety, to avoid destruction by eviction (Fig. 1). If tents have emerged as the signature 'disobedient objects' of more recent protest movements including Occupy, at once practically essential and symbolically potent (Feigenbaum 2014),[1] benders represent the true 'spirit' of Greenham, namely the combination of its ethical orientation, political commitments, and material strategies. Their pliable resilience both explains and symbolises the surprising longevity of the peace camp.

Surrounding the US airbase in rural Berkshire, the women's peace camp protested against and resisted the nuclear mutation of the long-standing militarisation of this common land. Greenham Common was claimed by the Air Ministry as a military training airfield in the early 1940s and was soon handed over to the United States Army Air Force (USAAF) (Greenham Common Control Tower 2020). Despite intervals of disuse after the end of the second world war, the Ministry of Defence never returned it to the Council for free public use as was its original designation – a common (Harford and Hopkins 1984, 7). By 1968 the base was formally and indefinitely leased to Britain's American allies and became known as USAF (United States Air Force) Greenham Common (ibid.), although the acronym USRAF has also been informally used to highlight the collusion between the British (RAF) and US air forces in the de-commoning of the site, following the compulsory purchase of the land in 1951 by the Ministry of Defence. In 1979 NATO earmarked Greenham as a base for Cruise missiles, nuclear weapons with many times the annihilating power of the bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. It was this decision by NATO that prompted a group of women to march in protest from Cardiff to the site and to eventually set up the peace camp there, which would remain women-only and leaderless for nineteen years (1981-2000). It is bitterly ironic that the most concerted efforts to put an end to the peace camp by legal means took the course of strengthening and policing the boundaries of the base and challenging the right of the

women protesters to the land of Greenham, still designated in name if not in deed as a Common (DEFE 24/2966 and PREM 19/1846). A local far-right grassroots group R.A.G.E. (Ratepayers Against the Greenham Encampment) unsuccessfully sought to have the peace camp's water supply disconnected and to strike campers off the electoral register by questioning the validity of the protest site as a residential address (Moores 2014; and GB62 IWM Documents).

Land rights frame a fundamental opposition between the nuclear military base and the peace camp, separated by a wire fence. In an overview of a multi-disciplinary archeology-led research project on the site, the team describes Greenham Common as a heterogeneous object, using the phrase 'bunkers and benders' to reflect on the radical disparities accommodated on the site across the two sides of the perimeter fence (Department of Archaeology, n.d.). The 'bunkers and benders' binary has both material and symbolic consistency, representing oppositional ethical and political orientations towards nuclear weapons, their accumulation, their purpose, and potential. In the section titled 'Personal Responsibility' in a collection of resources and documentation of actions of the Greenham Common peace camp, Sarah van Veen describes her motivations for anti-nuclear activism: 'I felt I had to do something and not just build a bunker in my back garden!' (Cook and Kirk 1983, 28). Benders *instead of* bunkers stand for a de-privatisation of daily life in defense of common survival, underlined by van Veen's own negotiation of the personally painful contradiction that defending her young family should necessitate leaving them behind, as men do in wartime: 'Now women are leaving home for peace' (30). From an archaeological point of view, the durability of bunkers allows for archaeological 'business as usual', while the barely-there remnants of benders question to what degree material traces found on or in the ground can fully account for past events, particularly protest and activist community-building: the inclusion of protest movements into heritage interpretation does not so much expand as queer the work of archaeology (Schofield and Anderton 2000), challenging its normative methodologies and expectations by demonstrating what their narrow application leaves out.

Darning the Fence: Domesticity as a target and a frame(work)

The cheap and easy construction, activist mobility, and archaeological undetectability of benders shows them to be contiguous with the visual, material, and performative poetics of Greenham women's actions, many of which focused on the perimeter fence of the USAF airbase. As well as 'decorating' the fence with hand-made signs, banners, knitting, and everyday objects, Greenham women also shook it to produce an uncanny rattling, suggestive of their determination, cohesion, and strength in numbers.[2] They also famously cut into the perimeter fence with bolt-cutters, to which they referred by the code name of 'black cardigans' in phone communications to avoid detection. Cutting actions were widely publicised as evidence against Greenham women, indicting their hypocrisy (they weren't really peace women as they didn't always use peaceful methods), recklessness (they put the base and themselves at risk), and criminality (from destruction of property to prosecutions under the Official Secrets Act, which carried much more severe punishments). Such actions would often be followed up with less sensational but equally evocative ones: darning the fence with wool, to repair and also transform it. Wool threads woven into the fence were common and can still be found on some of the gates, although it is not possible to determine whether and when they have been replaced (Fig. 2). Their use to patch up its breaches, incongruously and imperfectly, emerged as an eloquent practice, repeatedly staging the contrast between a military operation with all-destroying potential and the soft protest of passionate amateurs undeterred by their lack of obvious power.[3] Greenham women would regularly point out the shared vulnerability of human bodies on both sides of the fence in their campaign against nuclear weapons (cf. Butler 2010), and mobilised their own reparative ethics/aesthetics, comparative weakness, and apparent amateurism as evidence of the strength and authenticity of their convictions (cf. Majewska and Szreder 2016; Majewska 2019).

