GENDER, WORK & ORGANIZATION

Zine infrastructures as forms of organizing within feminist social movements

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Abstract

This paper explores how feminist social movements are organized and re-generated across and through different media, both online and offline, using the example of zines. We critically examine the emergence and growth of an intersectional feminist zine community through a six-year, in-depth qualitative netnographic and ethnographic study. Theoretically, we build on work concerning feminist digital information and archival infrastructures, bringing it together with work on feminist digital activism. We make three key contributions: first to theorise zines and their communities as infrastructures, which cut across the social, digital and material. Second in understanding the political potential of engagements in zine infrastructures in which the individual and collective are entangled, and third in revealing how the current generation of young feminists move across, and work at the interfaces of formats to benefit from their synergistic, but also their agonistic, relations to form new affective solidarities.

Keywords

Feminist organizing, infrastructure, techno-feminism, netnography, fourth-wave feminism, zines

Introduction

> *'The transmission of traditions arranges the world; it arranges the possibility of the world. It is enormously powerful, yet often unthought or overlooked, because it composes it without our knowledge. Yet we are responsible for what is already-there, what gets transmitted, what becomes tradition'.* (Withers, 2015, p.182)

In this paper, we draw on the work of Deborah Withers (2015) who entreats us to return to an understanding of the generational means through which feminist ideas and culture are transmitted. In doing so we explore how feminist social movements are generated through within what we theorise as 'zine infrastructures' involving socio-material and technical assemblages. Such a perspective offers an opportunity to learn how intersectional 'zinesters', i.e., zine creators, have disrupted the publishing and cultural industries and in doing so have contributed to re-generating the so-called 'fourth wave' of feminism. We broaden an understanding of how feminist social movements are intersectionally organized and generated, both in terms of the interconnected nature of the social and the variegated use of zine infrastructures.

Zines, short for 'fanzine', are self-published, DIY print publications with a limited distribution (Schilt, 2003). They initially rose to prominence in the 1970s civil rights movement and the punk scene; they were also integral to the 1990s feminist punk riot grrrl movement (Zobl, 2009). More recently, the potential of digital publishing has wrought renewed interest in the format. In 2015, Ione Gamble, the editor in chief of *Polyester* zine, made a rallying call for a "zine renaissance", arguing that "for a generation ruled by either a coalition or Tory[1] government from teenage-hood, zines and the rise of self-publishing offer us a democratic output to express feelings, aesthetics and inequalities" (Editor's Letter, *Polyester* zine, issue two, Feb 2015). This paper presents an analysis of this zine renaissance, and its intersection with the worldmaking of an emerging generation of digitally literate feminists. The first author initially engaged with the UK zine community as both a scholar and an activist in September 2015 and remains embedded in the community today. During this period the activities of the community increasingly took place online, e.g., on social media and websites, while continuing to manifest offline, e.g., in events and print

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[1]'Tory' is a colloquial term referring to the UK Conservative political party

publications. In addition, the community, and in particular the founders of the two zines studied (*Polyester* and *gal-dem*), found a voice in mainstream media.

Previously, zines have been explored as 'resistive texts' (Ferris, 2001), that challenge mainstream media (Duncombe, 2008). and provide an underground terrain, a 'safe space' (Keenan and Darms, 2013), where alternative narratives articulate a 'counter public sphere' (Bold, 2017).   However, to date, few studies explore the potential of DIY publishing explicitly as a tool for organizing, although a nascent body of work on the aesthetics of girlhood and enterprising femininity on social media platforms (Alexandersson and Kayonaityte, 2021), and publishing work within girls' magazines has some relevance (Hunter and Kivinen, 2016; Kivinen and Hunter, 2018). The latter two studies take a similar approach in understanding magazine brands as assemblages *"simultaneously shaping and being shaped by those that partake in its production"* (Kivinen and Hunter, 2018, p. 910). Their work explores the gendered creative labour of producing girls' magazines. Relatedly, Hunter and Kivinen (2016) describe how employees in women's magazines are disciplined in the process of producing a magazine. However, within our paper, we are less concerned with the everyday experience of those who 'work' on zines, but rather how their engagement in a zine infrastructure contributes to the building of a feminist social movement. Further, using Wither's (2015) work enables us to re-frame the way we see zines, not only as repositories for content, but as a format and interconnected media that re-shapes the making of feminist worlds.

Given their history as important vehicles for feminist activism and organizing, it is surprising that zines have received such scant attention within feminist studies of organization. In this paper we view zines as a specific form of worldmaking, that has potential to both sustain feminist generations but in so doing disrupt mainstream publishing formats. Our research aims to explore how feminist social movements are organized and re-generated across and through different media, both online and offline, using the example of zines. This offers three key contributions, first, drawing inspiration from Withers' (2015) 'means of transmission', we theorise zines as a generationally specific networked infrastructure of bodies, ideas and aesthetics. Second, we examine how zinesters, through their engagements in this infrastructure, find and orient themselves, but also build and develop the infrastructure for future generations to find and orient themselves. Third, we explore how the current generation of feminist zinesters work within but also strategically across, betwixt and between, at the interfaces and intersections of media in their organizing.

We argue that it is these intersections and entanglements that provide the potential for the movement to thrive. By exploring the growth of zines and their intersections with mainstream media we can examine how and why they might disrupt this media and therefore provide the means for creating social movements with political potential.

The paper is organised as follows: first we examine the potential of zines as a form of DIY publishing, then we elaborate our conception of zines as infrastructures. Following this, we present a discussion of the zine community, specifically the *gal-dem* and *Polyester* zines as both sites around which the community coalesces but also as infrastructures through which the community and its cultural fabric are re-produced. Subsequently, the methodology sets out our netnographic approach. Our analysis explores digital's role in the formation, emergence and growth of a feminist social movement, and explores what happens when zinesters regularly engage with zine infrastructures, working within and against existing institutions. Subsequent discussion draws out the importance of understanding feminist engagement with digital technology and highlights the role of intention and reflexivity. Finally, we explore how these platforms will likely create new synergies that continue to proliferate into the future.

Literature review: Zines as DIY Publishing Culture

Self-publishing as an activist format can be traced as far back as the late 1700s (Zobl, 2004). Radical pamphlets were commonly used in the Abolitionist, Suffragette and Suffragist movements of the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries (Zobl, 2004). Zines rose to prominence in the 1970s civil rights movement and the punk scene. They were integral to the 1990s feminist punk riot grrrl movement, where they were used to serve communities, share the stories and lived experiences of people of colour, women and queer subjects, all while challenging the status quo (Keenan and Darms, 2013; Downes, 2007, 2009; Dunn, 2014).

Both feminist and subcultural theorists note that self-publishing power lies in its ability to both produce culture in the terms of its creator (Spencer, 2005; Kempson, 2015) and to improve the apparatus available for marginalised communities to tell their stories (Dunn, 2014; Baker and Cantillon, 2022; Bold, 2017). Zines also facilitate alternative worldmaking and ways of being for those marginal to the mainstream (Chhidgey, 2013; Przybylo, & Jacob, 2022; Bold, 2017; Matich et al, 2021). Scholars have explored the process of making a zine, or zining, as a form of participatory action research which may, amongst other things, unlock

counter narratives and embrace plurality (French and Curd, 2022). In their analysis of the 'People of Colour Zines Project' Bold (2017) underscores their importance in constituting a *counter public sphere* which acts to jettison mainstream media narrative. Bold's (2017, p. 224) analysis finds that zinesters were as much concerned with growing the network through *'showcasing the work of like-minded people [rather] than writing individual, autobiographical narratives'* (p.224).

In theorising zines as a communication medium, media studies scholars argue for a return to the materiality of zines in a post-media environment, pointing to the role of print format zines in bringing bodies together in the process of production (Hroch and Carpentier, 2021). They also argue that their material print format, through personalisation, gifting and through evidence of the work and care taken in their production, functions as an important means through which writer and reader are linked to form an 'embodied community' (Piepmeier, 2008). Casting zines as 'networked feminist practice' Clark-Parsons (2017, 2021) considers the intersections between their production and consumption. Similarly, recent work in feminist organization studies has explored magazine brands as assemblages that dialetically shape those involved in their production (Hunter and Kivinen, 2016; Kivinen and Hunter, 2018). Researchers have also explored how 'girlhood' is reproduced via a distinct aesthetic stylisation on social media platforms (Alexandersson and Kayonaityte, 2021). However, this work excludes both an understanding of the distinct affordances of differing formats and an intersectional understanding of the formats themselves, i.e., how different formats work together to offer new possibilities for activism and organizing.

Theorising Zines and their Communities as Infrastructures

We view zines and their communities as a form of infrastructure. Rather than using infrastructure as a metaphor we prefer Donna Haraway's conception of 'the model': *'A model is a work object; a model is not the same kind of thing as a metaphor or analogy. A model is worked, and it does work'* (Haraway, 2016, p63). 'Infrastructure' does a series of particular jobs for us in our project of understanding the political potential of zines and their communities. We draw on the work of feminist scholars who have studied digital information and archival infrastructures. However we are keen to retain strands of an earlier socio-material understanding of infrastructure that not only enfolds the digital but opens out to theorise movement across online and offline worlds, characterised by the ways in which they

work together and against one another to produce something that is more than the sum of their parts.

It is generally agreed that as a term infrastructure is both unbound (Wilson, 2016), and unruly, having a 'peculiar ontology' which 'lies in the facts that they are things and also the relation between things' (Larkin, 2013, p329). Early work by geographers and cultural anthropologists explores the socio-materiality of infrastructure viewing it as *'dense, social, material, aesthetic and political formations, that are critical both to differentiated experience of everyday life and to expectations of the future'* (Appel et al, 2018, p3). This view, developed from examining built structures of the environment such as travel, communication and utilities systems, underlines infrastructures as critical to supporting everyday life. However, this work also underscores infrastructures as important in world making, particularly in their ideological role in rendering ways of knowing as thinkable, for example *'The modern is unthinkable without its infrastructure: without dense housing, transportation arteries, electric power, and now, digital signals'* (Wilson, 2016, p270).

In their 2016 essay titled Vulnerability and Resistance, Judith Butler (they/them), develops the concept of infrastructure to explore vulnerability and embodiment within mobilisation and social movements. They observe the double meaning of infrastructure: as infrastructural goods which individuals *mobilise fo*r (such as safe and clean streets, clean running water, decent housing), but also as constituting the infrastructural conditions or grounds *within which individuals and bodies mobilise*. While maintaining a complex socio-material view of infrastructure, they shift the debate to focus on the intelligibility and support of bodies.

'By theorizing the human body as a certain kind of dependency on infrastructure, understood complexly as environment, social relations, and networks of support and sustenance by which the human itself proves not to be divided from the animal or from the technical world, we foreground the ways in which we are vulnerable to decimated or disappearing infrastructures, economic supports, and predictable and well-compensated labor.' (Butler, 2016, p21)

Butler also extends the application of infrastructure to include *'not only public media, but all forms of media through which, and within which, the space of appearance is constituted.'* (2016, p14). Thus Butler foregrounds the relational and interdependent

understanding of infrastructure as embracing both the social and technical worlds, but also as providing the grounds within and through which political mobilisation is supported.

The language of 'infrastructure' is helpful for us since it allows the capture of dynamic and affective elements of feminist organizing and worldmaking which intersect with bodies and other materials. Specifically, we draw inspiration from the work of Deborah Withers (they/them), in their 2015 book *'Feminism, Digital Culture and the Politics of Transmission'*. While Wither's work has been used by feminist organization studies scholars to signal the material and embodied nature of knowledge production and representation (Bissett and Birch, 2021), their more recent exploration of digital means of communication and representation remains underutilised.

As a curator and an archivist with a fervour for studying materials and objects, Withers (2015) stresses that no picture of feminism is complete without an understanding of the means by which feminists disseminate the historical, generational mass of feminist knowledge. They argue that we must not only look at generational stories about feminist history and culture, but also examine the *'material and technical processes through which generation is composed'* (p.4). Withers' work in arts and heritage fosters an understanding of how '*communities utilise resources such as texts, monuments, music, dance, images and so forth to construct identities and senses of cultural belonging'* (2015, p.7). They apply this to an understanding of feminist culture, describing these elements not just as objects of evidence, but as 'a patchwork of ideas, energies, possibilities and world-making tools' (2015, p.7) and as sites of 'struggle, contention and invention' (2015, p.10).

Withers' work draws inspiration from and against the work of Bernard Steigler. A major criticism of his oeuvre is that it offers only a *general* critique of the politics of generational transmission of knowledge. Withers' project, in contrast, locates this general critique within Other communities, be they feminist, black, queer or anti-colonial (2015, p22). In a fleeting reference to infrastructure, Withers observes the importance of 'technical infrastructure' in securing the transmission of Other traditions:

'Such traditions often emerge après-coup (after the fact), as 'untimely,' reinserted materials of the already-there, because there is usually not enough technical infrastructure to secure their consistent transmission across time, spaces and communities of practice wherein traditions co-evolve with and through technics' (Withers, 2015, p22).

