

Breathing Exercises in Athens

Artistic Responses to the Murder of Zak Kostopoulos aka Zackie Oh!

Article DOI: <https://doi.org/10.70733/agbclid92dnw>

Eleni Michaelidi

Abstract

On September 21, 2018, an extremely brutal murder took place in the vicinity of Omonia Square, in the center of Athens, Greece. Zak Kostopoulos, aka JackieO, a young queer artist, activist, and prominent member of the local LGBTQI+ communities, was brutally beaten to death in plain sight and broad daylight. For reasons still unclear, Zak was being chased and tried to find “refuge” in a nearby jewelry shop. The shop owner, joined by a group of men, brutally lynched Zak, who was severely injured and clearly incapable of posing any threat. The beating continued after the police arrived at the scene, with their active participation. Zak was declared dead once brought to the hospital, unconscious yet still handcuffed.

In presenting the victim as abnormal, marginal, and intoxicated, the subject of collateral damage in a series of “unfortunate events,” the national mass media amplified and normalized the violence. The entire sequence of events was recorded in full detail on cellphone cameras by various passers-by, with plenty of witnesses and evidence on site, however, the police made practically no effort to investigate the murder. The victim’s family and community initiatives have taken it up upon themselves to shed light on the case.

A prominent example of extreme systemic violence—racist, patriarchal, repressive, class, and the “intrinsic” violence of the state— Zak/ZackieO’s murder exemplifies the aggression that is deeply rooted in Greek society and the nation-state. Against this backdrop, and among other implications, many artistic responses have stemmed from or were deeply influenced by this event. Whether pursuing accountability, dealing with trauma, or exploring alternatives, such artworks function as “breathing exercises”—gestures of healing, regaining strength, and finding ways to cope with systemic state violence, individually and collectively. They seek to forge aesthetic and social alliances that expose, critique, and look beyond systemic state violence.

On the afternoon of September 21, 2018, a young man was brutally beaten to death in plain sight and broad daylight in downtown Athens. For reasons still unclear, he was being chased. He tried to find refuge in a small jewelry shop, but the owner, who claims he thought he was being robbed, locked him in. Together with a

neighbor real estate agent, who proved to be high up in a far-right group, and with the occasional participation of other bystanders, they started beating the young man who was panicking but clearly did not pose any threat. Lying on the floor, severely injured by broken window glass, he tried to protect himself while receiving multiple hits on the head. Half unconscious, he received some first aid treatment, then stood on his feet. In a state of shock, he tried to escape holding a piece of broken glass. As soon as the police arrived on site, they immobilized and beat him up even more despite him lying on the pavement bleeding. They arrested and handcuffed him while unconscious. Unconscious yet handcuffed, the young man was transferred to the hospital by ambulance, where he was pronounced dead.^[1]

Extreme violence came as no surprise. This brutal murder was documented on mobile phones and witnessed by many bystanders, who nevertheless did nothing to stop the brutal beating with the exception of one man who intervened and one woman who shouted to stop. Some of these witnesses still refuse to appear or testify in court. Although there was plenty of evidence on site, the police made no effort to prosecute anyone other than the unconscious and evidently seriously hurt victim. Instead of being sealed, the crime scene was literally cleaned up by the shop owner who inflicted the assault, yet remained free, as did the other perpetrators. The police's pretextual effort to investigate the event was equally distressing in the reports of mass media. From the very beginning, the young man was portrayed as a criminal junkie, who intended to rob the store and was probably intoxicated although there was no evidence to support any such claim. A clear indication of vile discrimination, their racist response was amplified once the victim's identity came to the fore.