There is more than a little humour, tacit and conscious cultural knowledge, and plenty of ambivalence in the act of darning a breached military fence. Like many other Greenham actions, darning the fence knowingly references the ways in which feminist theory and artistic practice

targeted, critiqued and ultimately troubled the domestic sphere, holding its idealisation widely if not solely responsible for divisions of labour that cemented gender hierarchies (cf. Schor 1987 and Molesworth 2000). The action simultaneously demonstrates mastery of the secondary domestic skill of maintenance (rather than creative making); it relies on its associations with femininity and the domestic sphere as separate and merely ancillary to the world of – paid – work, while protesting their absurdity; it performs care and possibly caring with a mix of sincerity and parody; to me, it also resonates with the sanitised expletive 'darn!', a minced form of 'damn' originating in 18th century New England where public swearing was a punishable offence. Darning the fence is the feminist post-punk pacifist equivalent to the punk safety pin, barely holding together fragments beyond repair, and contaminating its tools (wool; pins) with associations that can't be forgotten and appropriations that won't be reversed.

The alchemical and only superficially contradictory framing of feminist protest against domesticity within the latter's codes and practices brings to mind earlier feminist experimentations, including the collaborative Feministo, aka the Women's Postal Art Event (1975-1977?).[4] Artist and educator Kate Walker played a key role in growing the Feministo network out of her personal correspondence using small handmade objects with her friend Sally Gollop after she moved house, to 'keep the lines of communication open'. Soon the network included dozens of women of different backgrounds and generations from across the world and resulted in some historic site-specific exhibitions, notably *Portrait of the Artist as a Housewife* at the ICA in the hot summer of 1977, coinciding (or clashing) with celebrations of Queen Elizabeth II's silver jubilee and its punk highjacking on the Thames.[5] Ambivalence towards women's role in social reproduction extended to a highly complex approach to art, craft, and their respective spheres and institutions. In the words of Phil Goodall (1987, 213), 'we have both celebrated […] domestic creativity and exposed it for its paucity'. Although not all of Feministo's participants thought of themselves as artists (while others had studied art and design at university and/or went on to forge careers in art practice and/or art education), their shared blatant disregard for aesthetic value firmly places the project on the side of

its contemporary art practices, despite still being excluded by most of its institutions. Yet art was never its principle concern: as in the Greenham Common peace camp, life, its preservation, and improvement – defending a life worth living while figuring out together what that might be – motivated and shaped Feministo. Writing in the year of Feministo's ICA exhibition, Rozsika Parker (1987 [1977], 207) examined how postal art broke down the distinction between producers and consumers of art and acknowledged Feministo's implication with consciousness raising, with 'art practice becom[ing] a living process – more of a dialogue'. When Kate and her mother Agnes Walker (1987, 27-30) discussed 'the aesthetics of survival' ten years later, considerations of daily life, thrift, class, and exclusion from art's institutions became further entangled, with Kate deploying a weaving metaphor to describe the contrast between the visual cultures of her childhood with the art worlds of her adulthood, both troubling and fruitful, making new text(ile): 'the tangle in my head' (30) still refuses to be untangled, a strange material document of discomfort and insight.