Of specific interest is Withers' concept of feminisms 'already-there', they argue that it is necessary to re-orient feminism's political project within what is already-there so that it may respond to an emergent feminist tradition and generate new traditions. Wither's conception of the already-there is multi-scalar and multi-dimensional in their description that echoes with the metaphysical:

'The already-there is a stratified constellation of technical memory matter, composed of resources that shape political and cultural imaginaries. This stratification should not be thought of merely as across, but also in terms of depth, height, scale, extensiveness and duration.' (2015, p18)

Wither's signalling of 'constellations' of technical memory matter reveals the way in which elements might gravitate together but also are organized or stratified in various ways within the already-there. Elements can be of varying forms, which include material artefacts such as *'pamphlets, paintings, photographs, film and music'* but also *'embodied and gestural [forms], comprising techniques that are kept alive deliberately or by chance'* (2015, p.18). Elsewhere Withers refers to the already-there as *'the exteriorised forms of inheritance that form the conditions for thinking and acting'* (2015, p173).Withers also introduces the term 'means of transmission' underlining that 'transmission' does not mean the movement of things in some essential and unchanged form, rather it is a *'material-technical process that emerges from engagement with what is already there'* (2019, p.80).

Digital feminist scholars also point us towards the importance of understanding engagements in these infrastructures. As we will show, zine infrastructures also come to represent critical life support systems. This understanding is founded mainly in relation to the ability of zinesters to 'find themselves' within these infrastructures, but also to make space for others to find themselves. In their discussion of the *Feminist Mesh*, Afzal and Wallace invoke Ahmed's (2017) concept of the feminist double snap as the key to exploring both how folk are 'worked by' as well as 'work through' infrastructures i.e., the way in which they are changed through their engagement through a triggering of self-reflexivity. They note that *'the double snap is a complete snap because it allows the user to see the brokenness of the system and the internalization of that system in themselves'* (Afzal and Wallace, 2019, p.145). Vachhani and Pullen, similarly highlight *'the power of a sense of dissonance'* (2019, p. 12) or as Hemmings (2012, p. 149) describes a *'lack of fit between our own sense of being and the world's judgements upon us'* in moving feminists to action. This *'enables individuals to*

narrate the world differently or become politicised through communities that value different ways of knowing' (Vachhani and Pullen, 2019, p. 29). Or in our case, both of these simultaneously as we advance an understanding of zines and their communities as an infrastructure, consisting, amongst other things, of bodies, digital technologies, art works and literary texts concerned with reviving and animating feminist knowledge and culture.

Study Context: *gal-dem* and *Polyester* zines

This paper is based on a London and online-based zine community which coalesces around the *gal-dem* and *Polyester* zines. Founded by Liv Little in 2015, *gal-dem* is an online and print publication (see Figure One) that seeks to address inequality and misrepresentation in journalism through platforming the creative and editorial work of young women and non-binary people of colour (Egbeyemi, 2020). *Gal-dem* aims for a wide appeal and visibility, and regularly partners with mainstream media outlets and celebrities. Founded by Ione Gamble in 2014 *Polyester* explicitly describes itself as an intersectional feminist fashion and culture publication. It adopts a more traditional zine aesthetic with a focus on images. Its content is niche and focused on queer, feminist subculture, fashion and art (see Figure Two). Over the six-year period of the study both zines have grown significantly in their reach and popularity. Both zine founders Liz Little and Ione Gamble, and other members of the community, such as Molly Soda and Charlie Craggs, have moved into the mainstream and are household names amongst the current young generation of feminists. Latterly, both zines have attained enough financial security that full-time workers are employed to work in rented offices. *Gal-dem*, for instance, now has a team of twelve commissioning editors, social media managers, creatives, and commercial staff and an office in southeast London[2]. *Polyester* also supports a growing team of editors, illustrators, website and partnership designers.

FIGURES ONE AND TWO ABOUT HERE

These zines were selected for two reasons. Firstly, in addition to producing print publications, both have a digital version and heavily leverage digital structures, including social media. *Polyester's* website states that it is *'aiming to bridge the gap of URL cyberfeminism with the IRL (in real life) world'* (Polyester, 2021). Secondly, both platforms

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[2] While areas of Southeast London, UK, have been gentrified, this is traditionally the less affluent and more diverse side of the city.

are intersectional in their remit exclusively featuring work by women, queer and non-binary people in the case of *Polyester* and women and non-binary people of colour in *gal-dems* case.

<u>Methodology</u>

The netnography presented in this study was part of a wider six-year ethnographic project that sought to understand contemporary feminist activism in relation to zines. The study is underpinned by a rigorous ethical review process at the authors' host institution which included a panel review of the study, interview protocol, and informed interviewee consent. In presenting our data, identifying information has been removed and pseudonyms have been used to preserve the anonymity of participants who wished to be kept anonymous (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008), although some participants have been named according to their preferences.

The first author took the role of participant-observer within our intersectional zine community predominantly based in London, UK and virtually within the structure of the internet. The research community coalesced around the common symbolic structure (Stone, 1996) of two zine publications, *gal-dem* and *Polyester*. In essence, while many of the members of the community have physically or virtually met, some may not have, and their symbolic association and participation with the two zines means that they are communally connected and thus can be understood and studied as a community (Kozinets *et al*, 2017). Figure Three depicts the links between study participants which take a range of forms including contributions to the zines and a range of other collaborations.

FIGURE THREE HERE

Netnography

Netnography conducts ethnographic activities online, on social media sites. It is a participant-observational technique used to observe naturalistic virtual interactions. A researcher identifies and collects data from a specified community within a defined timeframe, following rigorous procedures (Kozinets, 2020). Netnography is an established method, developed by Robert Kozinets, with greater traction in disciplines such as marketing, media studies and consumer research. The method remains scarcely employed in the organization and management field. It has rarely featured in the pages of GWO (Gatrell, 2011) and other management publications (Ashman et al, 2022; Gatrell, 2019). For us, netnography was a natural choice, as our study focuses on understanding the different means of transmission (Withers, 2015) feminists, particularly those identifying within the

technologically distinct 'fourth-wave' (Munro, 2013; Maclaran, 2015) are using in assembling hybrid communities. We broadly followed our zine communities and their members using search terms such as '*gal-dem*' and *'Polyester'*, finding that *Instagram*, *Facebook*, *Twitter* and *Tumblr* were key spaces platforming feminist organizing practices. We gathered publicly available, relevant data encompassing digital interactions, photographs, comments, tweets, text, poems, publications, video blogs, podcasts and forum threads throughout the duration of our project.

Interviews

In-depth interviews with key zine stakeholders served as an interactive element of our research design. We adopted a purposive sampling approach (Fetterman, 2010) to identify our participants. We recruited participants through our ethnographic fieldwork and netnographic exploration, employing snowballing (Gobo, 2007). Our inclusion criteria stated that participants must have read, contributed to, or created *gal-dem* or *Polyester*. Our concern for producing intersectional research made it vital that we collected data from a diverse sample (Rodriguez, 2018), and therefore we include data from various ethnicities, sexualities, genders, including women, trans, genderqueer and non-binary participants, socio-economic backgrounds and abilities. However, we note that our sample is less inclusive regarding religion, country of birth and age, with all participants 37 or under, atheist, agnostic or Christian and were born in and/or currently live in the UK. This is reflective of our studies chosen field site, which situates itself in London around publications created by young western feminist activists. Throughout, we have sought to avoid the reductionist identification of participants explicitly in terms of their ethnicity, sexuality or gender, but we have included characteristics in the discussion where they are important to contextualise the participants work or to better illustrate the operation of structural inequality. Our sample comprises 21 participants who are key stakeholders either in *gal-dem* or *Polyester* including their founders, editors, employees, and contributors/readers (see Table One). Our interview schedule orientated around two sections, firstly questions probing the nature of contemporary feminism with a focus on intersectionality and digital feminisms, and secondly, questions about feminist zines and zine communities and how they manifest online and offline. These areas of questioning and our follow-up probes were nuanced by our netnographic fieldwork. Each section comprised 5 to 10 open questions with probes designed to explore the nature of engagement with digital platforms and their role in building the movement (Castillo-

Montoya, 2016). Interviews took place both face to face and online and lasted between 60-120 minutes.

TABLE ONE HERE

Data Analysis

The first author guided the data analysis, with regular input from the rest of the research team. Despite collecting data from various sources (netnographic data, interviews transcripts, and visuals), our data was analysed as a whole. Firstly, we collated our dataset according to the principles of netnography - organizing our data for ease of reading, filtering what was to be included or excluded (Kozinets, 2015). Secondly, an initial reading of the entire data set was conducted to enable complete immersion in the process. Thirdly, we followed Spiggle's (1994) guidelines on coding, categorising, and abstracting to broadly generate some initial interpretive themes. Throughout this process, the first author collected printouts of pictures and interview excerpts, cutting and clustering them into interrelated categories. This 'human close' process allowed the data 'to speak', a process that helped to identify the common threads, similarities and contradictions that lay within it. Fourthly, as we wrote up our findings, we followed the broad principles of abduction (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2009), to sense-make between the data and our theoretical framing, helping us to adjust and refine our interpretation. This process involved the entire research team. Whilst writing, our themes became further formalised (Fetterman, 2010). Throughout this process, we sought to foreground the voices of our participants and to temper our subjective conceptualisations of their musings (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

Findings

In the first section below, we witness the initial physical commingling of the zine communities. We underscore the importance of the generational conditions of this emergence. Secondly, we describe what happens when zinesters move within and regularly engage with zine infrastructures, against the backdrop of their own generational alienation. Thirdly, we explore what happens when zinesters work at the interface, within and against existing institutions. Finally, we illustrate some of the ways in which zinesters have contributed to the growth of a social movement.

Generating coalitions: creating zine infrastructures

When exploring the initial impetus for the zines with their founding editors we uncovered a complexity of factors that combine to shape and form a zine. For marginalised groups, quite literally coming together around a zine or a publication affirms the community, giving them an artefact or an anchoring point that documents and validates their hitherto neglected experience. This underscores the role of zines as gathering and creating coalitions. As Hester (2018) writes, "the Y in 'DIY' never operates in isolation", and we must conceive of political agency and emancipatory politics as necessarily open, collective and coalitional (p.129). In this way, zines write communities just as much as communities write zines. Laura Kirwan-Ashman reflected on this dual role of zines, "you can create a community around it, you can represent a community with it." Liv Little shared that, in many ways, *gal-dem* emerged from her need to connect with others who shared and understood her experience:

"I would like to think that… for me, meeting everyone who runs *gal-dem* with
 me and is part of the community… who I fucking needed, *like when I met them like I*
needed them! I needed to find them! And for a lot of us it was the same. So, I think that
has had a personal impact on me and I think that it's had an impact on all of the core
team's lives. So I hope to think that we've also given that to our readers." – Liv Little.

Liv's comment about her experience of meeting the other folk who were to become her co-editors on the zine is particularly striking, her observation that she 'needed to find them' reveals a deep-seated need for feminist community and solidarity. Liv's point also resonates with feminist media scholars who point out zine's roles as connecting their writers and readers in intimate ways (Piepmeier, 2008). Liv similarly illustrates the experience of being isolated and 'not fitting in' in moving her to start the *gal-dem* zine:

"As a black student, sitting in lectures and seminars and being asked to speak on behalf
of all marginalised voices amidst a sea of white privilege, it became evident that if the
rooms weren't going to change, it was time to build my own." - Liv Little

Liv describes a moment, in which they were no longer willing to tolerate the status quo. Ahmed (2017) describes this experience as the 'feminist snap'. When the pressure of systemic sexism, racism, homophobia, transphobia, classism and ableism comes to bear too heavily on an individual they snap because they cannot bear it any longer. Liv's comment that '*it was time to build my own [room]*' is particularly telling of the way in which zines are

intended to operate as alternative infrastructure - with alternative processes and 'means of transmission' (Withers, 2015) based on solidarity and communal forms of identification (Chidgey, 2013; Bold, 2017). However, we can also see this 'snap' as generative in character, because it moves Liv into acting by creating an alternative. We also found zines, and zine infrastructures, emerged as a collective affective response to a wider generational zeitgeist or set of circumstances; a being in common with others, sharing, experiencing and responding to the same space and time.

> "In 2012… we all came back from uni and were all looking around and saw a really different demographic in our area… all of a sudden there were big club nights for university students and we were like "whaaaaat?... what is going on in Peckham[3]"…I had come across zine culture and I was really obsessed with it… the whole age of anarchy and Sniffin' Glue… all that jazz… it just really stuck with me… I loved how it looked aesthetically and I was like "I wish we could make something like this" and I was like "wait, fuck yeah… we can!" so we got all of the resources… interviewed tonnes of people, messaged people to ask about their trainer collections and stuff… how they make their beats… all local people." - Adelaide Lawson

Adelaide's description of the emergence of the *Born N Bread* zine reflects the diverse range of generational ideas, music, fashion, aesthetics and styles which come together to form a zine and its community. It also reveals how zines emerge as forms of emplaced resistance to wider social and cultural change, and can be attempts to reclaim a history or culture.

