

Write it yourself?

Feminist perzines as participatory playgrounds

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Abstract

Zines are self-published booklets, magazines, or comics which can cover any subject. A large proportion of the zines produced today are feminist personal zines, or 'perzines', which discuss issues such as sexual violence, mental health, menstruation, and lesbophobia. Despite blogs and other digital media being popular among feminist zine makers, they choose to publish life writing on paper. Through analysing zines and interviewing contemporary feminist zine makers from different countries and age groups, I argue that the accessibility, creative freedom, and community of feminist perzines build a 'participatory playground' in which amateur writers can share life writing on feminist issues and which therefore creates a safe space for transforming personal experiences into political awareness.

Keywords

blogs, community, feminism, life writing, perzines, self-publishing, zines

Introduction

I'd rather write about self-harm in a zine that's read by three young women who really need to hear about someone else struggling with it, than in a newspaper read by tens of thousands of people where I'd have to tone down the language and the raw experience.

(Ana Hine, personal communication¹)

I meet someone who is in recovery but struggling. We talk about how hard recovery is, how finding a supportive therapist is so important. We talk about self-care. She wants to buy my zines. I give issue 1 and issue 2 to her. Take these and consider recovery. If you ever feel like you need to talk please reach out to me.

(Grey, 2015, p. 31-36)

As defined by Zachary Leader, life writing is "a generic term used to describe a range of writings used to describe lives or parts of lives, or which provide materials out of which lives or parts of lives can be composed" (2015, p. 1). He lists more obvious genres of life writings such as autobiographies, biographies, memoirs, and diaries but also refers to wills, letters, blogs, and Facebook entries. Zines and especially the subgenre 'perzines' (short for personal zines) fit somewhere in between diaries, letters, and blogs but also draw upon other life writing conventions such as autobiography, auto-ethnography, and personal photography (Chidgey, 2013). Like diaries, perzines are intimate and personal, and like letters, perzines are an interactive medium in which readers can become writers. Whereas diaries and letters exist only in the private sphere, blogs are public, unless their readership is restricted such as the personal mommy blogs researched by Aimée Morrison, which by a variety of measures ensure a limited and specific audience of like-minded readers and writers (2011). Zines, because of the specificities of the medium itself, have limited and specific readership which I will clarify later.

Zines are not new. These self-published, low-budget and non-profit magazines and booklets have been made since the 1930s, when they featured mostly science fiction fan stories and commentary, and originated from diverse sources, including poetry chapbooks, anarchist pamphlets, feminist newspapers, women's scrapbooks, and dada art. They evolved to include punk fanzines from the 1970s on, and since the 1990s more and more women got involved thanks to the influence of the "riot grrrl"ⁱⁱ subculture (Duncombe, 2001; Spencer, 2008; Piepmeier, 2009; Zobl, 2009). Over the past five years, despite the popularity of digital

media such as blogs, there has been a renewed interest in zines, especially in feminist and queer communities.

Based on the interview data presented, I argue that feminist perzines are a form of life writing which embrace the 'personal as political' by covering taboo topics such as experiences with self-harm, menstruation, and eating disorders. Such issues affect women's lives and are therefore both personal and political. The slogan 'the personal as political' originated from the so-called second wave of feminism and stands for the politicisation of the everyday life of ordinary women. The idea of this slogan was to critically analyse the political dimensions of the private sphere and reveal concealed power relations (Echols, 2003; Lee, 2007). In the second wave, the political aspects of personal matters such as relationships, housework, domestic and sexual violence, body image, and reproductive health were highlighted. It is precisely through such a personal-political feminist lens that an array of issues can be found in today's feminist perzines, which continues to facilitate consciousness-raising and community-building among its writers and readers.