Some of the works exchanged pushed Feministo's 'aesthetics of survival' well beyond any principle of pleasure or at least redemption: the home as setting of the drudgery and injustice of undervalued and unpaid maintenance labour, is also transformed into the site of sustained mental and physical suffering and sometimes deadly violence. Kathy Nicholson reverses the sublimating process by which (high) art, according to Kenneth Clark, turns naked bodies into nude forms, and then goes further.[6] Her papier-mâché sculptures of skinned and chopped up little bodies, barely human but visibly female, devolve the nude back into flesh, and flesh into meat ready packed for consumption. Placed on paper salads and Styrofoam trays in the fridge, these body fragments trace a fine line between the banal cruelty of meat diets and the horror of femicide. Nicholson's nudes-turned-meat perform another unsettling gesture, typical of her contemporary feminist approach to the domestic: for women, homes become more than prisons to existentially define and ultimately merge with their bodies, as in Louise Bourgeois' series *Femme Maison* (1946-1947) and the collaborative *Womanhouse* (1972). Another of Nicholson's work exploring the dread of post-partum breakdown, which I have only ever seen in a grainy photograph (as if in an old newspaper), showed

the form of a near life-size infant pierced by a safety pin and was the only work to be censored from some exhibitions of the Feministo project. The soft and cheap materials and taken-for-granted skillset used in Feministo, and evoked again in the post-punk aesthetics of breached and darned fences at Greenham Common, accommodate a dizzying range of ideas and affects resulting in uncomfortable exchanges.

Domestic Warfare: Houses and Bodies as Battlegrounds

'We must arm ourselves – not with weapons but with rage' Angela Carter (1983, 156)

Violence has been as a key dimension of feminist artistic approaches to domesticity.[7] In *Domestic Warfare* (1975), a slide projection of 120 colour slides by Alexis Hunter, domestic interiors are literally attacked and destroyed, dismantled in their materiality, as a potent visual metaphor of the feminist indictment of patriarchal domesticity. The home is revealed as a battleground and then almost a ruin, the materialised aftermath of a feminist war against domesticity. The battle begins between an idealised heterosexual couple modelled after the work's contemporaneous visual codes of advertising. Represented only by their extremities (impeccably groomed and dressed forearms and lower legs) and placed in overly staged domestic settings, the couple's fetish-limbs embody a short-lived marital bliss, ritually undone in a residential demolition. In all their substantial materiality, domestic interiors gain currency as visual metaphors for life made unliveable in early art informed by feminism. Patriarchy's symbiotic contiguity with commodity fetishism, capitalism and, as they next paragraph shows, militarism and imperialism, remain an explicit if not as widely recognised part of the picture.

In a review of a retrospective exhibition of Martha Rosler's photomontage series *House Beautiful: Bringing the War Home* (1967-1972), Laura Cottingham (1991) reflects on the artist's sourcing of photographs of the Vietnam war in the pages of *Life Magazine*, where 'half-blown

bodies, dead babies, and anguished faces flow seamlessly into mattress ads and photo features of sophisticated kitchens, fastidiously fertilized lawns and art-hung living rooms.' Titled the 'War is Always Home', the review argues that 'the consumer media avoids directly referring to political and economic connections between your cozy sofa and someone else's dead body: Rosler reveals the artificiality of this severed causality.' Rosler's photomontages therefore undertake the work of reconnection on both symbolic and literal terms. Interestingly, the images already co-habited in close proximity on the pages of *Life Magazine*; Rosler cuts, crops, and re-assembles them to denaturalise their suture and make it finally visible.

In 2018, Basia Sliwinska and I curated a small exhibition at the London gallery l'étrangère, with the deliberately provocative title *Home Strike*, suggestive of warfare, disaster, and labour refusal as protest. With works by CANAN (Turkey), Paula Chambers (UK), Małgorzata Markiewicz (Poland), and Su Richardson (UK), who also took part in Feminisito and its follow-up Fenix (Parker and Pollock 1987, 216-219), *Home Strike* revisited the familiar feminist tropes of defamiliarising domesticity to argue that their uncanny forces can still be felt in contemporary art practices informed by and committed to feminism but perhaps no longer framed by it as decisively as, for example, Feministo was. The rest of this section focuses on the ways in which the work of Chambers and Markiewicz negotiates its feminist legacies and contributes to the casting of 'home' as a discursive and material space of continuing feminist interest.