Moving within zine infrastructures: Engagements of an alienated generation

The individuals who founded and created *Polyester* and *gal-dem* all herald from a Gen Z or millennial generation, who have grown up 'on the Internet' and whose media consumption is characterised by the consumption of streaming services, social media and endlessly new content. When speaking about the production of the zines during interviews, our participants

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[3] Peckham is a district in Southeast London which has a working class history and one of the most ethnically and culturally diverse communities in the UK. Over the past decade the area has seen rapid economic gentrification and an influx of affluent residents

were reflective and sometimes critical about their tech-heavy existences in relation to the zines and their potential for organizing.

> "We've all grown up on the Internet so much so that the lines have blurred between our IRL and URL… I think *Polyester's* central idea is disseminating digital media in analogue channels… online and print channels can work harmoniously to communicate messages to wider audiences." – Ione Gamble

Ione Gamble's comment that 'we've all grown up on the Internet' is telling, and echoes technofeminist concerns with the way in which digital technologies and subjectivities are configured together (Wajcman, 2010). Indeed, many of our respondents expressed a sense of alienation despite being heavy users of digital technologies.

> "I think there's this need that we still have, despite being such a digitalized generation, to have something in your hands and create something with your hands and cut, paste and stick something together and to be able to say "I made a thing that is real in the world" which is valuable because so much stuff just gets thrown into the internet and just gets lost […] we're realising that technology doesn't solve all our problems and a lot of the time makes us more unhappy than being present in the world." – Laura Kirwan-Ashman.

Laura critiques online forms of communication observing that people 'throw stuff onto the internet' which is relatively easy, with no real physical or emotional investment required. In making this point, Laura feels passionately that her political ideals should not become a piece of cultural flotsam to be forgotten about as quickly as it was created. Laura's comment also echoes feelings of alienation, fuelled by the distraction of digital modes of communication (Dean, 2018), making us 'more unhappy than being present in the world'. Similarly, Jess's observation about a lack of 'genuine dialogue' again reflects a sense of loss and alienation brought about by the use of forms of digitally mediated communication.

> "I just think that with the whole digital zine thing… there's a lot of things that are lost, for me personally… I think an aspect of community is lost… I don't think it's the same. I feel… sometimes it feels a bit hollow. Whereas I feel like more traditional zineing I

suppose felt a lot more personal and there was a genuine dialogue… sometimes I don't

really get that with the digital stuff." - Jess

Jess' comment echoes with nostalgia, a yearning for past traditions and modes of organizing which she views as having been 'lost' in digitally mediated forms of communication. Indeed Withers (2015) entreats us to return to these traditions and locate feminist practice within the 'already-there' observing that new traditions emerge from this engagement. This involves not only moving across existing traditions, but moving backward and forwards in time (Chidgey, 2018) to recuperate, and revive, and re-use traditions in a new context. As Withers (2015, p22) observes 'Such traditions often emerge après-coup (after the fact), as 'untimely,'.

Print zines by their form are both sensorial and haptic, in ways that their digital counterparts are not (Hroch and Carpentier, 2021). They bring zinesters together via their process of production, cutting, pasting and sticking but also by being physically present with one another, sharing stories and experiences (Piepmeier, 2008). Zinesters often reflected on the differing material qualities of online versus offline zines:

"You can keep a zine... Like, online stuff is disposable and you look at it once and probably never look at it again unless you print it off, so these are like printed artefacts that you can cherish and look at a million times when you're sad. That's something I do" – Charlie Craggs.

Other observations also signalled the importance of 'investments' in the community and the public display and sharing of these investments of time and energy. As Frances observes the need to 'not just talk the talk, but walk the walk':

"I think it's (online) a useful tool but obviously… it can't be the only thing that you're doing. I think you need to… it's so cliché but not just talk the talk but walk the walk haha… I definitely do fall into that sometimes where I'm speaking about it on Instagram and then but I'm just in my house and I'm not doing anything. And so I have to check myself and make sure that if there's marches going on that I go, or if I can't do that then put money towards causes that I'm passionate about." – Frances Cannon.

Frances' observation also references the affective, embodied elements of learning, prioritising co-presence, relationality and 'being with' in order to learn from the other (Smolović Jones *et al*, 2021).

Organizing online

The embodied pre-cognitive felt need to connect in a physical way was enduringly central to the organizing of *gal-dem* and *Polyester*. Nevertheless, there was no doubt that the intersecting usage of online technologies was of key importance in generating and amplifying the socio-political foundations of the zines. The zinesters reflect on the felt, sensed experience of how, as Ione says, 'online and print channels can work harmoniously' in creating reach, solidarity and visibilities.

"We do most of our organizing online, like we have this massive Facebook group just for all the contributors and we talk about so much stuff. If you've had like a shit day… we can like share in that group… if stuff is stressful then you get let it out in that group and everyone is like "rah, I get it… you don't need to explain"… online spaces have been so important… that's how I met the majority of the now editors and contributors" – Liv Little.

"I think there's so much value in social media, I wouldn't know about any of this shit if I wasn't on Tumblr. Like, I wouldn't know about… I probably wouldn't have discovered feminism until I went to uni. I think it's really great that it brings these socio political ideas to people that wouldn't reach them a lot younger and it democratises that I think. It makes stuff a lot more accessible and I think it's really good in that sense" – Ione Gamble.

Liv and Ione clearly recognise the affordances of digital forms of communication as being connective, safe spaces for affective outpourings and spillovers. This form of outpouring is made possible by its location within a close-knit, pre-existing community. Ione also comments that the internet can reach a wider audience, allowing her to communicate socio-political ideas to people 'a lot younger'. For zinesters, the internet serves as a means of transmission able to package big ideas in accessible ways, making it possible to culture a new generation of young feminists with specific notions of femininity, in this case

intersectionality, led by those organizing 'on the ground', rather than a traditional expert source from on high.

Perhaps most importantly, the internet was used by our zinesters for its democratising force in the organization of *gal-dem* and *Polyester*. Free to use social media sites and low-cost website builders allowed our zinesters to create a space with minimal set up costs, low barriers to entry and largely freedom of expression (Matich et al, 2018). This was significant in our context where most of our participants came from backgrounds comprising marginalised groups in terms of gender, race and class. In this regard, they were able to increase their agency through their use of the internet in setting up their zines.

"The internet is free... so that was a really important factor in the fact that we organized on that to begin with. I think for me, personally when I was in Bristol[4] and I really wanted to connect with all these amazing women, there wasn't really an alternative way to do that other than through utilising the powers of Facebook groups, so I guess that's kind of how it started. And I guess in terms of being able to connect with, work with and communicate with women of colour who are doing really interesting stuff in all parts of the country and all parts of the world, I think it's been a really, really brilliant tool for that." – Liv Little.

This intersectional coming together is also vital in what Baer (2016) terms as the 'redoing' of feminism, where political efficacy relies on both the intersectional dialectics between bodies but also their trans local and transnational articulation, through varying transmissive means.

Working at the interface: Generating forms of visibility and dissent

In organizing themselves through a bricolage of intersecting media, our zinesters efforts have fostered strong bonds between an otherwise loosely connected yet influential network (see Figure Three). Producing a physical zine, running in-person events and re-generating content to a wider audience through carefully curated online activities has generated significant interest and attention around g*al-dem*, who to date has over 300k online followers, and

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[4] Bristol is a city in Southwest England, UK.

Polyester, who has 156k followers. In using this flexible yet seemingly disruptive format, both zines have been able to punctuate, push back against, move smoothly across and thus re-generate from traditional institutions. We explore two examples below. The first reveals a pushing back against traditional institutions, a relation which is productive through its difference and friction, in *gal-dem's* Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A)[5] takeover. The second is an example of moving across and in-between institutions in the case of Charlie Craggs.

The *gal-dem* V&A takeover

The V&A London, South Kensington Museum describes itself as 'the world's leading museum of art, design and performance'. The V&A takeover involved the *gal-dem* community occupying the V&A gallery space for an evening (The Guardian, 2018), particularly significant given the V&A museums intertwined institutional relationship with British colonial exploitation and the transatlantic slave trade:

"When we had our V&A takeover… it was just…. Like it was just mad, like having… literally we cried so much afterwards. We cried so much. Like, there were like 5000 people that came, all these Black and Brown beautiful bodies in the fucking V&A around all of this stolen art, like, creating their own art, it was mad." – Liv Little.

Liv describes the significance of an embodied togetherness created by gathering Black and Brown bodies, black artworks, music, dance, art, fashion and photography together in a space so steeped in white British colonial history. For Liv, such a gathering clearly generated significant emotional outpourings both in the moment of madness and intensity, and afterwards with a tearful emotional release. This speaks to the power of the embodied and emotional 'means of transmission' (Withers, 2015), in having the potential to bubble over, create release, excitement, elation and possibility. Further it is precisely the agonist relation between *gal-dem* and the *V&A* that is so productive of this possibility (Smolović Jones et al, 2021). Figure Four illustrates the sharing of this event on *Twitter*. Here, *gal-dem* notes it 'impossible' to recreate the spirit of the event within social media. *Gal-dem* is clearly

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[5] The Victoria and Albert Museum is the world's largest collection of applied, decorative arts and design. It was founded in 1852 and attracts around 4 million visitors per year. Its history is closely and problematically intertwined with British colonial history

signalling that the feeling of physical togetherness, where time and space align, is where they feel most empowered, but importantly also signalling that this cannot be transmitted through the means of a social media platform. From this example, we gather that physical and digital spaces are not separate and impartial containers of information (Withers, 2015). Both offer their own shape to an event, and both change how participants experience the event by moderating and filtering their affective access. In addition, in operating against and within the V&A as an institution we can see how feminists and activists are linking back to complex, in this case deeply problematic colonial, histories in order to find the seeds to re-generate alternative futures.

Drawing from Butler's discussion of assemblies, we can also see that this coming together of Black and Brown bodies in this space reveals 'a struggle over what will be public space, but also an equally fundamental struggle over how bodies will be supported in the world' (2015, p72). In this respect we see a struggle over the V&A as an institution, one which has its historical roots in configuring, recognising and supporting white bodies, white ways of being and white supremacy. As Butler observes, 'The material supports for action are not only part of action, but they are also what is being fought about' (2015, p.73). In their 2016 essay they refer to these material supports as 'infrastructure' which both provide the grounds for mobilisation but at the same time are the infrastructural goods which individuals *mobilise fo*r.

FIGURE FOUR HERE

Creating synergies within zine infrastructures

While the *gal-dem* event is an example of an agonist relation, Charlie Craggs moves in a smoother fashion, in a relation characterised by synergy. Charlie Craggs is a figurehead trans-activist and author. She is a Polyester zine contributor and is the founder of Nail Transphobia, a campaign whereby she travels the UK offering free manicures for the opportunity to sit down with a trans person. Charlie is particularly adept at organizing her activities across media, sites and institutions to increase the visibility of trans people in wider society. Figure Five shows screenshots taken from Charlie's *Instagram* account celebrating her inclusion in *gal-dem's* 'People of the Year' 2017, showing her speaking at the Houses of Parliament[6] and painting the British celebrity entrepreneur Richard Branson's nails' as part of

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[6] The Houses of Parliament are located in the Palace of Westminster, London, UK. Within the Houses of Parliament laws are made and the work of The Government is overseen via hearings and inquiries.

her pop-up salon project. As such Charlie demonstrates strategic intent and reflexivity in using infrastructures intersectionally, despite feeling uncomfortable doing so. Charlie talks about how she has learned through engaging with different media of their differing affordances. For example, she started initially to use social media extensively to promote trans-allyship, but she told us:

"The campaign actually started as a social media campaign … where I was like "get your nails done and be a trans ally and if you post your picture on social media it shows that you're an ally"… I realised early on that "hmm, that's not really true, just because you've had your nails done, doesn't mean you're an ally" but also… I was not really understanding what the power of the activism was in the conversation, so now I don't even tell people to post on social media' Charlie Craggs.

At the time of the interview, Charlie clearly felt ambivalent about using social media to promote her cause. However, her intentional use of social media as a form of activism and organizing has become more curated and disruptive over time. For example, after experiencing being spat on in a violently transphobic attack on the London Underground[7], Charlie videoed and posted the aftermath of the event on *Instagram*. In the video she repeatedly asks her attacker 'are you ready to be famous???', goading him and her audience by saying 'this big man, you fucking prick…this boy just attacked me, why would you spit on me?' This video has become her most viral online act, achieving 1.4 million views on *Instagram* alone, pushing greater activity to her pages, helping her to become a voice of the community (*Instagram* profile description). This viral video, while not directly connected with *Polyester* zine, feeds the algorithm, generating and amplifying her intersectional trans feminist cause, capturing viewers' attention and creating an allure, becoming one of the most influential nodes in the Charlie Craggs network (Afzal and Wallace, 2019), further spotlighting and making visible her and all of her other activities, including the zines, by association.

FIGURE FIVE HERE

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[7] The 'London Underground' refers to an underground railway network in England, UK.

Growing into a Social Movement: Potential for disruption?