Based on the texts in feminist perzines and the motivations of feminist zine makers (often called "zinesters"), I have researched the relevance and the role of contemporary feminist perzines in feminist movements in the digital age by analysing feminist perzines and interviewing international zinesters. I will outline the key characteristics of the feminist perzine genre, compare perzines to blogs, and elaborate on the reasons why perzines remain valuable for current feminist movements even in a time when online media have become widely available for sharing personal-political life stories.

Literature review

To date there has been surprisingly little research on feminist perzines, or indeed zines in general, but a few authors have produced important insights. Red Chidgey has worked on zines connected to feminist memory and life writing, showing that zines are a unique kind of life writing because of their restricted modes of distribution which create a form of community publishing (Chidgey, 2006). Inge Stockburger compares the zine with the memoir, analysing its formal, structural and narrative differences which show the freedom of zines to break with conventional autobiographical norms (Stockburger, 2008). Kristin Schilt researches the benefits of perzines for teenage girls who find a safe space and a voice in the zine community to publish their raw personal stories (Schilt, 2003). Other relevant work includes Elke Zobl's research on what she calls 'grrrl zines' within feminist grassroots media in Europe (Zobl, 2012), Michelle Kempson's analysis of zine subcultures and belonging (Kempson, 2015), Anna Poletti's research on "autographics" in perzines (Poletti, 2008), and Sheila Liming's work on the role of zines within print history, which goes beyond a subcultural interpretation (Liming, 2010). Despite these authors' research on perzines, to date there is no clear definition of the feminist perzine genre, and the question of why feminist perzines are (still) made in the so-called digital age, when blogs and social media offer platforms for publishing feminist life writing, remains unanswered. This article will fill that gap in the literature.

Methodology

For this article I made use of a mixed methodology of close reading of primary sources, namely feminist perzines, and a short survey followed by interviews with zine makers.

Due to the ephemeral nature and subcultural genre of zines, it is impossible to ensure their representativeness. The feminist perzines considered in this paper – roughly estimated a few hundred publications – largely come from my private zine collection, built up over years and collected at various feminist and alternative events and shops as well as from online distribution channels and bought and traded directly with zine makers. I also consulted zines from a number of zine libraries in Belgium, Germany, and the UK,ⁱⁱⁱ together with numerous online zine archives and databases.^{iv}

To investigate what drives zine makers to publish their life stories in zines, I conducted a short survey. Participants were found thanks to an open call on my blog^v and on the zine-related Facebook groups Zines A Go Go and Feminist Zines Europe, the latter a group which I set up in 2014 and which now has nearly 500 members. The open call resulted in replies from eleven zine makers. I also contacted zine makers that I know personally (through reading their zines and/or meeting them), of whom three responded. Following the call, the fourteen respondents received a survey with thirteen questions about their zines and about how and

why they use zines to share life writing. These initial answers led to new questions, so I continued the interview via email with the interviewees. I chose to do the interviews via email both for geographical reasons and because, as explained further in the interviews, many zine makers are more comfortable with writing than discussing personal issues in person.

Although I don't claim that the participants in my survey are a representative sample of today's feminist zinesters, the results demonstrate the diversity that exists within the zine community. I asked the interviewees to self-identify their gender instead of crossing m/f/x boxes and their diverse self-descriptions include butch, cisfemale, ftx, genderqueer, and transwoman. The ages of the participants range from 23 to 49 years old, with six zinesters in their 20s, five in their 30s, and three in their 40s. The zinesters live in Belgium, France, Germany, Israel, Norway, the UK, and the USA (three of those originally being from Greece, Ireland, and Portugal). Their level of experience in zine-making differs from a few years and a few zine titles to two decades and dozens of zines produced. A list of research participants can be found in the appendix.

I'm an active participant in zine culture myself, as a zine maker and an organiser of workshops on making zines. My involvement in the (feminist) zine community has sparked my interest in researching the medium and the motivations of other (feminist) zine makers to produce zines. As an insider in zine culture I was able to use my previous contacts within the zine community for this research, I made new connections which otherwise might have been harder to establish, and one zine maker even stated she gave me permission to use excerpts from her zines because she trusted me.