Zak Kostopoulos, 2013, photo: Natasha Pantazopoulou / FOSPHOTOS / Courtesy [POPAGANDA](#)

The young man was queer artist and activist Zak (Zacharias) Kostopoulos, aka drag queen Zackie Oh!, a prominent member of the Athenian LG—T—Q community. An anti-racist, anti-fascist, HIV-positive queer gay “Dragtivist” and “Proud slut,” who was quite outspoken and very much loved.^[2] His community and family were deeply shocked, but the impact of his killing extended far beyond those who knew him. Public outrage broke out immediately and intensified as video and oral testimonies that had captured the horror surfaced. An official investigation of the incident only came into effect due to public pressure, but in what seemed like a performance of incompetence or cover up. As aptly put by Forensic Architecture’s Christina Varvia, “[h]iding behind incompetence is a political decision to be used when convenient; power relations lurk underneath such excuses.”^[3]

According to the forensic report submitted to court, there is no doubt that Zak Kostopoulos died from heart failure caused by the injuries inflicted on him.^[4] This was a brutal hate crime by male civilians and police, followed by discriminatory media coverage, attempted state and mass media cover up, and all too familiar police impunity.^[5] Zak's life was treated as a life not worth living to the full. In the words of one of his friends, "they read him as a body that has no value. That no matter how they treated him there would be no consequences which is what happened that no one on earth would care about what happened to this body."^[6]



Vera Chotzoglou, *Rausch*, 2018, video still, courtesy the artist

Yet many did. Zak's family, kinship and chosen, together with LGBTIQ and feminist community initiatives and individuals, mobilized swiftly and took it upon themselves to highlight the case and exert public pressure for a fair trial.^[7] Zak was a prominent equal rights activist, who was very much appreciated and loved. A writer and artist with a strong sense of humor and active presence in social life and media, he participated in various struggles, creative projects, and drag performances.^[8] According to queer artist Fil Ieropoulos, Zak's work as a whole had a lasting impact. It established him as "one of the most important political artists of our generation" who remains "a source of inspiration for the queer community."^[9]

Given the extreme brutality of his killing, the mass responses that emerged in protest did not come as a surprise. In the context of a nation-state where systemic violence is widespread and usually goes unpunished, protests against discrimination and violence have become the new normal.^[10] What was particularly surprising though was that these responses stemmed from all sorts of milieus and were highly differentiated. They ranged from a high-profile, conservative cultural institution engaging in a symbolic act of support, to an anarchist arson attack that targeted the police station to which the officers who beat and arrested Zak— were assigned.^[11] They also included a large spectrum of creative responses, a phenomenon that is quite unusual in the local context; that is, for a state-violence event to generate so many and diverse *creative* responses, instead or as a subset of responses that are firmly rooted in the political realm, and remain strictly delimited within it.

One such response that stood out and set the tone was that of the local drag queen/ballroom community. Zackie Oh!'s chosen family countered the attack and its aftermath with all its rage and fabulousness. The very demonstrations they organized and participated in were vibrant political queer art manifestations including how participants dressed, banners held, slogans, music and singing, dancing and voguing, staged protest actions,

graffiti, and stencils. These public performative acts highlighted the aesthetics and politics of drag, making the Athenian LGBTIQ community as a whole more visible and leaving a strong imprint on the city's political and art scenes.^[12] Recalling the very first demo that they organized, Ieropoulos affirms that it “made Zak’s dream of a political drag art seem more real than ever,” making “it crystal clear on the streets that the war against toxic Greekness must be intersectional and multifaceted.”^[13]



Gevi Dimitrakopoulou, *This is Right: Zak, Life and After*, 2020, film still

Zak’s killing and what happened after had a lasting impact on the art scene. But how does art retain its relevance when life itself is deprived of any value? This genuine aporia was the main drive for me to look systematically for artistic responses related to Zak’s murder. This curatorial research project revealed material that spans most fields and practices, and remains challenging to process as a whole.^[14] Among other works, I consider FYTA’s opera *Orfeas* (2020–21)^[15] and Katerina Markoulaki’s experimental short film *Pale flowers of Spring* (2020),^[16] both dedicated to Zak/Zackie Oh!, as well as Kentaro Kumanomido and Thomas Anthony Owen’s intermedia performance *Faster than Light* (2018) in which Zak participated.^[17] In addition, Nova Melancholia’s experimental theater performance *Marcel Duchamp* (2022)^[18] and Anna Daučíková’s installation *Expedition for Four Hands and Accompaniment* (2019) at KunstWerke Berlin^[19] incorporated strong references to Zak’s murder and have affinities to drag/queer politics and aesthetics.