To explore the potential of zine infrastructures to disrupt mainstream forms of media, here we explore how the scale of the zines has changed over time. In the case of *gal-dem*, they have evolved into a fully-fledged printed magazine with a membership-based pricing model for their webpage, where the majority of their content is uploaded on a continuous basis. The netnographic transcript from one of their promotional videos says:

> *"Here at gal-dem, we are committed to sharing the perspectives of women and non binary people of colour. It's been four incredible years, filled with magazine and museum takeovers, political events and sweaty club nights. We've published over 2200 articles and commissioned over 800 authors, and put almost a quarter of a million pounds into the hands of our community, and this all wouldn't have been possible without you. Gal-dem might be small, but our impact so far has been mighty, and in a media landscape which is 94% white, and where men make up 55% of the workforce, our existence is a necessity."*
>
> *Video shared on Twitter at the beginning of the pandemic - 114k views, 712 likes, 393 retweets*

Liv Little has recently moved into the world of book publishing with a book titled *Rosewater*, to be published in 2023, which she describes online as 'a story about intergenerational trauma, class, and trying to find your place in the world when the odds are stacked against you'. She has also contributed a short story to a collection of modern fables titled *'Hag: Forgotten folktales retold'*. These examples reveal a potential for disruption via visibility and moving into mainstream publishing infrastructures. For example, Ione Gamble is also recently profiled in the *Sunday Times Style* segment and regularly contributes to *The Guardian*[8]. What is more, *gal-dem* and *Polyester's* infrastructures now intersect with other creative industries, operating as significant forms of transmedia communication. For example, the Italian luxury fashion brand *Valentino* (2.2m followers) recently featured Ione Gamble's book '*Poor Little Sick Girls*' alongside one of their iconic bags on their *Instagram* page (Figure Six).

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[8] Both the Sunday Times and The Guardian are major newspaper and media outlets based in the UK.

FIGURE SIX HERE

"[Writing for *gal-dem*] felt like the way things should be. It shows the revolution is happening and it is happening through social media. People are revolutionising industries and taking these technologies and tools that have been used to oppress them and they are making it work for them… so the game will change." – Bolanle Tajudeen.

Discussion

Returning to our research aim to explore how feminist social movements are organized and re-generated across and through different media, both online and offline, using the example of zines, we make three key contributions. First to understand zines as a specific media form, as infrastructure, which acts as a relatively new form of knowledge production characterised by the fourth-wave, second in understanding both the individual and collective political potential of engagements in zine infrastructures, and third in underscoring the importance of looking at entanglements and intersections between formats in feminist organizing. In closing we uncover the value of DIY publishing formats and reveal their potential to disrupt existing industries.

While forms of DIY publishing have received attention as providing the terrain for alternative forms of worldmaking, this work has remained largely the preserve of feminist archival and media studies scholars (Chidgey, 2013; Bold 2017; Clark-Parsons, 2021). Yet thinking about the potential of DIY publishing as a form of organizing, along with its potential to grow and develop a feminist social movement is limited. Work within feminist organization studies tends to exemplify the role of publishing via the politics of representation and cultural production (Hunter and Kivinen, 2016; Alexandersson and Kalonaityte, 2021), rather than seeing its vital material form as a 'means of transmission'. We have underscored the importance of viewing zines as a generationally specific networked infrastructure of bodies, ideas and aesthetics, underlining the role of DIY publishing in gathering, and in creating coalitions not only between bodies, but between bodies and different media. In this respect our work builds on recent moves in feminist organization studies to better understand 'vital materialism' (Bell and Vachhani, 2020). Further it underscores how this coming together was based on shared experiences, a shared response to a generational zeitgeist. Theorising zines as infrastructures within which this generation

moves has helped us to underscore their generative capacity. These seeds of change have slowly naturalised and proliferated into a social movement, happening within, and skilfully and strategically moving across IRL and URL spaces. As such we have shown how organizing moves online and offline and how the individual and the collective are brought together in new and different ways (see also Afzal and Wallace, 2019). Returning to Butler's observations on infrastructure and social movements, 'No-one moves without a supportive environment and set of technologies' (2016, p15).

Further we argue for a return to the nature of 'engagements' not only with digital media but in zine infrastructures more widely. We have argued that these can't be thought apart from generational experiences as 'having grown up' on the internet. While young feminists are very often alienated from the digital, they do have an in-depth, fully embodied and sensed understanding of digital communications and the differing affordances, of varying formats. We illustrated how this generation therefore moves within zines infrastructures, but also how through their engagements, they find and orient themselves and make spaces for others to do the same. Engaging in zines acts as a vital form of self-care via a working out and working through of their subjectivity. In this respect their engagements act as an important source of 'feminist reflexivity' through which they are in turn changed and moved to enact new forms of political transformation (Hemmings, 2012). This is particularly important in an intersectional context where existing gender and other binaries render any non-binary position as unintelligible (Butler, 2006; Linstead and Pullen, 2006; Pullen et al., 2017; Thanem and Wallenberg, 2016). However, it is also vitally important to understand these engagements as a form of re-generation, in that they contribute to an apparatus for future generations to find themselves through their alternative worldmaking. As Withers observes, 'there can be no generation without transmission' (2015, p.5).

While a range of feminist organization studies explore the potential of individual digital and social media platforms to act as potent forms of organizing (Matich et al, 2018; Vachhani and Pullen, 2019), we have explored the way in which zinesters move across, and work at the interfaces of formats to benefit from their synergistic, but also their agonistic, relations in their organizing. In this respect we add to Smolović Jones et al (2021, p14) who found 'ineradicable difference and diversity (Mouffe, 2009, 2013) as essential for feminist solidarity projects'. In our study difference, and antagonistic relations, particularly via the presence of alienated bodies in sites and spaces where they otherwise were rendered unintelligible, were productive of an excess of affect which had both positive, excitement and

energy in the gal-dem takeover, and negative, anger and hatred in Charlie Cragg's experience
on the London Underground transport system, valences. However, in both cases this
antagonism was productive, generative of forms of affective solidarity which travelled and
were intensified through varying transmissive circuits. While purely online activism has
been criticised for swelling aimlessly through networks of circulation, making little to no
meaningful political impact (Dean, 2005, 2018), we have seen a vital episodic grounding of
activism in conditions which embrace specific individuals, times and places, to use Butler's
phrase, therefore constituting 'spaces of appearance' (2016, p14). Hester (2018) describes
this complex relation between the virtual and the material as "strategic, techno-material
appropriation" and the "exploitation or reassembly of existing objects" (p.102). Those such as
Charlie Craggs who can work at the interface, betwixt and between potentially have an
increased ability to effect real change. It is vital to understand the nature of these
relationships in their generative capacity, and that this does not only emerge from synergy,
but also agonism butting up against, creating friction between.

 While we agree that it is vital that feminists explore the 'affordances' of digital forms
of communication for organizing and participation, it is also vital that we understand how
forms of organizing intermesh, work together, within and against each other, 'where
difference and solidarity are entangled rather than set against each other' (Afzal and Wallace,
2019, p131). To achieve this, we need our investigations to be thoroughly contextually
embedded, but also, we need not only to look at single points or nodes but at their
entanglements. However, it would be a mistake to view all engagements as entirely strategic
and agentic, we have also attempted to highlight the element of happenchance, as Sheila
Rowbotham observes 'ideas generated by a social movement do not present themselves in an
orderly manner. They are thrown up by circumstances, shaken by destinies and left hanging
in mid-air. Expressive of political tensions within the fabric of society, they are raw with
interests' (1989, p294).

Conclusion: Cause for optimism?

The present young generation of feminist zinesters are using a multiplicity of means of
transmission, particularly favouring those which are unstable and informal. Through our
context, we deepen our understanding of the characteristics of feminisms 'fourth wave', by
witnessing our participants re-generating feminism whilst interfacing with the constant
versioning of technologies, media, institutions and the historical patterning of individual

subjectivities present in the 'already there'. In doing this, we uncover the value of DIY publishing formats and reveal their potential to disrupt existing industries, in this case the art and publishing sectors. We suggest that DIY publishing can more readily escape the exclusive gender binaries operating within mainstream publishing formats, and coupled with other freedoms of format, such a publication can focus squarely on re-enlivening the knowledges of the 'already-there' (Withers, 2015), or even contribute to a social movement.

Theorising zines as infrastructures in our paper has encouraged us to think about intersectionality in terms of the interconnected nature of the social, digital and material. This approach is significant because it considers how ideas move within infrastructures and how affective engagements are variegated through different means. Finally, our study, we hope, is merely one example of a much wider and globalised shift in intersectional feminism, one which is heavy on reflexive, strategic intent and light on a naive engagement with differing media forms. We remain optimistic that in the face of continuing privatisation and individualisation of politics, this new generation of intersectional feminists, and their pragmatism and focus on digital process and deployment may yet discover new possible lines of flight for collective growth and resistance. The task for feminists now, in their forms of worldmaking, is to tool up using new technologies, not solely through a reflexive understanding of their affordances, but through an understanding of the re-generative potential of their relations between, across and against one another.

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Zine infrastructures as forms of organizing within feminist social movements

Abstract

This paper explores how feminist social movements are organized and re-generated across and through different media, both online and offline, using the example of zines. We critically examine the emergence and growth of an intersectional feminist zine community through a six-year, in-depth qualitative netnographic and ethnographic study. Theoretically, we build on work concerning feminist digital information and archival infrastructures, bringing it together with work on feminist digital activism. We make three key contributions: first to theorise zines and their communities as infrastructures, which cut across the social, digital and material. Second in understanding the political potential of engagements in zine infrastructures in which the individual and collective are entangled, and third in revealing how the current generation of young feminists move across, and work at the interfaces of formats to benefit from their synergistic, but also their agonistic, relations to form new affective solidarities.

Keywords

Feminist organizing, infrastructure, techno-feminism, netnography, fourth-wave feminism, zines

Introduction

> *'The transmission of traditions arranges the world; it arranges the possibility of the*
> *world. It is enormously powerful, yet often unthought or overlooked, because it*
> *composes it without our knowledge. Yet we are responsible for what is already-there,*
> *what gets transmitted, what becomes tradition'.* (Withers, 2015, p.182)

In this paper, we draw on the work of Deborah Withers (2015) who entreats us to return to an understanding of the generational means through which feminist ideas and culture are transmitted. In doing so we explore how feminist social movements are generated through within what we theorise as 'zine infrastructures' involving socio-material and technical assemblages. Such a perspective offers an opportunity to learn how intersectional 'zinesters', i.e., zine creators, have disrupted the publishing and cultural industries and in doing so have contributed to re-generating the so-called 'fourth wave' of feminism. We broaden an understanding of how feminist social movements are intersectionally organized and generated, both in terms of the interconnected nature of the social and the variegated use of zine infrastructures.

Zines, short for 'fanzine', are self-published, DIY print publications with a limited distribution (Schilt, 2003). They initially rose to prominence in the 1970s civil rights movement and the punk scene; they were also integral to the 1990s feminist punk riot grrrl movement (Zobl, 2009). More recently, the potential of digital publishing has wrought renewed interest in the format. In 2015, Ione Gamble, the editor in chief of *Polyester* zine, made a rallying call for a "zine renaissance", arguing that "for a generation ruled by either a coalition or Tory[1] government from teenage-hood, zines and the rise of self-publishing offer us a democratic output to express feelings, aesthetics and inequalities" (Editor's Letter, *Polyester* zine, issue two, Feb 2015). This paper presents an analysis of this zine renaissance, and its intersection with the worldmaking of an emerging generation of digitally literate feminists. The first author initially engaged with the UK zine community as both a scholar and an activist in September 2015 and remains embedded in the community today. During this period the activities of the community increasingly took place online, e.g., on social media and websites, while continuing to manifest offline, e.g., in events and print

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[1]'Tory' is a colloquial term referring to the UK Conservative political party

publications. In addition, the community, and in particular the founders of the two zines studied (*Polyester* and *gal-dem*), found a voice in mainstream media.

Previously, zines have been explored as 'resistive texts' (Ferris, 2001), that challenge mainstream media (Duncombe, 2008). and provide an underground terrain, a 'safe space' (Keenan and Darms, 2013), where alternative narratives articulate a 'counter public sphere' (Bold, 2017).   However, to date, few studies explore the potential of DIY publishing explicitly as a tool for organizing, although a nascent body of work on the aesthetics of girlhood and enterprising femininity on social media platforms (Alexandersson and Kayonaityte, 2021), and publishing work within girls' magazines has some relevance (Hunter and Kivinen, 2016; Kivinen and Hunter, 2018). The latter two studies take a similar approach in understanding magazine brands as assemblages *"simultaneously shaping and being shaped by those that partake in its production"* (Kivinen and Hunter, 2018, p. 910). Their work explores the gendered creative labour of producing girls' magazines. Relatedly, Hunter and Kivinen (2016) describe how employees in women's magazines are disciplined in the process of producing a magazine. However, within our paper, we are less concerned with the everyday experience of those who 'work' on zines, but rather how their engagement in a zine infrastructure contributes to the building of a feminist social movement. Further, using Wither's (2015) work enables us to re-frame the way we see zines, not only as repositories for content, but as a format and interconnected media that re-shapes the making of feminist worlds.