Feminist perzines today

It's a popular conception that print media are dead, and the same conclusion has also been made about zines, even by (ex-)zinesters themselves (Yorke, 2012; Marr, 1999). However, in recent years there seems to have been a zine revival. Not only are people from diverse communities and backgrounds making, reading, and distributing zines, an increasing number of zine events are being organised, ranging from residencies and workshops to fairs and tours.^{vi} The popular press, from *The Guardian* to *DeMorgen*, have reported on the zine revival as well as on zine events.^{vii} Even though digital media have been claimed as a threat to paper zines, they actually help promote and distribute zines, for example through Facebook pages and online shops. In addition, zine libraries and archives are popping up in universities, public libraries, art spaces, squats, LGBT centres, and online (Eichhorn, 2013). The inclusion of zines in libraries and the publication of books on zines and zine anthologies have made zines available to new audiences. Also, academic research on zines has been growing since the late 2000s, focusing mostly on the history of zines, zines in connection to feminist media, zines as an educational tool, and the autobiographical aspect of zines.

There exists a great variety in zines, from artzines to pamphlet-style zines, and in this paper I focus on perzines, particularly feminist perzines. Perzines consist (almost) entirely of life stories, diary excerpts and/or autobiographical elements.^{viii} It is important to note that while perzines are focused on life writing, zines in general are a very personal format, which reveal the author's interests, ideas, or experiences (Duncombe, 2001). Feminist perzines offer a platform for expressing and sharing intimate thoughts, experiences, and life stories related to feminist issues. An excerpt from the perzine *Athema* by SWZines reveals a personal, yet political and feminist life story as she confesses struggling with exhaustion and stress:

The housework hardly gets begun these days. Apart from essentials like washing dishes and washing clothes, I can't muster energy to do anything more. [...] My mind feels overcrowded, frantic with thoughts I do not get time to fully process in a demanding and frantically paced job. I feel the rushing and loss of time so keenly. I want a pause button so much!

(SWZines, 2016, p. 29, reprinted with permission)

SWZines' experience of lack of energy and not being able to get the housework done "apart from essentials", deals with gender roles which women are supposed to fulfil effortlessly. Combining paid work and housework and (mental) health are important feminist themes covered in literature for several decades. The fourteen respondents in my survey declared they write about their experiences with illness, eating disorders, body image, (same sex) relationships, asexuality, mixed race identity, sexism, ageing, lesbophobia, transphobia, sexual assault, and more, issues which are common in the zines I consulted too. Several respondents also explicitly consider their writing as feminist and the publishing of zines as political, as

zinester Nyxia Grey claims: "I firmly believe that the moment we cease to be silent is a radical act in and of itself. Writing my perzine is like a 'call to arms' for other folks to step forward and share their unique stories and lived experiences." Her idealistic interpretation of writing and sharing zines considers them as a first step towards social change because it encourages others to do the same and raises awareness of personal issues as political. In my research too, I will clarify the importance of the medium of perzines for feminism.

The characteristics of feminist perzines

In my interviews I found three main reasons why feminist zinesters choose perzines to share life writing: a) their accessibility, b) the creative freedom of zines, and c) the zine community. I will show that these reasons are seen as the characteristics of the 'participatory playground' which feminist perzines constitute.

1) Accessibility

The concept of "DIY" (do it yourself), which plays an important role in punk subcultures and other social and utopian movements (Poldervaart, 2001), is at the core of zine-making (Zobl, 2009). DIY is the idea that anyone can actively participate and make any form of culture such as music, films, and zines. Duncombe emphasises the amateur aspect of zines, referring *amator* the Latin word for 'lover' and to their nonprofessionalism, as he explains that zines are made out of love (for expression, sharing, and communication), not money (Duncombe, 2001). Most perzines are made by one single zinester, who does everything themselves – from writing and designing to printing and selling – although some zines will call for contributions, are collectively made by a small editorial team, or are distributed by others.