War is always already in the home, where war makes itself at home. That the fight against patriarchy takes place both in domestic and global politics is not a new idea. Yet keeping them both simultaneously in view as Rosler's work achieves, without one overshadowing the other, proves a delicate operation. The work of Paula Chambers belongs to the traditions of art informed and committed to feminism briefly outlined here, and adds to them by picturing armed resistance as emanating *from* the domestic sphere rather than spilling into it. Chambers weaponises everyday household objects, transforming them into instruments of self-defence or violent revolt: for *Kitchen Shanks* (2017), common cooking utensils have their handles wrapped in upcycled women's tights

secured by colourful hairbands, thereby turning the material supports of femininity into makeshift feminist armament. Exhibited on a security grill, the shanks allude to the display of confiscated DIY weapons as an educational tool for prison wardens, depressingly implying that the outbreak may have already been suppressed, or else that the insurgents are gaining ground and engaging in skill-sharing. *Kitchen shanks* subverts the stereotypically feminine – perhaps even girly – associations of the colourful tights and hairbands while also sabotaging their networks of consumer capitalist circulation.

A rickety barricade cobbled together from fragments of found and sometimes stolen furniture is infested with small cut outs of women with guns, real and imaginary, grotesque and idealised, from images sourced from the internet: *Domestic Front* (2016-) (Figs. 3 and 4) lurks in the gallery space carrying with it an unsettling out-of-place-ness and poses the even more disturbing question: under what circumstances would you build a barricade at home? In her review of Chambers' one-person exhibition *Shoplifting at Woolworths*, Civic Gallery, Barnsley, 2020, Dawn Woolley (2020) acknowledges the evocation of righteous defence against domestic violence, but also intriguingly considers whether the work suggests that 'a particular type of domestic environment might produce violent women'. Albeit not quite interchangeable, subjects and objects share in their agency and, frustratingly, lack thereof. It is interesting that the not quite random nor obviously systematic placement of the figures on the barricade appears to provide a model for *Feminist Clutter* (2018), another of Chambers' disruptive occupations of space. Clutter speaks of objects out of place and out or order, crossing boundaries, not knowing their place. Disruptive agency is shared and, in being shared, becomes augmented between revolting subjects and disobedient objects. Here, as in Feministo, domestic things are enlisted in feminist struggle.

Alongside *Domestic Front*, Home Strike included a short video, *Resistance Kitchen* (2017), by Malgorzata Markiewicz made in response to and as protest against the withdrawal of funding for women's shelters in Poland and released for International Women's Day on 8 March 2017. Wearing a double-breasted trench coat and beret, the artist presents a selection of ingredients, including

poisonous plants, to prepare deadly dishes, which, as she announces to camera, 'may be the only tool of resistance available to women.' She calls for women to defend themselves and 'join the resistance kitchen', in a radical subversion of care-giving. Referencing cinematic and televisual representations of the French resistance in her attire and witchy potion-making in her actions, Markiewicz splices repertories of resistance into new languages of visual activism, where the home gets reinstituted as the mandatory domain of feminine propriety with disastrous results.

The cultural codes across which these artists operate come with their own risks. While the codes of witchcraft (standing for alternative knowledge and practice, ways of being that flout gender norms and expectations, and the violent suppression of both) have been joyfully deployed in the visual and material activist practices of Greenham women, photographic images of women with guns – and often specifically mothers with guns, pushing buggies with rifles slung on their shoulders – have been weaponised by the American far right in a treacherous mobilisation of pseudo-feminism as a euphemism for white supremacy.[8] Aggressive nostalgia for homelands of imaginary purity merges with fears of impending socio-environmental collapse. Chambers is aware of such problems and yet her barricade is radically and dangerously inclusive. Reactionary survivalists appear alongside freedom-fighters and exploitative fantasies of gun-toting women in bikinis, begging for psychoanalytic readings. Their co-existence is as tenuous as the barricade on which they perch is unstable. What keeps them together is a recognition of the transhistorical global war against women and its aspirational reflection in armed resistance. While seemingly addressing uncannily familiar concerns, art practices like those of Chambers and Markiewicz represent another turn of the screw in the nexus of feminist politics and visual activism. In crushing austerity, neo-feudalism, and the creeping mainstreaming of the intrinsically anti-feminist far right, they no longer petition for equality nor do they offer utopian visions of a feminist futurity. They go off grid, in bitter recognition that self-reliance and makeshift but forceful resistance may well be the only option. Never mind resilience: this is war.