Given their history as important vehicles for feminist activism and organizing, it is surprising that zines have received such scant attention within feminist studies of organization. In this paper we view zines as a specific form of worldmaking, that has potential to both sustain feminist generations but in so doing disrupt mainstream publishing formats. Our research aims to explore how feminist social movements are organized and re-generated across and through different media, both online and offline, using the example of zines. This offers three key contributions, first, drawing inspiration from Withers' (2015) 'means of transmission', we theorise zines as a generationally specific networked infrastructure of bodies, ideas and aesthetics. Second, we examine how zinesters, through their engagements in this infrastructure, find and orient themselves, but also build and develop the infrastructure for future generations to find and orient themselves. Third, we explore how the current generation of feminist zinesters work within but also strategically across, betwixt and between, at the interfaces and intersections of media in their organizing.

We argue that it is these intersections and entanglements that provide the potential for the movement to thrive. By exploring the growth of zines and their intersections with mainstream media we can examine how and why they might disrupt this media and therefore provide the means for creating social movements with political potential.

The paper is organised as follows: first we examine the potential of zines as a form of DIY publishing, then we elaborate our conception of zines as infrastructures. Following this, we present a discussion of the zine community, specifically the *gal-dem* and *Polyester* zines as both sites around which the community coalesces but also as infrastructures through which the community and its cultural fabric are re-produced. Subsequently, the methodology sets out our netnographic approach. Our analysis explores digital's role in the formation, emergence and growth of a feminist social movement, and explores what happens when zinesters regularly engage with zine infrastructures, working within and against existing institutions. Subsequent discussion draws out the importance of understanding feminist engagement with digital technology and highlights the role of intention and reflexivity. Finally, we explore how these platforms will likely create new synergies that continue to proliferate into the future.

Literature review: Zines as DIY Publishing Culture

Self-publishing as an activist format can be traced as far back as the late 1700s (Zobl, 2004). Radical pamphlets were commonly used in the Abolitionist, Suffragette and Suffragist movements of the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries (Zobl, 2004). Zines rose to prominence in the 1970s civil rights movement and the punk scene. They were integral to the 1990s feminist punk riot grrrl movement, where they were used to serve communities, share the stories and lived experiences of people of colour, women and queer subjects, all while challenging the status quo (Keenan and Darms, 2013; Downes, 2007, 2009; Dunn, 2014).

Both feminist and subcultural theorists note that self-publishing power lies in its ability to both produce culture in the terms of its creator (Spencer, 2005; Kempson, 2015) and to improve the apparatus available for marginalised communities to tell their stories (Dunn, 2014; Baker and Cantillon, 2022; Bold, 2017). Zines also facilitate alternative worldmaking and ways of being for those marginal to the mainstream (Chhidgey, 2013; Przybylo, & Jacob, 2022; Bold, 2017; Matich et al, 2021). Scholars have explored the process of making a zine, or zining, as a form of participatory action research which may, amongst other things, unlock

counter narratives and embrace plurality (French and Curd, 2022). In their analysis of the 'People of Colour Zines Project' Bold (2017) underscores their importance in constituting a *counter public sphere* which acts to jettison mainstream media narrative. Bold's (2017, p. 224) analysis finds that zinesters were as much concerned with growing the network through *'showcasing the work of like-minded people [rather] than writing individual, autobiographical narratives'* (p.224).

In theorising zines as a communication medium, media studies scholars argue for a return to the materiality of zines in a post-media environment, pointing to the role of print format zines in bringing bodies together in the process of production (Hroch and Carpentier, 2021). They also argue that their material print format, through personalisation, gifting and through evidence of the work and care taken in their production, functions as an important means through which writer and reader are linked to form an 'embodied community' (Piepmeier, 2008). Casting zines as 'networked feminist practice' Clark-Parsons (2017, 2021) considers the intersections between their production and consumption. Similarly, recent work in feminist organization studies has explored magazine brands as assemblages that dialetically shape those involved in their production (Hunter and Kivinen, 2016; Kivinen and Hunter, 2018). Researchers have also explored how 'girlhood' is reproduced via a distinct aesthetic stylisation on social media platforms (Alexandersson and Kayonaityte, 2021). However, this work excludes both an understanding of the distinct affordances of differing formats and an intersectional understanding of the formats themselves, i.e., how different formats work together to offer new possibilities for activism and organizing.

Theorising Zines and their Communities as Infrastructures

We view zines and their communities as a form of infrastructure. Rather than using infrastructure as a metaphor we prefer Donna Haraway's conception of 'the model': *'A model is a work object; a model is not the same kind of thing as a metaphor or analogy. A model is worked, and it does work'* (Haraway, 2016, p63). 'Infrastructure' does a series of particular jobs for us in our project of understanding the political potential of zines and their communities. We draw on the work of feminist scholars who have studied digital information and archival infrastructures. However we are keen to retain strands of an earlier socio-material understanding of infrastructure that not only enfolds the digital but opens out to theorise movement across online and offline worlds, characterised by the ways in which they

work together and against one another to produce something that is more than the sum of their parts.

It is generally agreed that as a term infrastructure is both unbound (Wilson, 2016), and unruly, having a 'peculiar ontology' which 'lies in the facts that they are things and also the relation between things' (Larkin, 2013, p329). Early work by geographers and cultural anthropologists explores the socio-materiality of infrastructure viewing it as *'dense, social, material, aesthetic and political formations, that are critical both to differentiated experience of everyday life and to expectations of the future'* (Appel et al, 2018, p3). This view, developed from examining built structures of the environment such as travel, communication and utilities systems, underlines infrastructures as critical to supporting everyday life. However, this work also underscores infrastructures as important in world making, particularly in their ideological role in rendering ways of knowing as thinkable, for example *'The modern is unthinkable without its infrastructure: without dense housing, transportation arteries, electric power, and now, digital signals'* (Wilson, 2016, p270).

In their 2016 essay on Vulnerability and Resistance, Judith Butler (they/them), develops the concept of infrastructure to explore vulnerability and embodiment within mobilisation and social movements. They observe the double meaning of infrastructure: as infrastructural goods which individuals *mobilise fo*r (such as safe and clean streets, clean running water, decent housing), but also as constituting the infrastructural conditions or grounds *within which individuals and bodies mobilise*. While maintaining a complex socio-material view of infrastructure, they shift the debate to focus on the intelligibility and support of bodies.

'By theorizing the human body as a certain kind of dependency on infrastructure, understood complexly as environment, social relations, and networks of support and sustenance by which the human itself proves not to be divided from the animal or from the technical world, we foreground the ways in which we are vulnerable to decimated or disappearing infrastructures, economic supports, and predictable and well-compensated labor.' (Butler, 2016, p21)

Butler also extends the application of infrastructure to include *'not only public media, but all forms of media through which, and within which, the space of appearance is constituted.'* (2016, p14). Thus Butler foregrounds the relational and interdependent

understanding of infrastructure as embracing both the social and technical worlds, but also as providing the grounds within and through which political mobilisation is supported.

The language of 'infrastructure' is helpful for us since it allows the capture of dynamic and affective elements of feminist organizing and worldmaking which intersect with bodies and other materials. Specifically, we draw inspiration from the work of Deborah Withers (they/them), in their 2015 book *'Feminism, Digital Culture and the Politics of Transmission'*. While Wither's work has been used by feminist organization studies scholars to signal the material and embodied nature of knowledge production and representation (Bissett and Birch, 2021), their more recent exploration of digital means of communication and representation remains underutilised.

As a curator and an archivist with a fervour for studying materials and objects, Withers (2015) stresses that no picture of feminism is complete without an understanding of the means by which feminists disseminate the historical, generational mass of feminist knowledge. They argue that we must not only look at generational stories about feminist history and culture, but also examine the *'material and technical processes through which generation is composed'* (p.4). Withers' work in arts and heritage fosters an understanding of how *'communities utilise resources such as texts, monuments, music, dance, images and so forth to construct identities and senses of cultural belonging'* (2015, p.7). They apply this to an understanding of feminist culture, describing these elements not just as objects of evidence, but as 'a patchwork of ideas, energies, possibilities and world-making tools' (2015, p.7) and as sites of 'struggle, contention and invention' (2015, p.10).

Withers' work draws inspiration from and against the work of Bernard Steigler. A major criticism of his oeuvre is that it offers only a *general* critique of the politics of generational transmission of knowledge. Withers' project, in contrast, locates this general critique within Other communities, be they feminist, black, queer or anti-colonial (2015, p22). In a fleeting reference to infrastructure, Withers observes the importance of 'technical infrastructure' in securing the transmission of Other traditions:

'Such traditions often emerge après-coup (after the fact), as 'untimely,' reinserted materials of the already-there, because there is usually not enough technical infrastructure to secure their consistent transmission across time, spaces and communities of practice wherein traditions co-evolve with and through technics' (Withers, 2015, p22).

Of specific interest is Withers' concept of feminisms 'already-there', they argue that it is necessary to re-orient feminism's political project within what is already-there so that it may respond to an emergent feminist tradition and generate new traditions. Wither's conception of the already-there is multi-scalar and multi-dimensional in their description that echoes with the metaphysical:

'The already-there is a stratified constellation of technical memory matter, composed of resources that shape political and cultural imaginaries. This stratification should not be thought of merely as across, but also in terms of depth, height, scale, extensiveness and duration.' (2015, p18)

Wither's signalling of 'constellations' of technical memory matter reveals the way in which elements might gravitate together but also are organized or stratified in various ways within the already-there. Elements can be of varying forms, which include material artefacts such as *'pamphlets, paintings, photographs, film and music'* but also *'embodied and gestural [forms], comprising techniques that are kept alive deliberately or by chance'* (2015, p.18). Elsewhere Withers refers to the already-there as *'the exteriorised forms of inheritance that form the conditions for thinking and acting'* (2015, p173).Withers also introduces the term 'means of transmission' underlining that 'transmission' does not mean the movement of things in some essential and unchanged form, rather it is a *'material-technical process that emerges from engagement with what is already there'* (2019, p.80).

Digital feminist scholars also point us towards the importance of understanding engagements in these infrastructures. As we will show, zine infrastructures also come to represent critical life support systems. This understanding is founded mainly in relation to the ability of zinesters to 'find themselves' within these infrastructures, but also to make space for others to find themselves. In their discussion of the *Feminist Mesh*, Afzal and Wallace invoke Ahmed's (2017) concept of the feminist double snap as the key to exploring both how folk are 'worked by' as well as 'work through' infrastructures i.e., the way in which they are changed through their engagement through a triggering of self-reflexivity. They note that *'the double snap is a complete snap because it allows the user to see the brokenness of the system and the internalization of that system in themselves'* (Afzal and Wallace, 2019, p.145). Vachhani and Pullen, similarly highlight *'the power of a sense of dissonance'* (2019, p. 12) or as Hemmings (2012, p. 149) describes a *'lack of fit between our own sense of being and the world's judgements upon us'* in moving feminists to action. This *'enables individuals to*

narrate the world differently or become politicised through communities that value different ways of knowing' (Vachhani and Pullen, 2019, p. 29). Or in our case, both of these simultaneously as we advance an understanding of zines and their communities as an infrastructure, consisting, amongst other things, of bodies, digital technologies, art works and literary texts concerned with reviving and animating feminist knowledge and culture.

Study Context: *gal-dem* and *Polyester* zines

This paper is based on a London and online-based zine community which coalesces around the *gal-dem* and *Polyester* zines. Founded by Liv Little in 2015, *gal-dem* is an online and print publication (see Figure One) that seeks to address inequality and misrepresentation in journalism through platforming the creative and editorial work of young women and non-binary people of colour (Egbeyemi, 2020). *Gal-dem* aims for a wide appeal and visibility, and regularly partners with mainstream media outlets and celebrities. Founded by Ione Gamble in 2014 *Polyester* explicitly describes itself as an intersectional feminist fashion and culture publication. It adopts a more traditional zine aesthetic with a focus on images. Its content is niche and focused on queer, feminist subculture, fashion and art (see Figure Two). Over the six-year period of the study both zines have grown significantly in their reach and popularity. Both zine founders Liz Little and Ione Gamble, and other members of the community, such as Molly Soda and Charlie Craggs, have moved into the mainstream and are household names amongst the current young generation of feminists. Latterly, both zines have attained enough financial security that full-time workers are employed to work in rented offices. *Gal-dem*, for instance, now has a team of twelve commissioning editors, social media managers, creatives, and commercial staff and an office in southeast London[2]. *Polyester* also supports a growing team of editors, illustrators, website and partnership designers.

FIGURES ONE AND TWO ABOUT HERE

These zines were selected for two reasons. Firstly, in addition to producing print publications, both have a digital version and heavily leverage digital structures, including social media. *Polyester's* website states that it is *'aiming to bridge the gap of URL cyberfeminism with the IRL (in real life) world'* (Polyester, 2021). Secondly, both platforms

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[2] While areas of Southeast London, UK, have been gentrified, this is traditionally the less affluent and more diverse side of the city.

are intersectional in their remit exclusively featuring work by women, queer and non-binary people in the case of *Polyester* and women and non-binary people of colour in *gal-dems* case.