Anna Daučíková, *Expedition for Four Hands and Accompaniment* (detail), 2019, mixed media installation with 3-channel video projection, glass, stones, publication, installation view of the exhibition at KW Institute for Contemporary Art, Berlin, 2019, photo: Frank Sperling

In this context, I would like to focus on some works that seem particularly relevant when discussing artistic positions within systems of state violence. Forensic Architecture's *The Killing of Zak Kostopoulos* (2019) is probably the most well-known example.^[20] It is an investigation informed by the methodologies and aesthetics of what Forensic Architecture define as counter-forensics, "a civil practice that aims to interrogate the built environment to uncover political violence undertaken by states."^[21] The project was commissioned by the Kostopoulos family, who recruited the UK-based agency to conduct an inquiry into the case for the trial, following the investigation they conducted into Pavlos Fyssas, the antifascist musician who was murdered in Athens by members of the criminal neo-Nazi group Golden Dawn in 2013.^[22]



Forensic Architecture, *Killing of Zak Kostopoulos: the Man in the Yellow Shirt*, 2022, video, 6 min. 34 sec., English/Greek, part of the investigation *The Killing of Zak Kostopoulos*, published September 4, 2019, © Forensic Architecture

The group traced and scrutinized all available audiovisual footage to establish the actual sequence of events. Published in 2019 as a report comprising text, video, photos and 3D reconstructions of the scene, the investigation unveiled crucial evidence related to the killing and exposed the police as not having conducted a proper investigation, especially with regards to a key witness who appears to play a central role in the unfolding of events.^[23]

This is Right: Zak, Life and After (2020) is a dense short nine-minute film by the Athens based feminist visual artist Gevi Dimitrakopoulou, produced in collaboration with queer filmmaker Vassiliki Lazaridou.^[24] A portrait of Zak based on perspectives of members of his community, through personal accounts of the event and the aftermath of his murder, the film juxtaposes archival material with Zak/Zackie Oh!, sound recordings and documentary footage from demonstrations, personal accounts, queer and drag performances, and staged footage.



Gevi Dimitrakopoulou, *This is Right: Zak, Life and After*, 2020, still from digital HD video, 9 min. 4 sec., color, sound in Greek, courtesy the artist

Dimitrakopoulou's film reconstructs and renegotiates the event through a critical queer lens. It captures the grief and rage within Zak's community, and throughout celebrates radical drag culture from the burning of the Greek flag at the very beginning of the film to the popular slogan "This is right! Kick with 12-inch heels to put your heads together," which sounds at the end and inspired the film's title.^[25]

A slightly different approach is taken by the Athens- and Berlin-based artist Vera Chotzoglou. Her work *Rausch* (2018) has been presented as an installation with photos, text, and a homonymous film, which can also function autonomously.^[26] It presents fragments of underground queer rave culture and daily personal encounters, rendering feasts and bodies visible without exposing them. According to Chotzoglou, "*Rausch* is the narration of a night, or many nights, a celebration, the observation of a queer Dionysian state. [...] The individual limits fade away; the subjects lose their outlines and their privacy; they cling to a dissimilarity that lacks a specific shape."^[27] The video ends with raw footage of Zackie Oh! performing and is dedicated to her memory. Any of the "protagonists" could be Zackie, and any of them could find themselves in her place. Chotzoglou celebrates queer performativity and aesthetics as much as she affirms the collective desire to reclaim safe spaces and

foster cultures of acceptance.