DIY culture means that zinesters can become inspired by reading zines to make their own. It's interesting to look at how the interest of the zinesters I interviewed was awakened. They mention discovering zines at feminist events, at anarchist punk concerts, in the poetry/spoken word scene, in student societies, via friends, or by reading about them, and quickly became enthusiastic about making their own: "[I] immediately wanted to make some of my own", says comic artist and mini-zine maker, Mawy, while illustrator and zinester, fokzaret, remembers: "[a friend] explained what it was and that we could make one too!"

The barrier to participate and make a zine is low. "[A]nyone can make a zine since it is cheap, accessible, does not require any talent in the written word and does not require a degree in fine arts," states Hadass Ben-Ari. To make zines, you don't need to have a degree in journalism or art, be a professional writer or graphic designer, or have exceptional skills. Very few materials are needed to produce and publish a zine, such as a pen, paper, glue and scissors, or (open source) desktop publishing programs, and zines are usually copied at local copy centres. The fact that zines are usually cheap to produce makes them appealing to amateur writers: "The biggest advantages for me are the TINY cost required to get something done and out there" (Rustin H. Wright). However, the cost of printing zines, depending on the print-run, might not be affordable to everyone. Some zinesters try to be creative in reducing costs by making copies at work and reusing stamps, but compared to starting a blog, which doesn't cost anything, it makes zines less accessible. Most zines are sold at cost or donation (usually one or two euros/dollars per zine), traded, or handed out for free, making them affordable to buy. Still, a new tendency of relatively expensive and more professionally printed artzines and magazine-style zines are becoming dominant genres within the zine scene. The rising prices of such zines make them less accessible for readers, and the professionalism makes readers less likely to think "I can do this too" and therefore less likely to participate in zine culture.

What makes zines unique is that within the communities which zinesters build, everyone is actively encouraged to participate and create. Readers can become writers and vice versa, so the line between readers and writers becomes blurry. This multi-directional interaction prioritises accessibility over hierarchies and idolisation and is an inherent strength of zines. As Chidgey claims, zines are "offering a series of voices and experiences often lacking in the public and historical record" (2006, p. 1). Within the feminist perzine genre the emphasis is even more on stories from marginalised and excluded groups who are not at the centre of the publishing world but whose writings are embraced within the feminist perzine community. Zines differ from blogs too because blog readers are not actively encouraged to start their own blogs, even though they are invited to interact, comment and discuss.

2) Creative freedom

Another reason why zinesters choose the zine as an outlet for their personal stories is the creative freedom and autonomy of what and how to write, illustrate, and design their publication. My interviewees claim they make decisions about the entire zine-making process: "Full control over the content, production and distribution, it's I guess what I feel most appealing. Since everything else I produce is under limitations and requirements from clients," explains zinester and graphic designer Vera Gomes. Hadass Ben-Ari summarises zine-making as: "pure freedom. A zine is something you can truly make your own. The way you use to make it, write it, lay it out, the art you use – all are a reflection of who you are as a person." Zinesters face no direct interference or censorship from others, who would control the content or quality. "No one decides if my stuff is good enough to be printed," says fokzaret. Ana Hine prefers zines because she doesn't have to "tone down the language and the raw experience" when writing about self-harm. Because zinesters do not have to justify their publications to publishing houses or editors, they can judge the quality of their writing themselves, even ignore spelling mistakes and printer margins, and it gives them the opportunity to write more freely about personal issues.