Methodology

The netnography presented in this study was part of a wider six-year ethnographic project that sought to understand contemporary feminist activism in relation to zines. The study is underpinned by a rigorous ethical review process at the authors' host institution which included a panel review of the study, interview protocol, and informed interviewee consent. In presenting our data, identifying information has been removed and pseudonyms have been used to preserve the anonymity of participants who wished to be kept anonymous (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008), although some participants have been named according to their preferences.

The first author took the role of participant-observer within our intersectional zine community predominantly based in London, UK and virtually within the structure of the internet. The research community coalesced around the common symbolic structure (Stone, 1996) of two zine publications, *gal-dem* and *Polyester*. In essence, while many of the members of the community have physically or virtually met, some may not have, and their symbolic association and participation with the two zines means that they are communally connected and thus can be understood and studied as a community (Kozinets *et al*, 2017). Figure Three depicts the links between study participants which take a range of forms including contributions to the zines and a range of other collaborations.

FIGURE THREE HERE

Netnography

Netnography conducts ethnographic activities online, on social media sites. It is a participant-observational technique used to observe naturalistic virtual interactions. A researcher identifies and collects data from a specified community within a defined timeframe, following rigorous procedures (Kozinets, 2020). Netnography is an established method, developed by Robert Kozinets, with greater traction in disciplines such as marketing, media studies and consumer research. The method remains scarcely employed in the organization and management field. It has rarely featured in the pages of GWO (Gatrell, 2011) and other management publications (Ashman et al, 2022; Gatrell, 2019). For us, netnography was a natural choice, as our study focuses on understanding the different means of transmission (Withers, 2015) feminists, particularly those identifying within the

technologically distinct 'fourth-wave' (Munro, 2013; Maclaran, 2015) are using in assembling hybrid communities. We broadly followed our zine communities and their members using search terms such as '*gal-dem*' and *'Polyester'*, finding that *Instagram*, *Facebook*, *Twitter* and *Tumblr* were key spaces platforming feminist organizing practices. We gathered publicly available, relevant data encompassing digital interactions, photographs, comments, tweets, text, poems, publications, video blogs, podcasts and forum threads throughout the duration of our project.

Interviews

In-depth interviews with key zine stakeholders served as an interactive element of our research design. We adopted a purposive sampling approach (Fetterman, 2010) to identify our participants. We recruited participants through our ethnographic fieldwork and netnographic exploration, employing snowballing (Gobo, 2007). Our inclusion criteria stated that participants must have read, contributed to, or created *gal-dem* or *Polyester*. Our concern for producing intersectional research made it vital that we collected data from a diverse sample (Rodriguez, 2018), and therefore we include data from various ethnicities, sexualities, genders, including women, trans, genderqueer and non-binary participants, socio-economic backgrounds and abilities. However, we note that our sample is less inclusive regarding religion, country of birth and age, with all participants 37 or under, atheist, agnostic or Christian and were born in and/or currently live in the UK. This is reflective of our studies chosen field site, which situates itself in London around publications created by young western feminist activists. Throughout, we have sought to avoid the reductionist identification of participants explicitly in terms of their ethnicity, sexuality or gender, but we have included characteristics in the discussion where they are important to contextualise the participants work or to better illustrate the operation of structural inequality. Our sample comprises 21 participants who are key stakeholders either in *gal-dem* or *Polyester* including their founders, editors, employees, and contributors/readers (see Table One). Our interview schedule orientated around two sections, firstly questions probing the nature of contemporary feminism with a focus on intersectionality and digital feminisms, and secondly, questions about feminist zines and zine communities and how they manifest online and offline. These areas of questioning and our follow-up probes were nuanced by our netnographic fieldwork. Each section comprised 5 to 10 open questions with probes designed to explore the nature of engagement with digital platforms and their role in building the movement (Castillo-

Montoya, 2016). Interviews took place both face to face and online and lasted between 60-120 minutes.

TABLE ONE HERE

Data Analysis

      The first author guided the data analysis, with regular input from the rest of the research team. Despite collecting data from various sources (netnographic data, interviews transcripts, and visuals), our data was analysed as a whole. Firstly, we collated our dataset according to the principles of netnography - organizing our data for ease of reading, filtering what was to be included or excluded (Kozinets, 2015). Secondly, an initial reading of the entire data set was conducted to enable complete immersion in the process. Thirdly, we followed Spiggle's (1994) guidelines on coding, categorising, and abstracting to broadly generate some initial interpretive themes. Throughout this process, the first author collected printouts of pictures and interview excerpts, cutting and clustering them into interrelated categories. This 'human close' process allowed the data 'to speak', a process that helped to identify the common threads, similarities and contradictions that lay within it. Fourthly, as we wrote up our findings, we followed the broad principles of abduction (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2009), to sense-make between the data and our theoretical framing, helping us to adjust and refine our interpretation. This process involved the entire research team. Whilst writing, our themes became further formalised (Fetterman, 2010). Throughout this process, we sought to foreground the voices of our participants and to temper our subjective conceptualisations of their musings (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

<u>Findings</u>

In the first section below, we witness the initial physical commingling of the zine communities. We underscore the importance of the generational conditions of this emergence. Secondly, we describe what happens when zinesters move within and regularly engage with zine infrastructures, against the backdrop of their own generational alienation. Thirdly, we explore what happens when zinesters work at the interface, within and against existing institutions. Finally, we illustrate some of the ways in which zinesters have contributed to the growth of a social movement.

Generating coalitions: creating zine infrastructures

When exploring the initial impetus for the zines with their founding editors we uncovered a complexity of factors that combine to shape and form a zine. For marginalised groups, quite literally coming together around a zine or a publication affirms the community, giving them an artefact or an anchoring point that documents and validates their hitherto neglected experience. This underscores the role of zines as gathering and creating coalitions. As Hester (2018) writes, "the Y in 'DIY' never operates in isolation", and we must conceive of political agency and emancipatory politics as necessarily open, collective and coalitional (p.129). In this way, zines write communities just as much as communities write zines. Laura Kirwan-Ashman reflected on this dual role of zines, "you can create a community around it, you can represent a community with it." Liv Little shared that, in many ways, *gal-dem* emerged from her need to connect with others who shared and understood her experience:

"I would like to think that… for me, meeting everyone who runs *gal-dem* with
 me and is part of the community… who I fucking needed, *like when I met them like I needed them! I needed to find them!* And for a lot of us it was the same. So, I think that has had a personal impact on me and I think that it's had an impact on all of the core team's lives. So I hope to think that we've also given that to our readers." – Liv Little.

Liv's comment about her experience of meeting the other folk who were to become her co-editors on the zine is particularly striking, her observation that she 'needed to find them' reveals a deep-seated need for feminist community and solidarity. Liv's point also resonates with feminist media scholars who point out zine's roles as connecting their writers and readers in intimate ways (Piepmeier, 2008). Liv similarly illustrates the experience of being isolated and 'not fitting in' in moving her to start the *gal-dem* zine:

"As a black student, sitting in lectures and seminars and being asked to speak on behalf of all marginalised voices amidst a sea of white privilege, it became evident that if the rooms weren't going to change, it was time to build my own." - Liv Little

Liv describes a moment, in which they were no longer willing to tolerate the status quo. Ahmed (2017) describes this experience as the 'feminist snap'. When the pressure of systemic sexism, racism, homophobia, transphobia, classism and ableism comes to bear too heavily on an individual they snap because they cannot bear it any longer. Liv's comment that '*it was time to build my own [room]*' is particularly telling of the way in which zines are

intended to operate as alternative infrastructure - with alternative processes and 'means of transmission' (Withers, 2015) based on solidarity and communal forms of identification (Chidgey, 2013; Bold, 2017). However, we can also see this 'snap' as generative in character, because it moves Liv into acting by creating an alternative. We also found zines, and zine infrastructures, emerged as a collective affective response to a wider generational zeitgeist or set of circumstances; a being in common with others, sharing, experiencing and responding to the same space and time.

"In 2012… we all came back from uni and were all looking around and saw a really different demographic in our area… all of a sudden there were big club nights for university students and we were like "whaaaaat?... what is going on in Peckham[3]"…I had come across zine culture and I was really obsessed with it… the whole age of anarchy and Sniffin' Glue… all that jazz… it just really stuck with me… I loved how it looked aesthetically and I was like "I wish we could make something like this" and I was like "wait, fuck yeah… we can!" so we got all of the resources… interviewed tonnes of people, messaged people to ask about their trainer collections and stuff… how they make their beats… all local people." - Adelaide Lawson

Adelaide's description of the emergence of the *Born N Bread* zine reflects the diverse range of generational ideas, music, fashion, aesthetics and styles which come together to form a zine and its community. It also reveals how zines emerge as forms of emplaced resistance to wider social and cultural change, and can be attempts to reclaim a history or culture.

Moving within zine infrastructures: Engagements of an alienated generation

The individuals who founded and created *Polyester* and *gal-dem* all herald from a Gen Z or millennial generation, who have grown up 'on the Internet' and whose media consumption is characterised by the consumption of streaming services, social media and endlessly new content. When speaking about the production of the zines during interviews, our participants

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[3] Peckham is a district in Southeast London which has a working class history and one of the most ethnically and culturally diverse communities in the UK. Over the past decade the area has seen rapid economic gentrification and an influx of affluent residents

were reflective and sometimes critical about their tech-heavy existences in relation to the zines and their potential for organizing.

> "We've all grown up on the Internet so much so that the lines have blurred between our IRL and URL… I think *Polyester's* central idea is disseminating digital media in analogue channels… online and print channels can work harmoniously to communicate messages to wider audiences." – Ione Gamble

Ione Gamble's comment that 'we've all grown up on the Internet' is telling, and echoes technofeminist concerns with the way in which digital technologies and subjectivities are configured together (Wajcman, 2010). Indeed, many of our respondents expressed a sense of alienation despite being heavy users of digital technologies.

> "I think there's this need that we still have, despite being such a digitalized generation, to have something in your hands and create something with your hands and cut, paste and stick something together and to be able to say "I made a thing that is real in the world" which is valuable because so much stuff just gets thrown into the internet and just gets lost […] we're realising that technology doesn't solve all our problems and a lot of the time makes us more unhappy than being present in the world." – Laura Kirwan-Ashman.

Laura critiques online forms of communication observing that people 'throw stuff onto the internet' which is relatively easy, with no real physical or emotional investment required. In making this point, Laura feels passionately that her political ideals should not become a piece of cultural flotsam to be forgotten about as quickly as it was created. Laura's comment also echoes feelings of alienation, fuelled by the distraction of digital modes of communication (Dean, 2018), making us 'more unhappy than being present in the world'. Similarly, Jess's observation about a lack of 'genuine dialogue' again reflects a sense of loss and alienation brought about by the use of forms of digitally mediated communication.

> "I just think that with the whole digital zine thing… there's a lot of things that are lost, for me personally… I think an aspect of community is lost… I don't think it's the same. I feel… sometimes it feels a bit hollow. Whereas I feel like more traditional zineing I

suppose felt a lot more personal and there was a genuine dialogue… sometimes I don't

really get that with the digital stuff." - Jess

Jess' comment echoes with nostalgia, a yearning for past traditions and modes of

organizing which she views as having been 'lost' in digitally mediated forms of

communication. Indeed Withers (2015) entreats us to return to these traditions and locate

feminist practice within the 'already-there' observing that new traditions emerge from this

engagement. This involves not only moving across existing traditions, but moving backward

and forwards in time (Chidgey, 2018) to recuperate, and revive, and re-use traditions in a new

context. As Withers (2015, p22) observes 'Such traditions often emerge après-coup (after the

fact), as 'untimely,'.

Print zines by their form are both sensorial and haptic, in ways that their digital counterparts

are not (Hroch and Carpentier, 2021). They bring zinesters together via their process of

production, cutting, pasting and sticking but also by being physically present with one

another, sharing stories and experiences (Piepmeier, 2008). Zinesters often reflected on the

differing material qualities of online versus offline zines:

"You can keep a zine... Like, online stuff is disposable and you look at it once and

probably never look at it again unless you print it off, so these are like printed

artefacts that you can cherish and look at a million times when you're sad. That's

something I do" – Charlie Craggs.

Other observations also signalled the importance of 'investments' in the community

and the public display and sharing of these investments of time and energy. As Frances

observes the need to 'not just talk the talk, but walk the walk':

"I think it's (online) a useful tool but obviously… it can't be the only thing that you're

doing. I think you need to… it's so cliché but not just talk the talk but walk the walk

haha… I definitely do fall into that sometimes where I'm speaking about it on Instagram

and then but I'm just in my house and I'm not doing anything. And so I have to check

myself and make sure that if there's marches going on that I go, or if I can't do that then

put money towards causes that I'm passionate about." – Frances Cannon.

Frances' observation also references the affective, embodied elements of learning, prioritising co-presence, relationality and 'being with' in order to learn from the other (Smolović Jones *et al*, 2021).

Organizing online

The embodied pre-cognitive felt need to connect in a physical way was enduringly central to the organizing of *gal-dem* and *Polyester*. Nevertheless, there was no doubt that the intersecting usage of online technologies was of key importance in generating and amplifying the socio-political foundations of the zines. The zinesters reflect on the felt, sensed experience of how, as Ione says, 'online and print channels can work harmoniously' in creating reach, solidarity and visibilities.