[The last sentence of the paragraph above gives me pause. It was originally written for a short presentation at the symposium 'Feminist Visual Activism', organised by Basia Sliwinska, ICA, London, in July 2018, in which it made for a strong ending and was well-received.[9] Yet in the sober process of revising this text for publication, its obvious contradiction confuses, and its 'playing to the gallery' populism grates. Why do I then hesitate deleting it? I am certainly not suggesting that the work of Chambers and Markiewicz represents a departure from the ethics and aesthetics of Greenham visual and material activisms; on the contrary, the two are in dialogue, or perhaps more accurately form part of a dialectic. While the struggle for peace against a grotesquely funded military system carefully sidesteps its methods and discourses, it is also haunted by spectres of unusual or perverse exceptions to patriarchal femininity: 'Pallas Athina in shining armour, Joan of Arc, an Amazon, a Nicaraguan woman in battle fatigues' (Jones, 1987, 180) or even serial killer Myra Hindley (183). Disorderly chains of association, at once revolutionary and shaped by the culture against which they revolt, like Chambers's internet-sourced women with guns, snag and tear at the screen that separates survival from the spectral realm of its opposite. Breaching the peace to keep the peace.[10] Pursuing a systemic rupture for life's sake is a risky business, not for the faint-hearted or the purists. The flicker between the hostile ghosts of haunting and promising spectres of an *afterlife,* a continuous transformation for the sake of survival which is however iconographically tethered to the past,[11] is amplified and multiplied in the tangled threads of art informed by and committed to feminism. Brimming with potential and danger, the infestation of these uncomfortable images on Chambers' rickety *Domestic Front* at once accentuates the structure's fragility and holds it compositionally together.

In this pause, the need to hazard a definition of feminist visual activism presents itself with pressing urgency. Feminist visual activism labels a force field too wild to safely accommodate specific political causes, even though it regularly hosts and nurtures them. It is a space of perpetual unrest in which the labour of archival care for bricolaged collections of images, things, and practices, is

activated by embodied subjects who find strength in their shared vulnerability and their determination to survive, or even live a better life.]

Slow and Urgent: Towards Feminist Survival(ism)[12]

In a troubling text on gender, the cold war, and responses to the nuclear threat across militarist and pacifist camps, Wendy Brown (1989) considers the persistence of the special role ascribed to women and domesticity *in* (nuclear) *extremis*. Planning for a future after a nuclear strike might seem cruelly pointless or cynically misleading, but both the Central Office of Information in Britain (which Brown does not discuss) and the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) in the US produced guidelines in which the outmoded 'domestic manual' gets resurrected (Brown 1989, 286). Even despite the occasional liberal nod to gender equality, both the state politics of survivalism and the activist politics of disarmament 'reiterate a traditional domestic usage of the feminine [and affirm] the symbolic value of women to the reproduction of culture' (287). Both operate within a horizon of individualism in which a time without – or possibly free from – biological and social reproduction remains unimaginable and unimagined. Brown is aware of the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) and acknowledges the specificity of women's contributions within it but does not discuss women's activism or peace camps such as Greenham Common. I wonder what she would have made of Greenham's queered living arrangements and its sometimes seemingly naive attachment to 'sequence', a futurity achieved through reproduction, which has since come under much criticism, including from feminist quarters.

If survivalism is an already compromised political discourse bound in individualist self-reproduction, the will to survive cannot be reduced or abandonment to murky discursive ground. Having carefully explained the suspicion with which African women have dealt with the Euro-American canons of feminist theory and their taxonomies, Wendy Jacobs (2011) brands the 'praxial feminism' of women's housing activism in post-Apartheid South Africa as 'survival feminism': her case study of the Victoria Mxenge Housing and Development Association demonstrates the

interconnectedness between feminist consciousness, a commitment to treating housing as a necessity rather than a commodity, quality of life, social justice, and community building. Survival in this context is shown to be much more than the simple preservation of biological life but a personal and political commitment to caring about and for each other. Focusing on survival offers a view of the feminist preoccupation with domesticity that is neither metaphorical nor privatised. Although Ann Pettitt (2006, 39) describes the original group that founded the Greenham Common's women's peace camp as 'amateurs' in activism, she also notes that some had experience of direct action, 'both to solve our own need for housing and to help others'. Defending social care and the right to decent housing in particular is identified as part-and-parcel of nuclear disarmament campaigns; conversely, in the age of nuclear proliferation, all activism for social welfare is cast, indirectly, as anti-nuclear activism, protesting 'the sickening waste and mismanagement of money, skills and resources invested in the arms race' (Cook and Kirk 1983, 33).