All of the zinesters I interviewed are active users of online media such as blogs, Facebook, or the social media platform *We Make Zines*. Yet, many of them say that online means of communication can't replace zines. SWZines who makes *Athemaaura* finds that making zines is "such a fun and creative exercise [...]. It's playful and messy and therapeutic to cut and paste and arrange" and ladypajama mentions the shortcomings of blogs for her: "I like blogging, but in blogging you can't do the whole thing in your hand writing. You can't make collages or do crazy art. I mean you can put these in your blog as your image, but it isn't all mixed together." As SWZines and ladypajama suggest, the absolute control over and the experimenting with lay-out makes perzines a unique form of self-expression for feminists. Unlike blogs, zines offer graphical freedom which extends to the physical and tactile, even with the possibility of adding ribbons, stickers, or glitter to the final product.

Creative freedom also means that the author has the choice *not* to publish, even after a zine has been prepared to be copied. For example, a zinester friend had participated in a 24 hour zine challenge and chose not to publish the second issue of her zine which she had just worked on for nearly 24 hours. Even though the other participants and organisers were eager to read her zine, the decision *not* to publish her writings – because she felt they were too personal – rested only with her, the zinester herself. Reasons why zines or certain zine content might not be put into print can range from privacy reasons to fear of negative feedback and low self-confidence about the writing.

Even though zines offer a lot of editorial control, they are not free from social and subcultural norms. As Chidgey states: "There is certainly an intended audience in mind when the zine is written: other zine writers and readers. Zine editors can therefore be said to partake in a form of *community publishing* – not only writing the stories and histories of their lived communities, but being shaped by the expectations and boundaries of a virtual, non-geographical zine community" (Chidgey, 2006, p. 10). Not only does self-censorship determine what is and isn't published, but trends and norms existing within the feminist zine community also have an influence on the content in feminist perzines. No (semi)public medium is completely untouched by self-censorship and outside expectations, even if those might impact zines to a lesser degree than blogs which are more widely available and subject to trolls. Yet, zinesters try to fight those subcultural norms, such as Rizzo Boring who writes about depression "which is very taboo to speak in France" and psychiatric medication "which is a big taboo in the anarchist movement (anti psy)." Thus even though the creative freedom in zines is not absolute, it does have a great impact on the openness in which taboo subjects can be discussed.

3) The zine community

Belonging to the zine community is the third main reason which drives zinesters to self-publish their life writing in zines. The zine community consists of zine writers, readers, and organisers who read each other's zines, communicate among each other, and generally support each other's efforts, starting from the idea that anyone can make a zine and everyone's story is worth publishing. Mawy likes "the idea of inspiring others to make their own [zine] like I was once inspired," embracing the mutual encouragement she finds in the zine community. This encouragement extends to those who feel less comfortable speaking in public and prefer

paper-based communication, such as Dina Dorothea: "I have always liked drawing and writing – I was never much of a talker. So it's much easier for me to express myself in zines than in face-to-face social interaction." This testimony demonstrates how zines and zine communities can offer introverted people an opportunity to transform their personal experiences into something more public and political.

Even though all zine communities – especially the feminist perzine community – offer support and encouragement and most of the zinesters I interviewed were enthusiastic about their experiences as zine makers, there are limitations to the playground of the feminist perzine community, as it has its own norms and rules, which can lead to exclusion and alienation, as Rustin shares:

[Z]ine fests and the like are far and away a world of feminine-presenting young women, mostly from the suburbs and riffing on conventional culture that I don't know at all. In short people who not only see me as strange and therefore tend to kinda marginalize me, it's even to some extent, a place that they gather in the assumption that it's a place where they'll never have to so much as SEE somebody who looks like me. So I get ignored a lot. Marginalized a lot. Talked over and past a lot. And that hurts. Enough that it's made me give up on many smaller events where this kind of thing will just be too obvious.

As this testimony shows, support may not be available for everyone and certain subcultural norms – which can vary in different zine communities – are in existence. This creates an insider/outsider dichotomy (Kempson, 2015), which is something the feminist perzine community has to deal with if it wants to be a truly inclusive, non-hierarchical, and participatory playground.