Sofia Rozaki's painting *glitter in our wounds* (2018) was created in the immediate aftermath of the murder.^[28] The work is accompanied by a poem written by the artist:

There's not enough time in the world for these wounds to heal

but beware

there's something your father

forgot to mention,

conveniently enough,

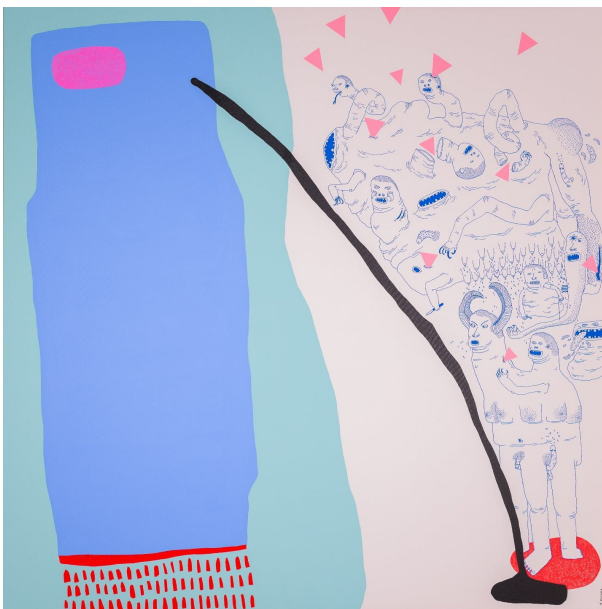
so pay close attention

these tears

you keep mistaking for a sign of weakness

one day

will fall like acid rain on your skin.



Sofia Rozaki, *glitter in our wounds*, 2018, acrylic paint and markers on canvas, 120 × 120 cm, courtesy the artist

Striking a fragile balance, Rozaki conveys the scene of Zak's murder with childlike honesty and cynical cruelty. His black shoe, left lying on the pavement after the attack, draws a magical barrier between his body and the dehumanized crowd. Red tears drop like acid rain, pink triangles attack the attackers and their accomplices. The

artist activates her queer glitch aesthetic to reconstitute a “life unworthy of life” in Nazi semiology and terminology, the phrase (*lebensunwertes Leben*) used to designate individuals identified as deviants or agitators, deemed redundant and therefore to be annihilated.^[29] Initially conceived as a badge of shame for gays in Nazi Germany concentration camps, similar to the yellow star for Jews or the red triangle for communists, the pink triangle has since become reclaimed as an emblem of resistance and resilience.^[30] Rozaki engages with this tradition and transforms rage into a queer narrative that rises up against fascist brutality.

All these works bear obvious differences, yet it is their similarities that struck me as most interesting. They all stem from and deal with a process of mourning, highlighting the constitutive importance of trauma and loss. In doing so, they affirm Judith Butler’s call “to think about loss as constituting social, political, and aesthetic relations, thereby overcoming the conventional understanding that ‘loss’ belongs to a purely psychological or psychoanalytic discourse.”^[31] In the same direction, they offer ways to overcome a series of paradoxes linked to mourning, which Butler also brilliantly captures when she argues that “loss must be marked and it cannot be represented; loss fractures representation itself and loss precipitates its own modes of expression.”^[32]

In this sense, works as diverse as Forensic Architecture’s investigation into the killing and Sofia Rozaki’s queer glitch depiction of the scene seem to converge. Their textured and multilayered accounts of loss and violence correlate mourning, with its dominant causes and articulations, partaking in the act, language, and knowledge production process that is as affective and vulnerable as it is militant and empowering. They transcend the purely symbolic realm to resist dominant narrative and to reconstitute “a body that matters” within the agonistic fields of contemporary art and culture in the broadest sense, as fields that overlap with and partake in politics.^[33]

These rearticulations of the event give it more visibility without spectacularizing it, and they are very conscious of the politics involved in their tactics. As Forensic Architecture’s Stefanos Levidis explains, “[o]ne needs to be aware at all times [...] of the politics produced by their representational attempts. [...] our work often treads a delicate balance between visibility and obscurity, but also opacity.”^[34] This fragile balance also transcends the films by Chotzoglou and Dimitrakopoulou, which partake in the enabling potential of queer-feminist art making. In rendering visible expressions of sexuality and gender fluidity as personal and political acts, they engage with representation as a critical tool of queer politics.^[35]