Historically, taking care has not been taken seriously: it is feminised and therefore belittled, just as giving care is feminised in the different direction of self-sacrificing mothering, literally priceless and thus never remunerated or rewarded. Sera Waters (2020) reclaims the taking and giving of care in a format traditionally used by young women, as a learning exercise and, if well-made, a token of friendship to exchange with one's peers: her *Survivalist Sampler* (2019-2020) attempts to recover survivalism from the far right while 'remembering and relearning' (23) 'slower ways of existing' (Waters 2020, 22). Waters' proposal for an intersectional feminist survivalism deploys domestic craft to repair the damage to the land perpetrated by the collusion of settler colonialism and capitalism, and to recover long-suppressed aboriginal knowledge and practices. The work is at once slow and urgent: caring takes time even or especially in emergencies.

Covid Coda: Feminist Survival against the Odds

At the time of writing (April 2020) I find myself in domestic lockdown following the decision of the British government. Different versions of similar emergency policies are in effect across much of the

world. We are saving lives, we are told, by staying home, working from home if we can, being furloughed if we are entitled, or enduring job losses, to slow down the spread of the 2019 version of a common virus which continues to elude effective management and whose morbidity had originally been underestimated. The impact of the virus and its (mis)management throws into sharp relief and further exacerbates persistent inequalities pivoting on ability, class and race, in intersection with gender and sexuality. Our imposed self-isolation proves once more how easily the simple struggle for the preservation of life becomes an instrument for the affirmation of normativity, not only ideologically reinforcing it but also threatening anyone who might deviate from it with sanctions of varying severity. The imperative to stay home rests on the assumption of an idealised family unit, untouched by intimate partner violence or child abuse, where one lives with their loved ones and loves the ones one lives with. Counterintuitively, to survive the pandemic of Covid-19 by following the instructions we have been issued poses grave danger to the wellbeing and lives of many women and children. The virus and its (mis)management threatens to become a disaster for feminism by re-tabling implicitly gendered divisions of labour with an urgency that defies their long-standing feminist critiques and hard-won transformation. Care workloads expand and explode as schools remain closed, friends and family fall ill, and the immuno-vulnerable lose their independence. Life partners find themselves in awkward negotiations about housework and childcare or, worse, assumptions are made that negate feminist achievements of the past fifty years. Women are killed by the men with whom they share their lives and dwellings at shockingly accelerated rates (Townsend 2020), while feminist organisations around the world are compelled to share guidance on how to deal with violent partners in lockdown. On 6 April 2020, United Nations Secretary-General António Guterres tweeted: 'Peace is not just the absence of war. Many women under lockdown for #COVID19 face violence where they should be safest: in their own homes' (Newman 2020). Single parents, who are predominantly women, are also hit harder than two-parent families, facing greater stresses on their resources, financial, temporal, and emotional. Women's organisation MADRE (2020) issued a strategy for 'care and connection' in the Covid-19 pandemic, in which the care work

already performed by women, in principle and in actuality, is mobilised to seed an increasingly de-privatised future.[13]

Would a pandemic such as Covid-19 -- and its management by obeying the instruction to 'stay home' -- have meant the end of the Greenham Common peace camp if it happened in 1990 as opposed to 2020?[14] I think not, since Greenham successfully unsettled both the site and situation of 'home'. One of Greenham Common's most radical interventions, as Sasha Roseneil (1995; esp. 2000) among others have persuasively argued, was to queer domesticity, first by liberating it from its heteronormative bonds but also going as far as questioning its familiar architectural repertories. Just as Greenham benders, super-mobile makeshift shelters that leave little trace behind, stood in semiotic, material, and political opposition to bunkers, the peace camp hauled living outside of living rooms and chosen intimacies out of structures of kinship. It exploded the boundaries of the 'household' to encompass all women gathered on the common, bound together by their determination to survive and to secure the survival of others.

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[1] 'Disobedient Objects' was the title of an exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (2014-2015), which examined 'the powerful role of objects in movements for social change' and 'demonstrated how political activism drives a wealth of design ingenuity' (Victoria and Albert Museum 2020).

[2] In early photographs of USAF Greenham Common the perimeter fence appears to be made out of bare wire, although colour photographs from the mid-eighties onwards show it to be coated in green plastic. The piece of fence that I saw in the Feminist Archive South (Special Collections, Bristol University Library) was plastic-coated. I have not been able to find out exactly when or why the original fence was replaced with a plastic-coated version, but it is interesting to note that the action of shaking the fence produced a much more powerful sound without the plastic coating.