Feminist zinesters expect the participatory playground of perzines to provide "a safe space to talk about their lives to the audience of their choice", according to Schilt. She claims that zines "offer girls a way to practice their voices and opinions and work as a sounding board for speaking about experiences and emotions" (2003, p. 92). This idea resonates with the responses I received from my survey. For example, Nyxia Grey refers to a "space where feminists (all genders) can feel safe and inspired to discuss and explore the world around them, to produce work that reflects all forms of protest against the patriarchy." Even though zines are often distributed widely across geographical borders, they are small-scale publications which circulate mostly within limited, targeted, and specific audiences (who often share the same interests, ideas, or experiences) by trading or selling them in person at zine events, sending through the postal system, or having small non-profit projects called distros take care of distribution. This gives zinesters a feeling of control over who gets to read their personal writing. Olivia M. likes the global outreach but controlled audience of zines: "[I like zines because I] get to trade with people around the world. I do like the idea of getting my words out there. What's more important is that immediate family members can't easily get ahold of copies of my zines, as opposed to if they were traditionally published." However, since zines can be distributed by other people than the authors or can end up in zine libraries, a complete control of its readership is an illusion. But for the zine writers I interviewed the feeling of control is enough to publish their life stories in zines.

For Olivia M. zines aren't "as public as blogs and websites". Even though anonymity is possible on blogs, online texts can quickly be shared and circulated towards unfriendly readers who might write hateful comments, unless precautions are taken to severely limit the audience such as making the blog unsearchable (Morrison, 2011). Zines, however, are already operating within the communities they intend to reach and even though some zinesters write under a 'zine name', they encourage readers to contact them via email or send letters to their PO Box and are approachable at zine events. SWZines points out that zine audiences "can be controlled in a way that websites or blogs cannot, as zines tend to be read by people sympathetic to what you're writing about (else they wouldn't pick up your zine or buy it)." Online, she feels "more exposed" because she "doesn't know who is reading, the reaction can be silent or it can provoke criticism from strangers. Zines feel more like a friendly circle of zine writers and readers who understand you." A recent investigation by *The Guardian* newspaper into online harassment in their comments sections justifies why feminist zinesters like SWZines might prefer to publish in the safe space of the zine community.^{ix} Because publishing about personal-political issues can be challenging, the feeling of safety which the feminist zine community offers can help overcome fears of who will read it and how they will react. This is something which the zinesters I interviewed find lacking online.

The encouraging and sympathetic feminist perzine community is important for zinesters to feel safe to share their life stories but they find it even more valuable to share their writing with readers with similar life experiences. Hadass Ben-Ari likes to trade her zines with “people who may share the same experiences I talk about” and fokzaret finds feminist perzines “important as a way of communicating my experiences with people that might have similar ones”. She continues to say that “other peoples' personal stories helped me a lot to realize/accept things about myself”. Such revelations can transform personal stories into larger, political issues. As such, shared experiences in feminist perzines and the support and safety of its participatory playground offer a setting for feminist consciousness-raising and community-building.

Conclusion

We live in an age where digital media offer free and easy platforms to publish life stories, yet feminist writers still (re)turn to printed paper zines. In this article, I focussed on feminist perzines, analysing zine texts and investigating the motivations of feminist zinesters to publish life writing in zines. My research shows that the accessibility of the zine medium, the (perceived) creative freedom and editorial control, and the sense of belonging to a supportive zine community are vital for them. Those three aspects are the key characteristics of feminist perzines as a participatory playground.

Despite zines' limited outreach, they do play a role in today's feminist movements, who are starting to embrace them by offering zine tables and zine workshops at feminist events. Besides the feminist themes being discussed in feminist perzines, their key characteristics make them interesting for feminism: the accessibility encourages marginalised amateur writers who would otherwise not share their life stories to self-publish, the creative freedom encourages zinesters to choose what to publish, in their own words, without direct outside editorial control, and finally, the feminist perzine community offers safe supportive networks and encourages participation which can't be found in the same way in the blogosphere. The safe space which the participatory playground creates, enables zinesters to transform their personal experiences with for example housework, self-harm, and body image into political issues and therefore assists in consciousness-raising and community-building. This makes feminist perzines interesting as a model for future feminist projects.