Gevi Dimitrakopoulou, *This is Right: Zak, Life and After*, 2020, film still

Another point of convergence is how these artworks address, engage with, and empower the individuals and communities that are affected by systemic state violence. According to Eyal Weizman of Forensic Architecture, “[e]ach of our investigations brings together communities that suffer the violence directly, activists on the ground, scattered researchers and experts, artists that can arrange things in an original way, and cultural institutions that can amplify the results.”^[36] Engagement through activation, collaboration, address, and with the consent of those involved. A crucial element of queer grassroots politics is of utmost importance, and, in the words of artist and activist Maria Dolores (Athens Museum of Queer Arts) “[p]racticizing a culture of consent in all its multiplicity [...] constitutes an affirmative act of political agency that empowers us to confront the silencing structures of death politics.”^[37]

Growing from community ties and materializing through personal networks, these positions resist notions of artistic production as an individualistic practice and commodity. They move away from a single perspective towards a shared one, and forge aesthetic and social alliances that expose, critique, and look beyond systemic state violence. In doing so, they take part in “a public queer feminist mourning [...] on our own terms,” which function similarly to breathing exercises.^[38] Maybe, following Sara Ahmed’s syllogism, giving some form to aspirational hopes for a better life:

We need to think more about the relationship between the queer struggle for a bearable life and aspirational hopes for a good life. Maybe the point is that it is hard to struggle without aspirations, and aspirations are hard to have without giving them some form. We could remember that the Latin root of the word aspiration means “to breathe.” I think the struggle for a bearable life is the struggle for queers to have space to breathe. [...] With breath comes imagination. With breath comes possibility.^[39]

Thanks to Vera Chotzoglou, Gevi Dimitrakopoulou, Forensic Architecture, Katerina Markoulaki, Sofia Rozaki, Giorgos Papaconstantinou, and Gregoris Gougousis for sharing material. Heartfelt thanks to Nasia Drimousi, Christos Fousekis, Evgenia Fragkolia, Teiko Ito, and Sofia Rozaki for providing feedback.

Footnotes

1. An invaluable source of information for this text are the trial reports published by the initiative ZackieOh Justice Watch, which monitored the proceedings in real time. The reports are available at <https://zackieohjustice.watch/en/> (accessed 2022-05-16). For reporting on the case in English see for example Kacala, Alexander. “Gay activist dies in Athens after brutal public beating.” *NBC news online*. September 25, 2018. Available at <https://www.nbcnews.com/feature/nbc-out/gay-activist-dies-athens-after-brutal-public-beating-n913056> (accessed 2022-06-08); Smith, Helena. “‘Zak’s an icon’: the long fight for justice over death of Greek LGBT activist.” *The Guardian*. December 20, 2020. Available at <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/dec/20/long-fight-for-justice-over-death-of-greek-lgbt-activist-zak-kostopoulos> (accessed 2021-06-08).
2. According to her own description on Zackie Oh!’s Instagram account, which remains a bittersweet testimony of a life that was worth living. See <https://www.instagram.com/zackie.oh/> (accessed 2022-05-25).