[3] There are many continuities as well as discontinuities between Greenham's activist uses of craft and contemporary craftivisms. See Carpenter (2010) and Kokoli (2014).

[4] Feministo is difficult to date: while the personal correspondence between Kate Walker and Sally Gollop in small handmade objects began in 1975, it was only later that the project expanded into a postal art network, with open calls for participation published in the feminist press in the following year. And whereas the 1977 exhibition Portrait of the Artist as Housewife is widely viewed as a culmination of Feministo, with four of its key participants (Su Richardson, Monica Ross, Suzy Varty, and Kate Walker) moving on to a new project Fenix in the same year, some of the Feministo artworks were exhibited internationally thereafter. It is revealing that Rozsika Parker (1987, 207), who famously also showcased Feministo in *Studio International*, chooses to leave the completion date of the project open, still wondering in 1977 whether it might become 'a vast, subversive, international network' with a blurred beginning and possibly no end.

[5] On 7 June 1977 The Sex Pistols famously threw a party on a river boat on the Thames to launch their single 'God Save the Queen' at the height of Queen Elizabeth's Silver Jubilee celebrations (Savage 2012).

[6] Art historian, museum director, and broadcaster Kenneth Clark is perhaps best known for his BBC2 series 'Civilisation' (1966-1969), which was criticised for its reinforcement of the western European art historical canon, disregard of women artists and lack of engagement with the socio-political conditions under which art is produced and consumed. John Berger responded to such biases through his series 'Ways of Seeing' (BBC2, 1972), which profoundly influenced both feminist art history as well as the development of the study of visual culture in Britain, while Lynda Nead (1992) critiqued Clark's implicitly gendered and explicitly idealised approach to the nude in her book *The Female Nude*.

[7] The complex approaches to domesticity in art informed by feminism cannot be fully analysed here. I discuss some of them, including Feministo, in my book *The Feminist Uncanny* (2016). See also Tobin (2017).

[8] The significance to contemporary feminisms of witches and the history of their persecution is too wide-ranging to adequately chart here. On mobilisations of witchcraft at Greenham Common see Roseneil (2000, 16-18). On women in far right white supremacist movements, including the deployment of scantily-clad women with guns, see Daniels (1997, 56-69). Over the past decade (2010-2020), women's leadership in such movements has both expanded and gained wider recognition; for an international perspective, see e.g. Provost and Whyte (2018). I am indebted to Aaron Winter for his expert assistance in navigating the intersections of gender and the far right.

[9] I would like to thank Basia Sliwinska for the invitation to participate at the symposium and to rethink and expand my contribution for this book. I am also indebted to her insightful observations on the work of care in artistic practice informed by feminism (Sliwinska 2019).

[10] 'Breaching the peace' was the offence for which many Greenham women were arrested and tried. The irony was not lost on them and the phrase was appropriated as a Greenham slogan, giving the title to numerous articles and pamphlets, including one that expressed criticisms of Greenham from a feminist perspective (London: Only Women Press, 1983).

[11] My approach to the visual and material activisms of Greenham Common is informed by Griselda Pollock's feminist mobilisation of Aby Warburg's art historical methods that combine scholarship with intuition and chart iconographical continuities and discontinuities in art and visual culture (Pollock 2007; Pollock 2013). I am also mindful of Chari Larsson's (2019) proposal to view Warburg's notion of 'afterlife' as an alternative to melancholic models of haunting and hauntology in art history and more broadly in the humanities and the social sciences. However, I wonder whether the distinction between 'afterlife' and 'haunting' is not already

implicit in the difference between hostile and friendly ghosts, with whom one might anachronistically collaborate.

[12] On the role of women and discursive deployments of femininity in millenarian movements and the apocalyptic imagination, see Palmer (1997). Palmer briefly discusses ecofeminism and Wicca, and although both are relevant to Greenham Common I see the peace camp as principally defined by a pacifist opposition to the nuclear arms race.

[13] For an in-progress compilation of sources and resources on the impact on gender equality of Covid-19 see EIGE (2020).

[14] Speculative approaches to Greenham Common are not necessarily helpful but I am encouraged by Sasha Roseneil's example who wonders how the camp's women-only character would have dealt with trans issues. Roseneil (2000, 184, n.6) takes the educated guess that inclusivity would have prevailed and that the gate system would have meant that some if not all gates would have been transinclusive.