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Appendix

Zinesters

Requested name, age, country of residence and origin, and zines they've produced (separated by semicolons):

Ana Hine (25, UK)
Artificial Womb

Dina Dorothea (26, Germany)
so what; in my own eyes; b/w; expulsion from paradise

fokzaret (24, lives in Germany, from Greece)
pischazon; and others

Hadass Ben-Ari (33, Israel)
Fallopian Falafel; Purple Myrtle Squeegy – A PMS Perzine

Jenna Freedman (49, USA)
Lower East Side Librarian; and others

Jessica Maybury (30, lives in Belgium, from Ireland)

ESC zine; Connection Edit

ladypajama (35, USA)
Blah Blah Blah

Mawy (29, France)
des vies en rose, zine rose déviant; banana kyste; various mini-zines

Nyxia Grey (40, USA)
Everything.is.Fine; Did That Hurt? SelfAdvocacy; for a Safe and Awesome Tattoo Experience; Rad Rag: Your Flow is Fly!; NYC Feminist Zine Fest Here I Come

Olivia M. (23, USA)
(meta)paradox; Anecdota; Psychometry; and others

Rizzo Boring (32, France)
Boring

Rustin H. Wright (49, USA)
Axes Make Bad Cheeseknives; The Bialy Speaks; Couchpotato Cookery; DIY In Stumptown; Listen Up! A Guide to NYC; And From Their Hearts Grow Gardens; Crown, Leg, Tooth; Sandwiches; Public Streets-Corporate Power

SWZines (35, UK)
Athemaura; The All Thrills No Frills Music Bill; and others

Vera Gomes (27, lives in Norway, from Portugal)
Terra Incognita, The Mornings After

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All citations taken from surveys and interviews I conducted for this research will be cited with the requested name of the zinesters. Not all zinesters gave their real full name and I wish to respect their anonymity. All citations from interviews refer to personal communications between February 4th 2016 and April 17th 2016. To help readability minor spelling mistakes have been corrected. A list of the interviewed zine makers can be found in the appendix.

ⁱⁱ Riot grrrl started within punk subcultures in the USA and quickly spread to other countries as a reaction against the homophobia and sexism in those communities as well as a critique on sexism in the society at large. Participants in riot grrrl produced their own politically-oriented music, art, films, spoken word, and zines as a form of cultural protest.

ⁱⁱⁱ

The zine collection of the Archiv der Jugendkulturen in Berlin, the zine collection of the Feminist Library in London, the Salford Zine Library in Manchester, the Manchester LGBT Zine Library, and the zine collection of the FEL bib in Ghent. These collections have a great diversity of feminist and queer (per)zines.

^{iv}

For example the Queer Zine Archive Project: <http://www.qzap.org/v8/index.php>, He! Ho! Zines!: <https://hehozines.wordpress.com/>, and Grassroots Feminism: <http://grassrootsfeminism.net>.

^v

<http://echopublishing.wordpress.com>

^{vi}

One website which lists zine events: <http://www.stolensharprierevolution.org/events/>

^{vii}

See for example: (2013, April 19) Zines, De Betere 'Boekskes', *De Morgen*. Available at:

<http://www.demorgen.be/plus/zines-de-betere-boekskes-b-1412189824179/> ; Thompson, K. (2016, January 10)

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^{viii}

I write "(almost) entirely" because zines often combine different genres and themes and can sometimes be difficult to classify. When the majority of the zine's content consists of personal stories, however, we may call it a perzine.

^{ix}

Gardiner, B., et al. (2016, April 12). The Dark Side of Guardian Comments. *The Guardian*. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2016/apr/12/the-dark-side-of-guardian-comments/>