> "We do most of our organizing online, like we have this massive Facebook
> group just for all the contributors and we talk about so much stuff. If you've had
> like a shit day… we can like share in that group… if stuff is stressful then you
> get let it out in that group and everyone is like "rah, I get it… you don't need to
> explain"… online spaces have been so important… that's how I met the
> majority of the now editors and contributors" – Liv Little.

> "I think there's so much value in social media, I wouldn't know about any of
> this shit if I wasn't on Tumblr. Like, I wouldn't know about… I probably
> wouldn't have discovered feminism until I went to uni. I think it's really great
> that it brings these socio political ideas to people that wouldn't reach them a lot
> younger and it democratises that I think. It makes stuff a lot more accessible and
> I think it's really good in that sense" – Ione Gamble.

Liv and Ione clearly recognise the affordances of digital forms of communication as being connective, safe spaces for affective outpourings and spillovers. This form of outpouring is made possible by its location within a close-knit, pre-existing community. Ione also comments that the internet can reach a wider audience, allowing her to communicate socio-political ideas to people 'a lot younger'. For zinesters, the internet serves as a means of transmission able to package big ideas in accessible ways, making it possible to culture a new generation of young feminists with specific notions of femininity, in this case

intersectionality, led by those organizing 'on the ground', rather than a traditional expert source from on high.

Perhaps most importantly, the internet was used by our zinesters for its democratising force in the organization of *gal-dem* and *Polyester*. Free to use social media sites and low-cost website builders allowed our zinesters to create a space with minimal set up costs, low barriers to entry and largely freedom of expression (Matich et al, 2018). This was significant in our context where most of our participants came from backgrounds comprising marginalised groups in terms of gender, race and class. In this regard, they were able to increase their agency through their use of the internet in setting up their zines.

"The internet is free... so that was a really important factor in the fact that we organized on that to begin with. I think for me, personally when I was in Bristol[4] and I really wanted to connect with all these amazing women, there wasn't really an alternative way to do that other than through utilising the powers of Facebook groups, so I guess that's kind of how it started. And I guess in terms of being able to connect with, work with and communicate with women of colour who are doing really interesting stuff in all parts of the country and all parts of the world, I think it's been a really, really brilliant tool for that." – Liv Little.

This intersectional coming together is also vital in what Baer (2016) terms as the 'redoing' of feminism, where political efficacy relies on both the intersectional dialectics between bodies but also their trans local and transnational articulation, through varying transmissive means.

Working at the interface: Generating forms of visibility and dissent

In organizing themselves through a bricolage of intersecting media, our zinesters efforts have fostered strong bonds between an otherwise loosely connected yet influential network (see Figure Three). Producing a physical zine, running in-person events and re-generating content to a wider audience through carefully curated online activities has generated significant interest and attention around g*al-dem*, who to date has over 300k online followers, and

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[4] Bristol is a city in Southwest England, UK.

Polyester, who has 156k followers. In using this flexible yet seemingly disruptive format, both zines have been able to punctuate, push back against, move smoothly across and thus re-generate from traditional institutions. We explore two examples below. The first reveals a pushing back against traditional institutions, a relation which is productive through its difference and friction, in *gal-dem's* Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A)[5] takeover. The second is an example of moving across and in-between institutions in the case of Charlie Craggs.

The *gal-dem* V&A takeover

The V&A London, South Kensington Museum describes itself as 'the world's leading museum of art, design and performance'. The V&A takeover involved the *gal-dem* community occupying the V&A gallery space for an evening (The Guardian, 2018), particularly significant given the V&A museums intertwined institutional relationship with British colonial exploitation and the transatlantic slave trade:

"When we had our V&A takeover… it was just…. Like it was just mad, like having… literally we cried so much afterwards. We cried so much. Like, there were like 5000 people that came, all these Black and Brown beautiful bodies in the fucking V&A around all of this stolen art, like, creating their own art, it was mad." – Liv Little.

Liv describes the significance of an embodied togetherness created by gathering Black and Brown bodies, black artworks, music, dance, art, fashion and photography together in a space so steeped in white British colonial history. For Liv, such a gathering clearly generated significant emotional outpourings both in the moment of madness and intensity, and afterwards with a tearful emotional release. This speaks to the power of the embodied and emotional 'means of transmission' (Withers, 2015), in having the potential to bubble over, create release, excitement, elation and possibility. Further it is precisely the agonist relation between *gal-dem* and the *V&A* that is so productive of this possibility (Smolović Jones et al, 2021). Figure Four illustrates the sharing of this event on *Twitter*. Here, *gal-dem* notes it 'impossible' to recreate the spirit of the event within social media. *Gal-dem* is clearly

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[5] The Victoria and Albert Museum is the world's largest collection of applied, decorative arts and design. It was founded in 1852 and attracts around 4 million visitors per year. Its history is closely and problematically intertwined with British colonial history

signalling that the feeling of physical togetherness, where time and space align, is where they feel most empowered, but importantly also signalling that this cannot be transmitted through the means of a social media platform. From this example, we gather that physical and digital spaces are not separate and impartial containers of information (Withers, 2015). Both offer their own shape to an event, and both change how participants experience the event by moderating and filtering their affective access. In addition, in operating against and within the V&A as an institution we can see how feminists and activists are linking back to complex, in this case deeply problematic colonial, histories in order to find the seeds to re-generate alternative futures.

Drawing from Butler's discussion of assemblies, we can also see that this coming together of Black and Brown bodies in this space reveals 'a struggle over what will be public space, but also an equally fundamental struggle over how bodies will be supported in the world' (2015, p72). In this respect we see a struggle over the V&A as an institution, one which has its historical roots in configuring, recognising and supporting white bodies, white ways of being and white supremacy. As Butler observes, 'The material supports for action are not only part of action, but they are also what is being fought about' (2015, p.73). In their 2016 essay they refer to these material supports as 'infrastructure' which both provide the grounds for mobilisation but at the same time are the infrastructural goods which individuals *mobilise fo*r.

FIGURE FOUR HERE

Creating synergies within zine infrastructures

While the *gal-dem* event is an example of an agonist relation, Charlie Craggs moves in a smoother fashion, in a relation characterised by synergy. Charlie Craggs is a figurehead trans-activist and author. She is a Polyester zine contributor and is the founder of Nail Transphobia, a campaign whereby she travels the UK offering free manicures for the opportunity to sit down with a trans person. Charlie is particularly adept at organizing her activities across media, sites and institutions to increase the visibility of trans people in wider society. Figure Five shows screenshots taken from Charlie's *Instagram* account celebrating her inclusion in *gal-dem's* 'People of the Year' 2017, showing her speaking at the Houses of Parliament[6] and painting the British celebrity entrepreneur Richard Branson's nails' as part of

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[6] The Houses of Parliament are located in the Palace of Westminster, London, UK. Within the Houses of Parliament laws are made and the work of The Government is overseen via hearings and inquiries.

her pop-up salon project. As such Charlie demonstrates strategic intent and reflexivity in using infrastructures intersectionally, despite feeling uncomfortable doing so. Charlie talks about how she has learned through engaging with different media of their differing affordances. For example, she started initially to use social media extensively to promote trans-allyship, but she told us:

"The campaign actually started as a social media campaign … where I was like "get your nails done and be a trans ally and if you post your picture on social media it shows that you're an ally"… I realised early on that "hmm, that's not really true, just because you've had your nails done, doesn't mean you're an ally" but also… I was not really understanding what the power of the activism was in the conversation, so now I don't even tell people to post on social media' Charlie Craggs.

At the time of the interview, Charlie clearly felt ambivalent about using social media to promote her cause. However, her intentional use of social media as a form of activism and organizing has become more curated and disruptive over time. For example, after experiencing being spat on in a violently transphobic attack on the London Underground[7], Charlie videoed and posted the aftermath of the event on *Instagram*. In the video she repeatedly asks her attacker 'are you ready to be famous???', goading him and her audience by saying 'this big man, you fucking prick…this boy just attacked me, why would you spit on me?' This video has become her most viral online act, achieving 1.4 million views on *Instagram* alone, pushing greater activity to her pages, helping her to become a voice of the community (*Instagram* profile description). This viral video, while not directly connected with *Polyester* zine, feeds the algorithm, generating and amplifying her intersectional trans feminist cause, capturing viewers' attention and creating an allure, becoming one of the most influential nodes in the Charlie Craggs network (Afzal and Wallace, 2019), further spotlighting and making visible her and all of her other activities, including the zines, by association.

FIGURE FIVE HERE

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[7] The 'London Underground' refers to an underground railway network in England, UK.

Growing into a Social Movement: Potential for disruption?

To explore the potential of zine infrastructures to disrupt mainstream forms of media, here we explore how the scale of the zines has changed over time. In the case of *gal-dem*, they have evolved into a fully-fledged printed magazine with a membership-based pricing model for their webpage, where the majority of their content is uploaded on a continuous basis. The netnographic transcript from one of their promotional videos says:

"Here at gal-dem, we are committed to sharing the perspectives of women and non binary people of colour. It's been four incredible years, filled with magazine and museum takeovers, political events and sweaty club nights. We've published over 2200 articles and commissioned over 800 authors, and put almost a quarter of a million pounds into the hands of our community, and this all wouldn't have been possible without you. Gal-dem might be small, but our impact so far has been mighty, and in a media landscape which is 94% white, and where men make up 55% of the workforce, our existence is a necessity."

Video shared on Twitter at the beginning of the pandemic - 114k views, 712 likes, 393 retweets

Liv Little has recently moved into the world of book publishing with a book titled *Rosewater*, to be published in 2023, which she describes online as 'a story about intergenerational trauma, class, and trying to find your place in the world when the odds are stacked against you'. She has also contributed a short story to a collection of modern fables titled *'Hag: Forgotten folktales retold'*. These examples reveal a potential for disruption via visibility and moving into mainstream publishing infrastructures. For example, Ione Gamble is also recently profiled in the *Sunday Times Style* segment and regularly contributes to *The Guardian*[8]. What is more, *gal-dem* and *Polyester's* infrastructures now intersect with other creative industries, operating as significant forms of transmedia communication. For example, the Italian luxury fashion brand *Valentino* (2.2m followers) recently featured Ione Gamble's book '*Poor Little Sick Girls*' alongside one of their iconic bags on their *Instagram* page (Figure Six).

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[8] Both the Sunday Times and The Guardian are major newspaper and media outlets based in the UK.

FIGURE SIX HERE

"[Writing for *gal-dem*] felt like the way things should be. It shows the revolution is happening and it is happening through social media. People are revolutionising industries and taking these technologies and tools that have been used to oppress them and they are making it work for them… so the game will change." – Bolanle Tajudeen.

Discussion

Returning to our research aim to explore how feminist social movements are organized and re-generated across and through different media, both online and offline, using the example of zines, we make three key contributions. First to understand zines as a specific media form, as infrastructure, which acts as a relatively new form of knowledge production characterised by the fourth-wave, second in understanding both the individual and collective political potential of engagements in zine infrastructures, and third in underscoring the importance of looking at entanglements and intersections between formats in feminist organizing. In closing we uncover the value of DIY publishing formats and reveal their potential to disrupt existing industries.

While forms of DIY publishing have received attention as providing the terrain for alternative forms of worldmaking, this work has remained largely the preserve of feminist archival and media studies scholars (Chidgey, 2013; Bold 2017; Clark-Parsons, 2021). Yet thinking about the potential of DIY publishing as a form of organizing, along with its potential to grow and develop a feminist social movement is limited. Work within feminist organization studies tends to exemplify the role of publishing via the politics of representation and cultural production (Hunter and Kivinen, 2016; Alexandersson and Kalonaityte, 2021), rather than seeing its vital material form as a 'means of transmission'. We have underscored the importance of viewing zines as a generationally specific networked infrastructure of bodies, ideas and aesthetics, underlining the role of DIY publishing in gathering, and in creating coalitions not only between bodies, but between bodies and different media. In this respect our work builds on recent moves in feminist organization studies to better understand 'vital materialism' (Bell and Vachhani, 2020). Further it underscores how this coming together was based on shared experiences, a shared response to a generational zeitgeist. Theorising zines as infrastructures within which this generation

moves has helped us to underscore their generative capacity. These seeds of change have slowly naturalised and proliferated into a social movement, happening within, and skilfully and strategically moving across IRL and URL spaces. As such we have shown how organizing moves online and offline and how the individual and the collective are brought together in new and different ways (see also Afzal and Wallace, 2019). Returning to Butler's observations on infrastructure and social movements, 'No-one moves without a supportive environment and set of technologies' (2016, p15).