3. Christina Varvia quoted in Levidis, Stefanos, Strecker, Alexander, Varvia, Christina, Weizman, Eyal, Zembashi, Nicholas. "Movement Towards the Light: Forensic Architecture's Investigations in Athens." In *For Even More Images?*. Edited by Alex Strecker. Athens: Onassis Stegi. 2019. p. 143. Available at <https://www.onassis.org/initiatives/publications/for-ever-more-images/interview-forensic-architecture-cases-pavlos-fyssas-and-zak-kostopoulos> (accessed 2022-05-18).
4. Mandrou, Ioanna. "Coroner in Zak Kostopoulos trial points to trauma-induced heart attack." *Ekathimerini*. September 11, 2021. Available at <https://www.ekathimerini.com/news/1171424/coroner-in-zak-kostopoulos-trial-points-to-trauma-induced-heart-attack/> (accessed 2022-05-08).
5. See Alevizopoulou, Mariniki and Zenakos, Augustine. "The killing of Zak: the astonishing violence and impunity of Greek police." *open democracy*. October 31, 2018. Available at https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/can-europe-make-it/killing-of-zak-astonishing-violence-and-/#_edn1 (accessed 2021-06-08).
6. Quoted in Dimitrakopoulou, Gevi. *This Right: Zak, Life and After*, 2020. Accessible at <https://vimeo.com/476953966>. Translated by the author.
7. The trial concluded only recently and is likely to go to an appeal at the high court. Reports of the trial have been published regularly by the ZackieOh Justice Watch. See also Smith, Helena. "Greek court acquits four police officers over death of LGBT activist." *The Guardian*. May 3, 2022, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/may/03/greek-court-acquits-four-police-officers-over-death-of-lgbtq-activist> (accessed 2022-05-20); Gilson, George. "Ten-year prison sentence for men who lynched LGBTQ activist Zak Kostopoulos." *To Vima*. May 3, 2022. Available at <https://www.tovima.gr/2022/05/03/international/ten-year-prison-sentence-for-men-who-lynched-lgbtq-activist-zak-kostopoulos/> (accessed 2022-05-20/).
8. Examples include the short film *Zak Kostopoulos: Positive Story* by Dimitris Papathanasis and Kyriakos Hatzimichailidis (2019, 30 min.); the multimedia performance and film *Faster than Light* (2018-ongoing) by Kentaro Kumanomido and Thomas Anthony Owen's performance; and a project Zak was collaborating on with Alexandros Katsis and Maria Louka at the time of his killing, titled *Society doesn't fit me but my little black dress does* (2021).
9. Ieropoulos, Fil. "Το πολιτικό drag της Zackie Oh!" (The political drag of Zackie Oh!). *feministiqáJournal*. No. 2. summer 2019. Available at <https://feministiqá.net/political-drag-zackie-oh/>. Translation by the author.
10. At least since the austerity crisis, which also gave rise to hate crimes and violence. See for example Megaloudi, Fragkiska. "Hate Crimes in Greece Against LGBT And Ethnic Communities Rocket During Austerity." *The Huffington Post UK*. November 26, 2012. Available at https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2012/11/26/hate-crimes-greece-lgbt-ethnic-recession-_n_2192046.html (accessed 2022-05-06).
11. "Ανάληψη ευθύνης για την επίθεση στο ΑΤ Ομόνοιας" (Responsibility claim for the attack at Omonoia Police Station). *Atehne*. October 23, 2018. Available at <https://athens.indymedia.org/post/1592391/> (12/05/2022); "Το πρόσωπο του Ζακ στην πρόσοψη της Στέγης" (Zak's face on Stegi's façade). *Efimerida Syntakton*. October 20, 2020. Available at <https://www.efsyn.gr/node/265098> (2020-05-12).
12. Some video documentation from the first Queer Liberation March (Athens, June 27, 2020) is available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7pFr8J65xwIhttps://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gUNXiqhXW-A>. <https://marginalia.gr/arthro/zoes-se-diekdikisi-zois-27-06-20-to-proto-athinaiko-queer-liberation-march/> (accessed 2020-07-30). For an extensive analysis of this aspect of the protests, see Anna T. "Drag resistance: Necropolitics, queer survival and a Balkan counterpublics." *Queer Studies in Media & Popular Culture*. Vol. 6. No. 2. 2021. pp. 159-74. <https://doi.org/10.1386/qsmpe.00051.1>.
13. Ieropoulos, Fil. "Το πολιτικό drag της Zackie Oh!" (The political drag of Zackie Oh!).