Further we argue for a return to the nature of 'engagements' not only with digital media but in zine infrastructures more widely. We have argued that these can't be thought apart from generational experiences as 'having grown up' on the internet. While young feminists are very often alienated from the digital, they do have an in-depth, fully embodied and sensed understanding of digital communications and the differing affordances, of varying formats. We illustrated how this generation therefore moves within zines infrastructures, but also how through their engagements, they find and orient themselves and make spaces for others to do the same. Engaging in zines acts as a vital form of self-care via a working out and working through of their subjectivity. In this respect their engagements act as an important source of 'feminist reflexivity' through which they are in turn changed and moved to enact new forms of political transformation (Hemmings, 2012). This is particularly important in an intersectional context where existing gender and other binaries render any non-binary position as unintelligible (Butler, 2006; Linstead and Pullen, 2006; Pullen et al., 2017; Thanem and Wallenberg, 2016). However, it is also vitally important to understand these engagements as a form of re-generation, in that they contribute to an apparatus for future generations to find themselves through their alternative worldmaking. As Withers observes, 'there can be no generation without transmission' (2015, p.5).

While a range of feminist organization studies explore the potential of individual digital and social media platforms to act as potent forms of organizing (Matich et al, 2018; Vachhani and Pullen, 2019), we have explored the way in which zinesters move across, and work at the interfaces of formats to benefit from their synergistic, but also their agonistic, relations in their organizing. In this respect we add to Smolović Jones et al (2021, p14) who found 'ineradicable difference and diversity (Mouffe, 2009, 2013) as essential for feminist solidarity projects'. In our study difference, and antagonistic relations, particularly via the presence of alienated bodies in sites and spaces where they otherwise were rendered unintelligible, were productive of an excess of affect which had both positive, excitement and

energy in the gal-dem takeover, and negative, anger and hatred in Charlie Cragg's experience on the London Underground transport system, valences. However, in both cases this antagonism was productive, generative of forms of affective solidarity which travelled and were intensified through varying transmissive circuits. While purely online activism has been criticised for swelling aimlessly through networks of circulation, making little to no meaningful political impact (Dean, 2005, 2018), we have seen a vital episodic grounding of activism in conditions which embrace specific individuals, times and places, to use Butler's phrase, therefore constituting 'spaces of appearance' (2016, p14). Hester (2018) describes this complex relation between the virtual and the material as "strategic, techno-material appropriation" and the "exploitation or reassembly of existing objects" (p.102). Those such as Charlie Craggs who can work at the interface, betwixt and between potentially have an increased ability to effect real change. It is vital to understand the nature of these relationships in their generative capacity, and that this does not only emerge from synergy, but also agonism butting up against, creating friction between.

While we agree that it is vital that feminists explore the 'affordances' of digital forms of communication for organizing and participation, it is also vital that we understand how forms of organizing intermesh, work together, within and against each other, 'where difference and solidarity are entangled rather than set against each other' (Afzal and Wallace, 2019, p131). To achieve this, we need our investigations to be thoroughly contextually embedded, but also, we need not only to look at single points or nodes but at their entanglements. However, it would be a mistake to view all engagements as entirely strategic and agentic, we have also attempted to highlight the element of happenchance, as Sheila Rowbotham observes 'ideas generated by a social movement do not present themselves in an orderly manner. They are thrown up by circumstances, shaken by destinies and left hanging in mid-air. Expressive of political tensions within the fabric of society, they are raw with interests' (1989, p294).

Conclusion: Cause for optimism?

The present young generation of feminist zinesters are using a multiplicity of means of transmission, particularly favouring those which are unstable and informal. Through our context, we deepen our understanding of the characteristics of feminisms 'fourth wave', by witnessing our participants re-generating feminism whilst interfacing with the constant versioning of technologies, media, institutions and the historical patterning of individual

subjectivities present in the 'already there'. In doing this, we uncover the value of DIY publishing formats and reveal their potential to disrupt existing industries, in this case the art and publishing sectors. We suggest that DIY publishing can more readily escape the exclusive gender binaries operating within mainstream publishing formats, and coupled with other freedoms of format, such a publication can focus squarely on re-enlivening the knowledges of the 'already-there' (Withers, 2015), or even contribute to a social movement.

Theorising zines as infrastructures in our paper has encouraged us to think about intersectionality in terms of the interconnected nature of the social, digital and material. This approach is significant because it considers how ideas move within infrastructures and how affective engagements are variegated through different means. Finally, our study, we hope, is merely one example of a much wider and globalised shift in intersectional feminism, one which is heavy on reflexive, strategic intent and light on a naive engagement with differing media forms. We remain optimistic that in the face of continuing privatisation and individualisation of politics, this new generation of intersectional feminists, and their pragmatism and focus on digital process and deployment may yet discover new possible lines of flight for collective growth and resistance. The task for feminists now, in their forms of worldmaking, is to tool up using new technologies, not solely through a reflexive understanding of their affordances, but through an understanding of the re-generative potential of their relations between, across and against one another.

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gal-dem

GAL-DEM'S PEOPLE OF THE YEAR 2015

CHARLIE BRINKHURST CUFF • 2ND JANUARY 2016

CHARLIE CRAGGS
Founder, Nail Transphobia
BBC LONDON

30. Charlie Craggs – For speaking up on trans issues – Charlie Craggs has had a whirlwind of a year. A trans activist who raises awareness through her self-funded campaign, Nail Transphobia, Craggs explained her motivations to gal-dem earlier this year. "I go round the country doing events and teaching people to be trans allies. I do peoples' nails, they take a sassy nail-fie [nail selfie], and then upload it to social media with the hashtag #nailtransphobia. But the actual process is just as important. Just talking about Beyoncé with a stranger who might have some misconceptions about trans people from the media does genuinely change what people think," she said.

Liked by **galdemzine, s_w_press** and **63 others**

charlie_craggs OMG Just seen I ranked 30th on Gal-dem's People of the Year list! Best start to the week ever!!!! 💖💅👸3️⃣0️⃣👸💅💖Love you @galdemzine #nailtransphobia #transactivist

Liked by **ionegamble, ripostemagazine** and **161 others**

charlie_craggs A week ago, I was invited to the Houses of Parliament for a meeting with a bunch of MP's and big name female activists, where I talked about transphobia in the NHS and how feminism needs to be more intersectional. From Parliament I ran across London for a photoshoot with Nike and The Debrief because i've been asked to be one of the faces of their #instanthappiness campaign. I then came home to a call from BBC news asking me if I was free to come in for a live interview that evening,

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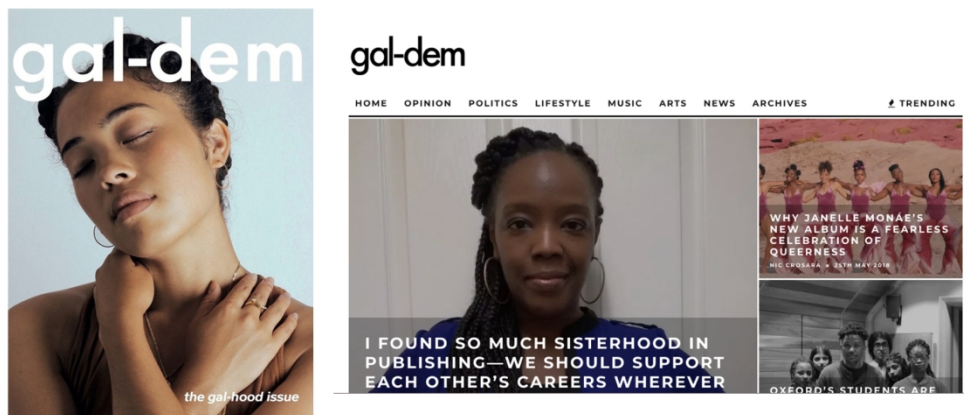59
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gal-dem ✓
@galdemzine

···

Replying to @galdemzine

Our V&A Friday Late Takeover. Trying to describe the energy in the V&A that night is impossible, but witnessing such an iconic, traditionally white space filled with creatives of colour, & the huge crowd it drew was truly an amazing and empowering moment

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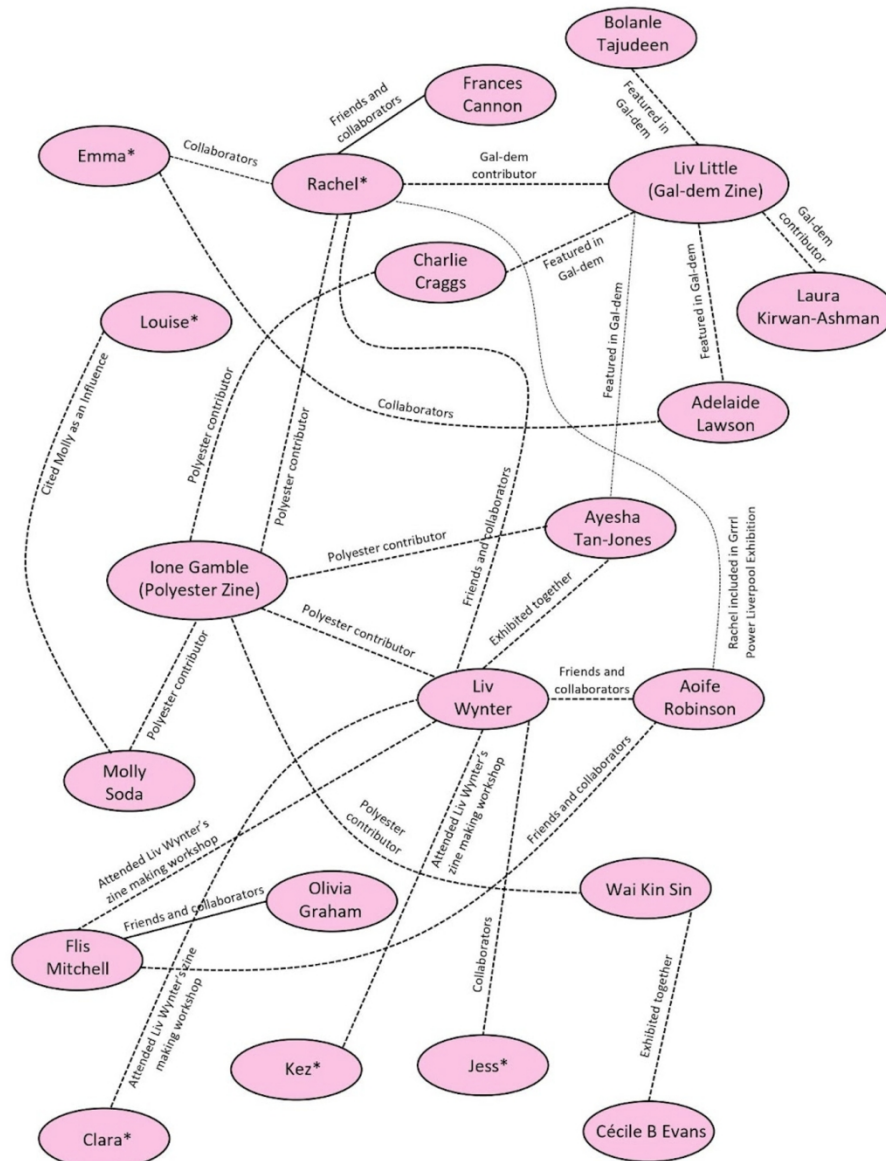43
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Name	Relationship to the field	Location of Interview
Louise *	Feminist activist, zine reader and founder of digital feminist social media network	Liverpool
Liv Little	Founding Editor of *gal-dem* zine, intersectional activist and journalist	London
Emma *	Feminist journalist, zine collector and social media content creator	London
Cécile B. Evans	Prominent feminist contemporary artist and social media user	Skype
Liv Wynter	Zine-maker, artist, political activist and *Polyester* zine contributor	London
Clara *	Visual artist, digital feminist activist, zine reader and collector and attendee of Liv Wynter's zine-making workshop	Liverpool
Kez *	Anti-fascist activist and attendee of Liv Wynter's zine-making workshop	Liverpool
Aoife Robinson	Co-founder of feminist collective *Grrrl Power Liverpool* and attendee of Liv Wynter's zine-making workshop	Liverpool
Flis Mitchell	Creator of *Queen of the Track* (zine), visual artist, feminist activist	Liverpool
Molly Soda	Prominent digital feminist artist and *Polyester* zine contributor	Skype
Charlie Craggs	Founder of *Nail Transphobia*, feminist activist, trans activist, author, *Polyester* and *gal-dem* zine contributor	London
Laura Kirwan-Ashman	Founder of feminist film collective *SKMY*, film-maker, writer and *gal-dem* contributor	London
Olivia Graham	Co-founder of feminist collective *Grrrl Power Liverpool*, *Polyester* zine podcast producer, feminist activist and writer.	Liverpool
Jess *	Long-time zine collector and contributor, feminist academic and writer.	Liverpool
Ayesha Tan-Jones	Eco-feminist activist, visual artist, model and *gal-dem* and *Polyester* zine contributor	London
Adelaide Lawson	Founder and editor of intersectional zine & collective *Born n' Bread*, DJ and *gal-dem* zine contributor	London
Ione Gamble	Founding Editor of *Polyester* zine, feminist activist and writer.	London
Wai Kin Sin	Prominent contemporary artist, drag performer, writer and *Polyester* zine contributor	London
Frances Cannon	Feminist visual artist, illustrator and digital feminist activist.	London
Bolanle Tajudeen	Founder of *Black Blossoms,* intersectional activist and *gal-dem* contributor	London
Rachel *	Intersectional activist, visual artist, and reader/contributor to *gal-dem* zine	London

Note: participants using a pseudonym have been marked with a *

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