- φεμινιστικά/feministiqá *Journal*. No. 2. summer 2019. Available at <https://feministiqá.net/political-drag-zackie-oh/> (accessed 2020-05-12). Translation by the author.
14. Poetry, for example, as elaborated in Remoundou, Natasha. "Wronged bodies: gendering human rights abuses in contemporary Greek poetry." *Law and Humanities*. 2022. DOI: [10.1080/17521483.2022.2075177](https://doi.org/10.1080/17521483.2022.2075177).
 15. Documentation available at their website <https://www.f-y-t-a.com/orfeas-2020.html> (accessed 2022-05-11). See also FYTA interviewed by Dana Papachristou. *und.athens*. October 25, 2021. Available at <http://und-athens.com/journal/interview-fyta> (accessed 2022-05-11).
 16. See <https://katerinamarkoylaki.wixsite.com/portfolio/biography> (accessed 2022-05-11).
 17. Kumanomido, Kentaro and Owen, Thomas Anthony. *Faster than Light*. 2018-ongoing. Performance film and installation, excerpts available at <https://www.kentarokumanomido.com/faster-than-light-3> and <https://www.onassis.org/el/whats-on/faster-light> (accessed 2022-05-11).
 18. See <http://www.novamelancholia.gr/el/productions/49-marcel-duchamp> (accessed 2022-05-11).
 19. See <https://www.kw-berlin.de/en/anna-daucikova/> (accessed 2022-05-11); Watlington, Emily. "Anna Daučíková explores the body through glass." *Art In America*. October 30, 2019. Available at <https://www.artnews.com/art-in-america/aia-reviews/review-anna-daucikova-kw-institute-gender-queerness-glass-62752/> (accessed 2021-08-06); Hauffen, Michael. "Anna Daučíková." *Springerin*. Issue 4. Fall 2019. pp.56-57.
 20. Forensic Architecture. "The Killing of Zak Kostopoulos." 2019. Available at <https://forensic-architecture.org/investigation/the-killing-of-zak-kostopoulos> (accessed 2021-10-12).
 21. Weizman, Eyal. *Violence at the Threshold of Detectability*. New York: Zone. 2017. p. 64. Quoted in Strecker, *For Even More Images?*, p. 139. See also Weizman, Eyal. "Forensic Architecture: The Long Duration of a Split Second." Lecture delivered at MAC Montreal, November 17, 2019. Available at <https://macm.org/en/activities/lecture-by-eyal-weizman/> (2021-10-12).
 22. See <https://forensic-architecture.org/investigation/the-murder-of-pavlos-fyssas> (accessed 2021-10-12).
 23. See Levidis, Stefanos. "The evidence which was handed over to the investigating magistrate was not used to its full potential. Quoted in <https://www.amnesty.gr/news/press/article/22897/deltio-typoy-synenteyxi-typoy-dikaiosyni-gia-ton-zakzackie> (accessed 2022-05-16); Varvia, Christina interviewed by Konstantinos Poulis and Thanos Kamialis, "Forensic Architecture στο TPP: Αναγκαστήκαμε να κάνουμε τη δουλειά των αρχών στην υπόθεση του Ζακ" (Forensic Architecture to TPP: We were forced to do the authorities' work in the case of Zak). January 19, 2022. Available at <https://thepressproject.gr/forensic-architecture-sto-tpp-anagkastikame-na-kanoume-ti-douleia-ton-archon-stin-ypothesi-tou-zak/> (accessed 2022-05-05).
 24. Dimitrakopoulou, Gevi. *This Right; Zak, Life and After*. 2020. Digital HD video. 9 min. 4 sec. color. sound in Greek. Available at <https://vimeo.com/476953966> (accessed 2022-05-05). The work was commissioned by Visual AIDS for TRANSMISSIONS / Day With(out) Art 2020. See <https://dwa2020.visualaids.org/> (accessed 2022-05-05).
 25. And also pays tribute to the Athenian drag goddess Chraja Kareola, who first incorporated this slogan in her 2019 music piece Κλωτσιές με 12ποντα(Kicks with 12-inch heels). See <https://chraja.bandcamp.com/track/12>, a popular ballroom piece ever since <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tCA-jaWV74w> (accessed 2022-05-17).
 26. Chotzoglou, Vera. *Rausch*. 2017-18. Installation with photography, text, and video. 2018. 35 min. 27 sec. See <https://www.verachotzoglou.com/rausch>, and excerpt: <https://vimeo.com/484889653> (accessed 2022-05-17). The installation formed Chotzoglou's diploma thesis at the Athens School of Fine Arts, while parts of the installation and/or the film have been shown on different occasions subsequently, including most recently at her solo show "Bona-fide #1", curated by Christina Petkopoulou at State of Concept

- Athens. See Chotzoglou, Vera. *Bona-fide #1*. Athens: State of Concept Athens. 2021.
27. Chotzoglou, Vera. Artist statement. Available at <https://www.verachotzoglou.com/rausch> (accessed 2022-05-17).
 28. The title is inspired by CAC Conrad's poem "Glitter in my wounds" (2018). See <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poetrymagazine/poems/148106/glitter-in-my-wounds> (accessed 2022-05-17).
 29. Samson, Amy. *Karl Binding and Alfred Hoche Publish "Die Freigabe der Vernichtung lebensunwerten Lebens."* September 13, 2013. Available at <https://eugenicsarchive.ca/discover/tree/52336abe5c2ec50000000048> (2022-05-17); Proctor, Robert N. *Racial Hygiene: Medicine Under the Nazis*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 1988.
 30. Plant, Richard. *The Pink Triangle: The Nazi War Against Homosexuals*. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1986; Heger, Heinz. *The Men with The Pink Triangle: The True, Life-And-Death Story of Homosexuals in The Nazi Death Camps*. Translated by David Fernbach. Los Angeles/New York: Alyson Books. 1980.
 31. Butler, Judith. "After Loss, What Then?" In *Loss: The Politics of Mourning*. Edited by David L. Eng and David Kazanjian. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2003. p. 467.
 32. Ibid.
 33. Butler, Judith. *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex*. New York: Routledge. 1995.
 34. Levidis, Stefanos quoted in Strecker, *For Even More Image?*, 146.
 35. See Paul, Barbara and Schaffer, Johanna. "Introduction." In "Mehr(wert) Queer: Visuelle Kultur, Kunst und Gender-Politiken | Queer Added (Value): Visual Culture, Art, and Gender Politics." *Studien zur visuellen Kultur*. Vol. 11. 2009. Edited by Barbara Paul and Johanna Schaffer. pp. 20–23.
 36. Weizman, Eyal quoted in Strecker, *For Even More Image?*, pp. 140–41.
 37. Dolores, Maria. "AMOQA, Athens Museum of Queer Arts: Inventing Survival Tools and Designing Dissident Itineraries." *Museum International*. Vol. 72. Nos. 3–4. 2020. pp. 166–77. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13500775.2020.1873510>.
 38. Kokalou, Zoe, member of the initiative Justice for Zak/ZackieOh, quoted in "Mourning as material for struggle", talk during the roundtable "Μνήμη, Συν-αίσθημα και Αγωνιστικότητα" (Memory, Emotion and Militancy) in the frame of Queer Politics/Public Memory gathering, September 26, 2019, Association of Greek Archaeologists, Athens. Video recording published by the Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung Athens Office, 11 min. 18 sec.. Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p0nW43NMnBM> (accessed 2024-03-19).
 39. Ahmed, Sara. *The Promise of Happiness*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. 2010. p. 210. Quoted in Athanasiou, Athena and Papanikolaou, Dimitris. "Εισαγωγή" (Introduction). In *Κούρη Πολιτική / Δημόσια Μνήμη* (Queer Politics / Public Memory). Edited by Athena Athanasiou, Grigoris Gougousis, and Dimitris Papanikolaou Athens: Rosa Luxemburg Foundation. 2020. p. 13.